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THE LIFE & LABOURS
OF
SAINT THOMAS OF AQUIN.

"THOMA, BENE SCRIPSISTI DE ME: QUAM RECIPIES A ME PRO TUO LABORE MERCEDEM? DOMINE, NON NISI TE!"

(Tocco, Cap. vi. : Boll., Martii 7, p. 669)

THE

LIFE & LABOURS

OF

S. Thomas of Aquin,

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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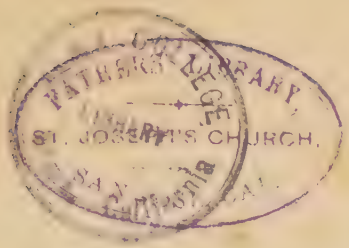

PREFACE.

THE fact that no life of S. Thomas of Aquin has been written in the English language, is a sufficient excuse, if apology be needed, for the publication of the following pages. No doubt, there are to be found valuable notices of the Saint in biographical dictionaries and encyclopædias; but, for the most part, they are confined to a dry statement of facts and of dates, and do not attempt—for it would be out of place—to put together more than the rough framework, upon which a biography might be built. France, Germany, and Italy, in this respect, are better off than ourselves. Touron, with his pious orthodoxy; Werner, with his store of literary information; and Frigerio, with his genuine Italian devotion—each of these admirable

men has done for his respective country that which the present author is wishful to do for England. Nor has the *desideratum* been supplied even by translations. Works which stand well in the language in which they are written, with no fault whatever on their part, will often hardly bear translation. Werner, whose three heavy volumes contain a rich mine of interesting material, does not aim at popularity; Touron's flowing sentences and religious disquisitions would almost weary in an English dress; whilst Frigerio, were he to lose the naïve simplicity of his beautiful and graceful Italian, would be deprived of the greater portion of his charm. As for Tocco, or S. Antoninus, or Gibelli, their labours on the life of the Angelical occupy so small a space, that, were they all bound together in one book, they would only then form a very meagre volume. It is true that Bareille's "*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*" has run through four editions in the French, and very probably it might find many readers were it cast into an English form; though, in reality, it can hardly be considered much more than a summary of Touron's larger and more original work. Translations are, at

their highest, but second-best; and the translation of an abridgment, however successfully such a *résumé* may have been effected, would scarcely satisfy, either the intelligent reader, or a writer who entertains a genuine admiration for the subject of his labours.

Then, again, the author has found it difficult to comprehend how the life of S. Thomas of Aquin could be written, so as to content the mind of an educated man—of one who seeks to measure the reach of principle, and the influence of saintly genius—without embracing a considerably wider field of thought than has been deemed necessary by those who have aimed more at composing a book of edifying reading, than at displaying the genesis and development of truth, and the impress of a master-mind upon the age in which he lived. It has always appeared to him, that one of the most telling influences exerted by the doctor-saints of God, has been that of rare intellectual power in confronting and controlling the passions and the mental aberrations of epochs, as well as of blinded and swerving men. Their unaffected piety, their spotlessness of conscience, their frank simplicity, their beautiful self-distrust, their faith

in the unseen, their divine unselfishness, their sovereign devotion to the Crucified ; all these form, as it were, the soil out of which their far-reaching influence springs. Keen illumination of reason, deep vision, penetrating discrimination, calm judgment, elasticity of mind, and high rectitude of will—what are these but the manifestations of a highly cultivated moral nature, and the divinely-fashioned instruments for carrying into execution some giant intellectual work? The richer the earth, the deeper and firmer the roots, so much the more spreading the branches—so much the more choice and plentiful the fruit. The devotedness, and prayer, and penance, of the saints—their private, personal actions—are replete, it need not be urged, with the profoundest instruction. But a saint is not a man who merely loves God alone : he is a man who is full of the force and light of heaven ; and who, through the intensity of his charity towards his Maker, loves mankind, with the tenderness and with the strength of God. To pretend to write the life of S. Thomas of Aquin, and then simply to narrate the history of his private character;—to speak of his humility, his gift of contemplation, his love of solitude, his ecstatic devotion,

his balance of mind—of his gentleness, and purity, and patience—of his judgment and his genius; and to be *content* with doing this, would be very otiose—it would be, in point of fact, to give no adequate account of him at all. True enough, all he had, and all he did, sprang from the purest fount of his boundless charity; but that is no reason—rather the reverse—why we should be satisfied simply with gazing down into the crystal stream; why we should neglect or ignore the spreading circle of richness and variety, of bud and blossom, springing up within the generous sweep of its vivifying influence. He who merely contemplates the beautifulness of charity in the saints of God, and fails to appreciate love's power, will never fairly comprehend what true love is; will hardly realize how the saints were mighty pillars, as well as dazzling lights—were levers which could lift the world, as well as lovely figures, gracefully kneeling at the feet of Christ. No: love is power, love is knowledge, love is strength. That Love which endured the shame, and bore the Cross, and which subjugated sin and death, and embraced the world itself within its mighty arms, does not lose its vigour, or its grasp, or its magic,

when energizing in the saints. Love is not effeminate : it stands bravely forward, and smiles, with the serenity of heaven, on the terrors of the earth ; it is armed of God, and goes forth with rapidity to do God's work ; it is eminently operative, tough, valiant, strong, and, when the struggle comes, overpowering in its onset, as it is overwhelming in its victory.

Assuredly, many noble men and gentle women have passed through their course, leading a life of loneliness, and dedicating their faculties to the practice of prayer and contemplation ; seemingly doing little good in general society, or in the hearts of their fellow-men :—doubtless ; for man cannot fathom the mysteries of grace, nor can he put his finger on the benediction accorded, or the curse averted, or the vocation given, or the temptation braved, or the error rectified, or the vain philosophy crushed, or the truth expanded and confirmed, through the influence of the hidden lives of holy solitaries. But, because we cannot hit upon the secret springs, because we cannot fix our eyes on the invisible mechanism of the vast machine, on that account, it would not be philosophical to conclude that, *therefore*, no such

things exist. Nor is it necessary to go to the desert to draw out examples of the visible action of virtue on the world. What some effect hidden away with God, others achieve in the open light of day. What some have wrought behind the veil, others have displayed in sight of all the people. If S. Anthony and S. Pachomius have left little trace of their labours outside the wilderness, S. Dominic and S. Francis have made their enduring mark on the broad face of the busy world. If the prayer of the pure and graceful virgin, or the aspirations of the lonely widow, made the dew descend, and no man could tell the reason why ; the learned Doctor-Saint, at all events, as well as the Apostle and the martyr, gives his bold witness to truth, and dazzles mankind with the fire which lives within him, and which, from time to time, flashes forth upon the world.

The object which the author of these pages has proposed to himself is this : to unfold before the reader's mind the far-reaching and many-sided influence of heroic sanctity, when manifested by a man of massive mind, of sovereign genius, and of sagacious judgment ; and then to remind him, that, as the fruit hangs from the branches, so, genius of

command, and steadiness of view, and unswerving-ness of purpose, are naturally conditioned by a certain moral habit of heart and head ; that purity, reverence, adoration, love, are the four solid corner-stones on which that Pharos reposes, which, when all about it, and far beyond it, is darkness and confusion, stands up in the midst, as the representative of order, and as the minister of light, and as the token of Salvation.

Now, the Angel of the Schools was emphatically a great and shining light. To write his life, is not so much to deal with the subject of his personal history, as to display the stretch of his power, and the character of his influence. Indeed, few of the great cardinal thinkers of the world have left much private history to record. Self was hidden in the splendour of the light which bursts outfrom it—just as the more brilliant the flame, so much the more unseen is the lamp in which it burns. It stands to reason that the more wide-spread the influence which such men as these exert, so much the wider must be the range taken by the writer over the field of history, and theology, and philosophy, if he wishes adequately to delineate the action of their lives. The private

history of S. Thomas of Aquin could be conveniently written in fifty pages, whilst his full biography would certainly occupy many thousand pages.

Fixing the thirteenth century as a stand-point, and taking S. Thomas as a centre, the eye of the mind, fully to take in his power, must range round a wide circumference—must stretch into the past, till it fixes itself upon the initial efforts of the gentle and constraining Benedictine principle—till it descries the mighty workings of contemplation and of adoring love, of purity and of reverence, under the garb of the monk, as he gradually introduces into society the mastership of just authority, and the principle of true respect. Not, indeed, that the influence of the Angelical could be retrospective, or could have affected, in any way, the ages which preceded him; of course not: but in order intelligently to comprehend his action on the mind of his own day, and of the days which succeeded it, the main tendencies of human thought must be clearly grasped, and understood, as they displayed themselves before they came in contact with his influence—just as the action of a prism upon rays of light cannot be comprehended

until the experimentalist is able to compare them under three different conditions, namely : as they display themselves before coming in contact with the crystal ; during contact with it ; and after they have passed through it.

And, indeed, to omit mention of the Benedictine principle, would be to manifest great ignorance of the action of the highest form of truth upon mankind. The mastership of authority and reverence, springing out of the school of *quies*, did not cease to exert a considerable influence, after the dominant power of the monastic body had nearly disappeared—or, at least, had given place to a more contentious and aggressive form of religious life. The Platonic, synthetical, and mystic spirit of the Patriarch of western monks—a spirit which came straight from the side of Christ, and animated the early and patristic Church, had by no means expired when S. Thomas was a boy. But it was gradually losing its position and ascendency. The highly-coloured and exciting elements of thought, introduced from the East, through the Crusades ; the philosophical mysticism of Egypt, and the dreams of India ; the importation into Europe—into France, and Italy, and England—of the

neoplatonism, and gnosticism, and pantheism, and naturalism of the Arabian commentators on Aristotle; and then, the heat produced by the introduction of dialectical methods of disputations; and finally, the rise, in opulent cities, of great emporiums of knowledge—of large universities, filled with the youth of every land, and with professors of almost every hue—caused men to lose their taste for the solitary Abbey hidden away amongst the hills, with its psalmody, and manual work, and unexciting study. A new element had been introduced into society. It brought with it its advantages, but it also introduced corresponding dangers. The free play of the mind, upon delicate and sacred subjects, encouraged a spirit of rationalism; and the license of the schools helped to foster an irreverent frame of mind. Throughout the history of mankind—in the annals of every thinking race—we find that two contests have ever been going on: the principle of faith is ever menaced by the overweening arrogance of reason; and pride is ever waging war with reverence. It was so amongst the Arabians; so it was, too, amongst the Jews; so was it, also, in the Paris schools of the thirteenth

century; and so it is at this day amongst ourselves.

In the thirteenth century, this antagonism may be said to have attained its *maximum*. The confusion, and the excitement, and the clash of the contest, had begun before S. Thomas entered the arena; but the fight was by no means over: the forces on both sides had deployed, and a general engagement was being carried on. All depended upon him who held the supreme command: fortunately for the cause of truth, the man of the hour was not wanting. The Angelical had been prepared, it would seem, by a singular Providence, for directing the advance of truth, and right, and order; he it was who had to introduce the calming and steadying temper of S. Benedict, into the midst of the bewilderments of the schools. And, for achieving this end, his character had received a special training. His family had been intimately bound up with the traditions of the past. His uncle was a Benedictine Abbot; he, as a boy, had himself been a Benedictine monk; and he had imbibed potent draughts of the monastic reverential spirit—of monastic largeness, and self-control, while living under the direct influence of the

metropolis of Benedictine glories. Thus equipped, he joined the new society, which had been constructed by the Church to confront the intellectual anarchies, and social revolutions, which were threatening the world—thus prepared, he entered the active, and chivalrous Order of S. Dominic; and, with a sword and a lance, fashioned out of Greek metal, and with a strong arm, and a steady eye, he entered the lists, and bore away the prize. He stands forth as some giant warrior, not unwieldly from his weight, or unskilful from his power of form, but exquisitely perfected in the management of his weapon, and marvellously gifted in grace, as he was in vigour. He confronted, and wrestled with, and he slew, the adversaries of sound philosophy and religion; he stood superior to, and he mastered, the age in which his lot was cast; and his pre-eminence in the Christian schools, from then to now, has never been dimmed by a brighter light, or been rivalled by a more victorious champion.

Thus, S. Benedict and S. Dominic are, in the life of S. Thomas, as the root and the branches, as the stem and the fruit. The keenness of mind, logical dexterity, subtleness of argument,

and readiness of dialectical resource, which are special to S. Dominic, cannot be seen in their true light, except in relation to the gentleness, largeness, depth, reverence, and devotion of S. Benedict; activity cannot be explained without quiet; great velocity of thought cannot be comprehended as under complete control, without the steadying influence of breadth and balance. Logic without love leads straight into error and confusion; the pillar without its pedestal falls prone upon the ground.

And this suggests the reason why the author has laid some stress upon the Benedictine education and tendencies of S. Thomas. These are referred to in no narrow, jealous spirit; but simply because effects cannot be explained without their causes, and because the specialities of the Angelical's character and work could not be fully understood, without reference to the patristic spirit of the Benedictine Order. It could not be shown how the excellence of the old method of *quies* was synthesized in him, with the more modern method of activity, unless by describing how he became impregnated with the one, as well as how he became a master

of the other. Thus, in the five first chapters of this volume, the general state of society is briefly depicted; the principles of monastic life, in connection with our Saint, are touched upon; and a picture is drawn of the new method created by the Holy Spirit, in the Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominic, for resisting the pressure of the world. Then, the trials by which the soul of the Angelical was purified and strengthened, are related; and the character and spirit of his great master, Albertus Magnus, are delineated. Next, in order to give a consecutive idea of the intellectual growth of scientific knowledge in the Church, a very rapid survey is taken of theologic teaching down to the period of S. Anselm, who may be considered as the forerunner, if not as the first, of the great scholastic fathers. With him, the antagonisms of human thought grow into larger proportions. Faith and reason, reverence and irreverence, confront each other; opposing principles become the centres of conflicting schools, till two men arise, who, each in his place, can be taken for, because each in reality is, the representative, respectively, of rationalism and irreverence, of reason and

authority. It may be felt, as an objection, that the times of Abelard and S. Bernard are so remote from those of S. Thomas, as almost to preclude the possibility of their exerting any influence on the thoughts and methods of the thirteenth century. But, first of all, it may be remembered, that Abelard and S. Bernard are chosen, in great measure, as patterns, or exponents, or living summaries, of certain jarring principles, which are at all times more or less engaged in active war: and then again, it may be recalled to mind that, the life of a principle, if it be a cardinal one, is not, like the life of a man, liable to perish quickly, and certain to do so soon;—for it is excessively tenacious and enduring, especially when once it has fixed itself in a soil calculated to minister to its strength; and, in point of fact, the author has traced the influence of the Abelardine school, and explained the issue of its conflicts. William of Champeaux was the outcome of this antagonism; and his spirit lived and grew, ever becoming more pronounced in its monastic bias, till it was fostered into a large and influential life, by the mystic tendencies, and by the monastic theology, of S. Victor's. The issue of the conflict between

Abelard and S. Bernard, between irreverence and authority, between rationalism and reverence, was the triumph of the latter, which, in its measure, gave rise to the splendid intellectual labours of Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's, and of Peter the Lombard—who, by his method and teaching, exerted so marked an influence on the Angel of the Schools. How could the fundamental position of S. Thomas be indicated, if the master of the "Sentences" were overlooked? How could it be shown that the Angelical combined all the excellencies of Abelard, of S. Bernard, of William of Champeaux, and of the Victorines—without inheriting their weaknesses—unless their characters and their positions in the schools were pointed out? How could the mind of S. Thomas be weighed and analyzed, unless others were placed beside him, who were great when compared with one another, but who were little when compared with him? And, finally, how could his ecstatic life of contemplation receive a stronger illumination, than by throwing upon it the light of that mystic system, which is drawn out with such luminous distinctness, by Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's?

And then, there were other influences, which have been dwelt upon already, and which cannot

be omitted, in writing a life of the Angelical, viz. : the influences of the East; and the impress of Western *savants*, tinged with Eastern errors. Hence, chapter the thirteenth touches upon the Eastern philosophies which were introduced into the Paris University; and upon the teachings of the principal Arabian and Jewish philosophers, with whose doctrines the Angelical had to come in contact. How could the labours and triumphs of S. Thomas be treated of, or comprehended, without some reference to the positions and doctrines of such men as Avicenna and Avicebron, as Avempace and Averroës; or without a brief indication of the place of Maimonides, and Jewish philosophy, in the middle ages?

Then comes a chapter on the position of the Angelical under Albert at Cologne, and another on the "Instruments of Knowledge" used by scholastics in the thirteenth century. And this prepares the way for a description of the Paris schools, the centre of intellectual activity—the great battle-field in which the mighty contest was carried on between the orthodox principles of Catholic truth, and the opposing influences of Western and Eastern error.

Next, those labours of the Saint are spoken of, which he undertook during his Bachelorship; and the keenness of his mind, and the independence of his spirit, and the veneration and monastic bias of his temper, are drawn out in the two succeeding chapters on "The Sentences;" then, come his efforts as Licentiate; and, finally, his grand defence of reverence and authority against William of S. Amour, who represented the legitimate issue of the genuine Abelardine principle. The two last chapters: "Monastic Principles Defended," and "Monastic Principles Exalted," bring before the reader's attention the fundamental positions on which all enduring stability and nobility rest; and indicate how deep a debt of gratitude is owing to the energy, calmness, and genius of the Angelical, for having maintained, during a period of unparalleled academical excitement, those lofty principles on which all greatness of character, and all heroism of soul, depend.

But though, during the period of his Bachelorship and Licentiate, S. Thomas gave the most unmistakable evidence of his keenness and his power; though, at so early a season, he proves himself to be a pillar of light; still, it was after

he had received his Doctor's cap that he grew to his full stature, and displayed before the world the mightiness of his transcendent gifts, and earned for himself, in the temple of religious and philosophic fame, a *status* more dignified and enduring than that of any other man who has been glorified in the Church as a saint, or who has illuminated the learning of the schools as a philosopher. The task of drawing out and describing the work, which gained for the Angelical so exceptional a position, will be attempted by the author in the forthcoming volume.

The principal lives of S. Thomas which have been consulted are those collected by the Bollandists; from which all subsequent writers have drawn their principal materials. Then, the biographies of the Saint by Touron, Bareille, Frigerio, and Gibelli, have been made use of, as well as a *résumé*, which, for the sake of brevity, the author has called in his references "*Vita*," but which is published with the following title: "*Vita dell' Angelico Dottor San Tomaso d'Aquino, Estratta da Sant' Antonino Arcivescovo di Firenze, e da Landolfo Vescovo di Leone, dal*

Volaterano, dal P. F. Guglielmo da Zocco, dal Sabellico ; da Gio. Antonio Flaminio, dal Voragine, dal Surio, e da altri autori Catolici" (1607) ; and, finally, Werner's invaluable "*Thomas von Aquino*," has been freely made use of, especially with respect to many of the facts which are to be found in the first portion of the thirteenth, and fifteenth chapters. With regard to the other authorities, since the most important of them are quoted at large in the notes, there is no call for making any further reference to them here.

The general reader may possibly be tempted to object to the frequency of quotations, and to the number of notes at the foot of each page: the text was written for him; the labour of adding the references and *excerpta* was undertaken for the sake of the student —for the young philosopher or theologian, who, before he sets himself to the profound study of the *Summa*, would probably not be ungrateful for an introduction to many useful works, and to the style of many authors, as well as to the *ipsissima verba* of the Angelical himself.

If the reader experiences but one tithe of the

pleasure in reading this book, which the author has enjoyed, living so close to the great Angelical, whilst writing it, he will freely pardon the many shortcomings he will find in it; and the author will not deem his labours to have been wholly thrown away.

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CHAPTER I.

HIS PARENTS AND BIRTH.

"Questi, che m'è a destra più vicino,
Frate e maestro fummi; ed esso Alberto,
E di Cologna, ed io Tomas d'Aquino."
(Dante, Parad. X. 97—99.)

S. Thomas of Aquin sprung from a noble and illustrious race.* His mother, Theodora, was descended from the Caraccioli, a noble Norman family, and was Countess of Teano in her own right. Her ancestors had left the plains of Normandy two hundred years before, and having driven the Saracens and Greeks out of the plains of Southern Italy, established themselves at Naples and Messina; and having made prisoner the Roman Pontiff, received the crown from the trembling hands of that venerable man.

Landulf, Theodora's husband, of the house of Sommacoli—otherwise called Counts of Loreto, D'Acerra, and Belcastro, belonged to one of the

* The family so late as the seventeenth century appear to have occupied a distinguished military position in Spain. In 1867, one of the race was living in Jamaica.

most remarkable families of middle Italy. Doubtless, in youth, his ears had been accustomed to the din of arms, and his eyes had seen many a gorgeous pageant in the court of Frederick Barbarossa. His father, Thomas, achieved so high a military reputation, that the Emperor nominated him Lieutenant-General of the Holy Roman Empire, and gave him his sister, Frances of Suabia, to wife. Landulf could call to mind, with pleasing recollection no doubt, that the blood of the turbulent Frangipani flowed in his veins, that he was connected with Gregory the Great, and that his ancestors had distinguished themselves years ago in the wars of Charlemagne. His name was not unknown before the destruction of the Lombard kingdom. Antenulf, and Landulf were Dukes of Capua and Salerno in 879 : and, after their inheritance had been wrested from them, they assumed the title of Aquino, and settled themselves between the Volturno and Garigliano. In the reign of Otto III., one of these rough warriors wrested Rocca Sicca from the Abbot of Monte Cassino, and levelled it with the ground. (996.) Another, equally successful in his enterprises, assumed the title of Count of Gaeta, stormed Minturna, beat the Normans, subjected the lords of Capua with the sword, and chased Guimar, lord of Salerno, out of his dominions.

Lando was not so fortunate. He lost Gaeta, and resumed the name of Aquino, while Rainald, son of Landulf, was glad to exchange Monte

Libretto for San Giovanni—preferring the mastership of Adrian to the despotic and uncertain violence of Frederick. (1157.) But, if the Aquinos lost in one way, they gained in another. The panegyrists of the Saint, who always appear to appreciate most keenly nobility of ancestry, relate, with effusion, how, under the rough garb of the shaven friar, flowed the blood of kings : how the young Dominican was nephew of Frederick the First and Henry the Fourth, and cousin of Frederick the Second, and how he could claim connection with the royal houses of Arragon, Sicily, and France.*

Of the character of the Saint's father little is known ; though it seems pretty certain that he combined a martial spirit, with a large sentiment of faith ; while his mother, with immense energy of character, and a somewhat haughty spirit, kept herself in control by severe fasts, frequent vigils, and constant prayers. †

Theodora's home was quite in the mediæval style. The little town of Aquino occupies the

* "The only nobility," says James de Vitry, "is that of the soul," or in the words of the ancient :—

"Quid memoras fabulas et nomina varia Catonum ?
Nobilitas animi sola est atque unica virtus."

Still, notwithstanding all this, birth is prized by man, and brought forward as an advantage by those who speak their natural thoughts. To be well born, and to be of noble soul, are both notes of praise.

† Quando ella il suo corpo macerava con lunghi digiuni e frequenti vigilie, altretanto nutriva l'anima sua del divin cibo dell' orazione, siche pel tanto orare, e col sovente inginocchiarsi ad imitatione dell' Apostolo S. Jacomo, alla guisa e maniera del medesimo, fortamente le ginocchia le si incollerono. *(Frig. p. 3.)*

Tocco says : Exemplis sanctitatis claruit, et vitam cum laudibus felici morte finivit. *(Boll. p. 658.)*

centre of a vast and fertile plain, commonly called Campagna Felice, in the ancient Terra di Lavora. This plain is nearly surrounded by bare and rugged mountains, one of which pushes further than the rest into the plain ; and on its spur, which juts boldly out, and which was called significantly Rocca Sicca, was situated the ancient stronghold of the Aquinos. The remnants of this fortress, as seen at this day, seem so bound up with the living rock, that they appear more like the abrupt finish of the mountain than the ruins of a mediæval fortress. Yet they are sufficient to attest the ancient splendour and importance of the place ; and the torrent of Melfi, which, tumbling out of the gorges of the Alps, runs round the castellated rock, marks it out as a fit habitation for the chivalrous and adventurous lords of Aquino, Loreto, and Belcastro.

It was in a chamber of this castle that a rough hermit, who had gained a name for his godly life, suddenly, and to the amazement of Theodora, made his appearance.* Like another Elias the Thesbite, with his flowing hair and coarse garment, he pointed to a picture of S. Dominic, which hung from an image of the Blessed Virgin round his

* In the thirteenth century, says De la Marche : "Il y avait là [dans les régions des montagnes] des hommes qui restaient des saisons entières privés de tout rapport avec leurs semblables. Cet isolement se renouvelle bien encore chaque hiver : mais il était alors beaucoup plus long et plus rigoureux. Etienne de Bourbon n'avait pu voir sans étonnement les bergers des Alpes, montagnards nomades et grossiers, passant presque toute l'année au milieu des rochers sauvage, couchant sur la dure et, sans autre abri que la voûte du ciel, veillant jour et nuit sur leurs troupeaux avec une constance infatigable, exposés à la dent des loups et aux attaques des voleurs." *(p.* 392.*)*

neck, and exclaimed: "Rejoice, O lady, for thou art with child, and thou shalt bring forth a son, whom thou shalt call Thomas; and thou and thy husband will think to make a monk of him in the Monastery of Monte Cassino, in which the body of blessed Benedict rests, hoping to obtain possession of the great income of that Monastery through his elevation. But God will provide otherwise, for he will become a brother of the Order of Preachers." She replied, "I am not worthy to bear such a son; may the will of God be done!" *

The event foretold by Bonus the Solitary in due course came to pass. In the eleventh year of the Pontificate of Honorius, the ninth of the reign of Frederick, the same year that Saint Louis became King and S. Francis of Assisi died, Theodora gave birth to the future Angel of the Schools. The date of the event, however, is contested. Most reliable authorities put it at the year 1227. Some say it took place at Rocca Sicca, some at Aquino, others at Belcastro. †

Thomas was not Theodora's only child, she

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* Gaude Domina, quia es prægnans, et paries filium, quem vocabis Thomam: et tu et vir tuus cogitabitis eum facere monachum in monasterio Montis Cassini, in quo corpus B. Benedicti quiescit, habentes spem ad magnos ipsius monasterii reditus pervenire, per ipsius filii vestri apicem et prælaturam; sed Deus de ipso aliter ordinavit, quia erit frater ordinis Prædicatorum . . . cui respondit prædicta Domina: non sum Digna parere talem filium, faciat Deus suæ placitum voluntatis. *(Boll. p.* 657.*)*

† In Gabriel Barrii De Antiq. et Situ Calabriæ Lib. II. Thesau: Antiq. Ital. IX., it is said that S. Thomas was not called Aquino because he was born at Aquinum, a Samnian, not a Campanian city, but from the name of his family; for there are Aquinos in many places in the Campagnia, and the Saint was born at Belcastro.

had three boys, and three girls, the two eldest boys took to a military life—according to the custom of their ancestors—and for some time followed the varying fortunes of Frederick the Second. The youngest girl, when an infant, was killed by a stroke of lightning in one of those terrific storms which now and then burst from the mountain ranges over the plain of the Terra di Lavoro. The second girl married Count Sanseverino, and became a saintly woman of the world; and the eldest entered religion, became Abbess, and after a life of great perfection, died with the reputation of a saint.*

Some curious legends are related of S. Thomas's early childhood; for instance, when at the baths of Naples a scroll of paper was miraculously placed in his hands.† He made violent opposition when his mother took it from him; and she, finding to her astonishment, the words "Ave Maria" upon it, gave it back instantly to the child. He seized it eagerly, and swallowed it—some say in imitation of Ezechiel the Prophet. Then he would prefer books to any other playthings.‡ If he cried, a book would pacify him at once. And, from time to time, a crown of heavenly glory was

* "Cangiato" says Frigerio "la sorella maggiore il pensiero di maritarsi, vestisse per consiglio di Tomaso monaca dell'ordine di S. Benedetto, nello monasterio di Santa Maria di Capua, del quale in progresso di tempo eletta Abbadessa, e quivi esemplarmente vivendo, santamente fini." *(Cap. III. n. 4 p. 17.)*

† Cartulam parvulam, divinitus repertam *(Tocco, p. 658.)*

‡ *(Vita. p. 8.)*

seen to hover over his head. * Again, on Sunday, the first of June, 1230, the earth began to tremble violently; and for a whole month earthquake shocks were felt from Capua to Rome. Rocca Sicca did not escape. Thomas was sleeping with his nurse and his little sister, as the storm struck the castle, and a fork of lightning shot through the window and burnt the little girl to death, but left the boy gently sleeping in his nurse's arms.†

Many will believe in these legends about as much as in the story of those bees, which are said to have dropped honey on the lips of the infant fast asleep in the bower of myrtles on Mount Hymettus; or in the dream of Socrates, when he saw a young swan coming from an altar in the Grove of Academus, which, after nestling in his bosom, soared up the heavens, singing sweetly as it rose aloft. Still, if they do not reflect from the past upon the future, they do what tends, perhaps, still more to the saint's renown, they are reflections of the future on the past.

When S. Thomas was five years old, his parents sent him to Monte Cassino, hoping, in spite of Bonus the Solitary, that he would eventually join the Order, and become master of those vast pos-

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* So with S. Dominic. His godmother saw in a dream a radiant star upon the brow of the child, traces of which remained ever after on his forehead. *(Lacordaire's Life of S. Dominic, p. 97.)* Something similar is related of the infancy of S. Ambrose.

† *(Frigerio, p. 6.)*

sessions which were under the dominion of its Abbots.*

This mighty Abbey,† placed upon the mountain side, and looking down on the teeming plain of Aquino, about six miles from Rocca Sicca, even in those days could be looked upon as an antiquity. Once a bushy grove, full of the impure worship of lascivious gods, in the sixth century S. Benedict laid the foundation of its history. When S. Thomas went there, it had already thrice been jolted to the ground by earthquakes, over and over it had been besieged by barbarians, it had been clean destroyed by the Lombards, and burnt to cinders by the Saracens; but it sprang up, as often as cast down, and, in the early days of S. Thomas, was the most distinguished school of letters in the land.

Through that dark passage, along which the future Angel of the Schools was led by his nurse to marvel at dark-robed monks, vast corridors, and silent cloisters, the sons of kings—Carloman, Ratchis, Adelard, Gisulfe, leaving the din of life for the rest of God, had gone before him, and had

* S. Bede, S. Placid, S. Maurus, S. Boniface, Suger, Gregory VII., Hugh of S. Victor, S. Faustus, S. Hildegard, S. Robert, S. Mechtildis, Peter Deacon, Pope Pascal, Ernof, Walafrid, all entered religion at a very early age. S. Paul of Verdun left his cradle for the cloister, and many others entered from their tender infancy.

† There were at one time dependent upon the Abbot four Bishoprics, two Principalities, twenty counties, two hundred and fifty castles, four hundred and forty towns and villages, three hundred and thirty-six manors, twenty-three sea-ports, thirty-three islands, two hundred mills, three hundred territories, one thousand six hundred and sixty-two churches; and its revenue, at the end of the sixteenth century, was valued at five hundred thousand ducats. (*See Les Moines D'Occident, Tom. II., p.*22.)

slept in peace. Through that narrow passage, whose darkness received the young Aquino out of sight, the civilization of modern Europe had flowed out. But Theodora and Landulf had more personal motives for loving the mighty Abbey. Thrice, in old times, their ancestors—students and protectors of the monastery, had risked their fortunes and their lives in its defence; whilst the same year the child was born, his uncle, Landulf Sinnebald, though a simple deacon, was chosen by the monks fifty-sixth in its glorious line of Abbots.

The times of S. Thomas cannot be adequately sketched without touching upon the relation of this mighty Abbey to the Empire and the Holy See.

For it was at this period that Gregory IX. and Frederick came to an open rupture. When Sinnebald was in Rome the following year (1228) for his ordination, he heard many rumours about the duplicity of the Emperor, and the deceit he had practised upon the Pope. The time specified by the Parliament of San Germano for commencing the crusades had expired, and Frederick had embarked at Brindisi. But after three days he turned the ships about, and came to port, declaring that delicacy of health prevented him prosecuting the voyage. The Pope was excessively angry, and after thundering an excommunication against him, sent two Cardinals and Abbot Sinnebald to wait upon him, and bring him to a knowledge of his duty. But Frederick, maddened by the ex-

communication, protested against its injustice, and would listen to no accommodation. He dismissed the Cardinals with scant courtesy, and after telling the Abbot that he altogether disapproved of his election, ordered him, in future, to provide him with a hundred armed men, and to pay one thousand two hundred ounces of gold for their support.

The Emperor at length set sail, and left Rainald of Spoleto his representative in Naples. But it was not the Holy places, so much as his thirst to be king of Jerusalem, on his marriage with Jolanda, that spurred him on in this undertaking. With the cross upon his breast, and the Papal anathema hanging over his head, Frederick set about a work which in the middle ages was essentially a religious undertaking. No wonder that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and all good men, were scandalized at a crusader fighting for Christ with the curse of Christ's Vicar upon him. They could not help regarding him, not so much as a champion of Christianity amongst the Pagans, as a declared enemy of Christ, publicly denounced by the successor of S. Peter.

To keep the Pope well occupied whilst he was in the East, Frederick succeeded in raising, by means of the turbulent Frangipani, a dangerous sedition at the foot of the Pontifical throne; and, furious at his bad reception in the East, which he attributed to the Pope, he ordered the Duke of

Spoleto to ravage the Papal States. In vain Gregory excommunicated him; in vain the Lombard Guelfs tried to make a stand against him. Gregory, with a courage which he inherited from Innocent, raised an army, and sent it by the Ciprano road into the Terra di Lavoro. They went by the name of the "Clavissignati," and the Army of Christ, on account of the banner which they carried into battle, blazoned with the great keys of S. Peter. They were commanded by two rebel Counts, Fondi, and Celano, while the general supervision was entrusted to Pandulf D'Alagna, Legate of the Holy See. These men soon set to work. Filled with religious enthusiasm, they forced themselves into the stronghold of Pontescelerato; and, having terrified its defenders, captured without resistance the castles of San Giovanni in Carico, and Pastena.

The Imperialists were stirred up like a nest of ants when they heard of these successes. Morra, the Grand Justiciary, raised a band of soldiers; and the Baron of Balzano, Landulf, and Ardenolf of Aquino, and many others, assembled in haste at San Germano, burning to rid the country of the invaders.

The Abbot was puzzled which side to take. As a churchman, he was with the Pope. But, on the other hand, his family were with the Emperor; and, he himself, possibly, was not without some secret sympathy with the great Ghibeline party, which ever supported the nobles against the plebs.

Besides, he did not forget the fury of the Imperial troops, nor the violence which the old Abbey had suffered at their hands. However that may be, he filled the Abbey with provisions, summoned his vassals to arms, and prepared the House of God to withstand an attack from the army of the Vicar of Christ. There was no less excitement down in San Germano. Morra forced the citizens to work at the fortifications, and build up the crumbling walls of Rocca Janula. The city was in arms, and sounds of war resounded throughout the property belonging to the Abbey. The Imperialists, too weak to act on the offensive, awaited the attack. the Clavissignati made a raid on Rocca d'Arce, but being ingloriously repulsed retired to Ceprano, from whence they sallied forth to devastate the surrounding neighbourhood, and plunder the wealthy church of S. Peter and S. Paul Della Foresta.

On the third of March the Legate marched straight into the patrimony of S. Benedict. He took Piedimonte, belonging to the Abbey, by assault; and, drawing up in order of battle before San Germano, hoped to draw the enemy into an engagement. Finding his bravado ineffectual, he marched away, and ravaged Pignaturo, and coming upon S. Angelo, a strongly fortified place, received so ugly a reception from its defenders that he gladly passed it by, and marched into Termini, which was particularly loyal to the Emperor. Here, at first, he was very roughly handled by the

valour and desperation of the inhabitants. But numbers finally prevailing, the Papal force obtained the mastery, and having plundered and sacked whatever they could lay their hands upon, set the whole country side on fire, and ravaged their way back into the Campagna Romana.

On the seventeenth they appeared once more in the patrimony of S. Benedict. They determined now to strike a decisive blow. At Piedimonte, they divided their force; one detachment had orders to keep the plain, and attack Morra in front; the other was to creep up round the mountain, by circuitous and solitary paths towards Monte Cassino; and, whilst their comrades were sharply attacking the Justiciary in the city, to threaten the Abbey, and from the eminence that commands the town to bring panic and confusion on the enemy. When Morra got to hear of this, he sent a handful of men to watch their movements; and, having strengthened his forces, held himself in readiness to render assistance as it might be required.

To the west of the mighty Abbey runs a chain of mountains, increasing in elevation up to Monte Cairo, which dominates the rest, and then branches out on one side towards Campagna Romana, on the other in a more westerly direction, till it joins the Aprutini. Now, two miles from the Abbey stands the Monastery of Albaneta, and farther on, a little to the west, close at hand, on a mountain crest, stood the Monastery of S. Matthew Servorum

Dei. It was at this place that the soldiers of the Empire came upon the soldiers of the Church. Instantly they closed, and, on a sudden those quiet rocks resounded with shouts of onset, and clang of arms. The Justiciary with young Ardenolf of Aquino led a reinforcement up the mountain side to the scene of action. Morra behaved like a lion. But the Papal troops had the advantage of the ground, and making a diversion through the gorges of the mountain, a party of them came out near the Albaneta, and cut off the Imperialists' retreat. Thus surrounded, Morra and his men thought to cut their way through the enemy with the sword. But they met with a terrible discomfiture. Of the few who survived, some, like Ardenolf and Morra took refuge in the Abbey, whilst the rest rushed away down the mountain side towards San Germano, followed in hot pursuit by their opponents.

In the meantime Pandulf attacked the town. The citizens defended themselves stoutly, relying on the Abbey. The Legate, on perceiving this, went up the mountain, and under threat of deposition and extermination, commanded the Abbot to open the gates and deliver up the Justiciary. After considerable delay the Justiciary and the troops were set at liberty, and the Abbey was delivered to the Legate, who, in the morning, took triumphant possession of San Germano; and, having fortified and garrisoned the Abbey, hurried off to other conquests.

At this period the Franciscan Friars had circulated a report that the Emperor had been carried off by plague in the Holy Land. When Sinnebald had heard of this, he at once declared himself in favour of the Pope. But Frederick had not died, for he suddenly appeared in full vigour of life at Brindisi, and being joined by Rainald, pushed on into the Terra di Lavoro. The miserable people of that devastated country were panic-stricken at his approach, and fled to the mountains to escape the Saracens and Turks, and the brutality of soldiers who had but just left the hallowed precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. Desolate indeed was the land of Villa S. Lucia, consumed by fire and sword, whilst the Monastery of S. Matthew Servorum Dei became a spectacle of rapine, and pollution of everything human and divine. Next, the mighty Abbey was attacked, but the Legate defended himself with such valour that the Emperor was compelled to retire to San Germano. Frederick then tried another plan. He threatened to confiscate all the property of the Cassinese. This produced the desired effect. The Abbot suddenly appeared humbly before him, and with many supplications besought him to recall his threat. The Emperor consented on one condition, that the Legate should leave the Abbey under a safe escort to be provided by himself, as far as the borders of the Papal States.

This is a specimen of the state of things in the neighbourhood of Rocca Sicca during the childhood

of S. Thomas. Thus was the mighty Abbey on the mountain mixed up with the turmoils and struggles of the outer world, penetrating into silent cells and holy shrines. Thus did the Empire and the Church struggle for the mastery.

And in the midst of all these scenes, the self-possession of the monks, who were men, as well as solitaries of the mountain, did not forsake them. They still watched and prayed : still, in the silent night, their voices rose up, singing the "*Deus in adjutorium meum intende.*" Still did they with courage cry "*Ad te Levavi oculos meos qui habitas in Cœlis,*" as they lifted their hearts and eyes to Him whose love is perfect peace. It is to be expected that men who could abandon a bright future to live in penance on the mountain, who could give up the society of tender friends out of affection for the Crucified, should be men of deep, large heart; of free, strong spirit; of lovely, pure lives—fit to regenerate a world.

Nor did the ascetic life interfere with the due cultivation of the mind. The first disciples of S. Benedict himself were poets, and literary men. Faustus and Sebastian are names which are still familiar. Marcus, their companion, is praised by Paul the Deacon as an accomplished scholar, and an elegant poet. In the palmy days of the Roman Empire, tradition says that Terence established a seat of learning on the mountain : anyhow, from the sixth to the thirteenth century, the education of Europe was Benedictine. During the period following the

ravages of the north, monks, in their cells upon mountain sides, were composing homilies, writing lives of saints, penning chronicles and legends, framing treatises on grammar and theology, making miniatures and mosaics, and planting the mustard-seed of future European intellectual growth. Autpert and Theophanus, Hilderic and the heroic S. Bertarius, were men of letters. Whilst Paul the Deacon, having abandoned the highest post a king could bestow upon a subject, retired into solitude to pray and study ;—a monk, a poet, an historian, a linguist, and a familiar friend of Charlemagne. He not only established a tradition of intellectual activity at Monte Cassino, but did much towards forming a purer and more cultivated taste ; and gave a new impetus to letters in France.

In the ninth century the histories of Sozomen and Theodoret, and fine copies of S. Augustine, and of several other Fathers, were transcribed. Abbot Theobald, a great patron of poetry and painting, gave a fresh impulse to the work. But Desiderius did the most for learning.* At the age of forty, he set to work to study letters and music ; and then, to write books and compose chants. He erected a new library, in which could be found, besides other works, Virgil, Horace, Terence,

* During the short rule of Desiderius at Monte Cassino his monks wrote out S. Austin's fifty homilies, his letters, his comments upon the Sermon on the Mount, upon S. Paul, and upon Genesis : parts of S. Jerome, and S. Ambrose, part of S. Bede, S. Leo's sermons, the orations of S. Gregory Nazianzen; the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, various histories, including that of S. Gregory of Tours, Josephus on the Jewish War, Justinian's Institutes, and many other ascetic and other works. (*Atlantis, I., p.* 36.)

Cicero, and the voluminous writings of Justinian. Then the poets, the chroniclers of history, and physical and medical science, were represented by famous men. It will suffice to mention such names as Constantine Africanus, Leo of Ostia, Amatus of Salerno, Guaiferio and Alfano, to recall many of equal celebrity to the mind.

It is only natural, when the moral scope of the Benedictine rule is considered, and the nobility of monastic life, and the tradition of letters which clung to the mighty Abbey, that Landulf and Theodora—having seen enough of strife and ignorance at Rocca Sicca—should give up their gentle boy to the care of his uncle Sinnebald.

To educate youth was one of the objects which S. Benedict had in view, when he founded his order. He makes provision for this in the Holy Rule. For example, the twenty-third chapter, on correction, manifests his firmness and his prudence. The thirty-seventh speaks of the "*pia consideratio*" with which children should be treated, and the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth lay down rules for their reception at the Abbey. These instructions are full of that wisdom which, without meddling with detail, sketches, with remarkable clearness and precision, the outline of that system of firmness and freedom, which is characteristically Benedictine.

The reception of a child in those days was

almost as solemn as a profession in our own.* His parents carried him to the church; and whilst they wrapped his hand, which held the petition, in the sacred linen of the altar, they promised, in the presence of God and of His saints, stability in his name.† There is no hint that the sacrifice was not considered to have been irrevocably offered, after this oblation had been made to God.

The children's training was in keeping with the holiness of their consecration. They were confided to the care of a large-hearted, and God-fearing man. The one object was, to fill their souls with God, to teach them the power of knowledge, and the force of love,—to educate the intellect, and to purify the heart.

Nor are there any adequate grounds for thinking that the case of S. Thomas was an exception to the general rule. He, naturally, would join the other little Benedictines, who were being trained for the monastic state. So he wore the holy habit, observed the Holy Rule, and attended

* Little beings, of three or four or five years old, were brought in the arms of those who gave them life, to accept at their bidding the course in which that life was to run. They were brought into the sanctuary, spoke by the mouth of their parents, as at the font, put out their tiny hand for the sacred corporal to be wrapped round it, received the cowl, and took their place as monks in the monastic community. "Benedictine Centuries." (*Atlantis, N. III., Jan.* 1859, *p.* 19.)

† Si quis forte de nobilibus offert filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minori ætate est, parentes ejus faciant petitionem quam supra diximus. Et cum oblatione ipsam petitionem in manu pueri involvant in palla altaris, et sic eum offerant. De rebus autem suis aut in præsenti petitione promittent sub jurejurando, quia num quam per se numquam per suspectam personam, nec quolibet modo ei aliquando aliquid dent, aut tribuant occasionem habendi. [*Cap.* 59.] (*Vid. Mabillon. Tom. III. Vet. Analect. p.* 470—5.)

the offices of the Church, according as the "*pia consideratio*" was interpreted by his superiors.* His references to S. Benedict, whom he is never tired of citing as an example, and many of his references also to the Rule, show a deep and minute acquaintance with the Benedictine spirit, and testify to vivid images impressed in early youth.† To all intents and purposes S. Thomas of Aquin was a Benedictine monk. Had he continued in the habit till his death—without any further solemnity beyond the offering of his parents—he would have been reckoned as much a Benedictine as S. Gregory, S. Augustine, S. Anselm, or S. Bede.‡

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* No doubt the institution of knighthood is copied from the Rule. "Le jour oú un chevalier est décoré de la ceinture, il se rend en cérémonie à l'Eglise, il entend la messe, puis, étendant la main sur l'autel et sur le glaive posé dessus, il se consacre publiquement à l'un comme à l'autre, et jure à Dieu un servage perpétuel. Il contracte une obligation tout aussi sacrée que celle du moine, de l'abbé, de l'évêque, quand ils offrent leur cédule votive. Dans certains pays même, il passe la nuit précédente á veiller et à prier debout, sans avoir le droit de s'asseoir un instant, si ce n'est en cas de malaise subit. (*Tissier, VII.*, 292.)

† By way of example, see how he speaks of the Rule, *Quæst: Quodlibet: q*, 1, *a*; *p*. 459, *Vol. IX. Ed. Parmæ*, 1, *a*, *XX.*, *p*. 470, *Ibid. Quæst:. Disput: VI., a. IV., p.* 132. *Quodlib: IV., Art XXIII., Vol. IX., p*, 521.

‡ See De Monachatu Benedictino D. Thomæ Aquinatis apud Casinenses. (*Lugduni*, 1724.) Also, the answer to it, "De Fabula monachatus Benedictini D. Thomæ Aquinatis. (*Venetiis*, 1724.)

Tenebras depellet omnes Bartholomæus de Capua, Logotheta, Protonotarius Regni Siciliæ, testis acceptus omne exceptione major, in processu canonizationis S. Thomæ: quem apud Bollandum in actis Sanctorum legere est, ad diem septimam martii, *cap.* 9, *num.* 76. Ubi hoc ipsum inter cætera D. Thomæ gesta, interposito etiam Sacramento contestatur: *Pater origine nobilis atque potens monachavit dictum Fratrem Thomam, disponens cum Abbatiæ præficere Casinensi.* Quid hoc autem est *monachavit*, nisi monachum fecit? Eo plane ritu dedicatione, et oblatione, qua et Maurus, et Placidus, et cæteri de quibus dixi hactenus, sacrati Deo pueri, *facti monachi, et monachati* leguntur, in priscis illius ævi monumentis: ut in Lib. Dialogorum D. Gregorio Magno adscriptorum cap 7. (*De Monach. Bened. D. Thomæ, p.* 20.)

CHAPTER II.

S. THOMAS AT MONTE CASSINO.

It would be difficult to imagine a child with the temperament of young Aquino, living five or six years under monastic influence, without receiving an indelible mark.* There are many subtle influences which thrill to the inmost sanctuary of a sensitive spirit, which the less delicately strung have not the capacity to feel. The Saint's brothers, for instance, might, no doubt, have spent a great portion of their lives amidst the most impressive religious scenes, without being very much influenced. But Thomas was formed of quite another clay. The picture which his biographers draw of his early youth is singularly Benedictine. Those qualities, which most persons acquire as the fruit of a long and painful course of self-control, sat upon him gracefully from the first. For example, the rule enjoins silence;—Thomas was a singularly

* That at Monte Cassino there was good discipline at this period is evident from a Bull of Gregory IX., confirming the privileges of the monks.

silent, meditative boy. It condemns levity with great severity of language ;—Thomas never joined in the thoughtless merriment and childish amusements of his companions. It treats of fraternal charity and correction ;—Thomas observed this perfect theory by perfect practice, and was known to use his influence to draw to their duty some of his companions who had gone astray. The rule lays great stress on prayer ;—Thomas spent hours together, as a child, in meditation, so that all "wondered at his power and his holiness." It advocates devotion ;—Thomas was "*oratione devotus.*" It prescribes solitude ;—Thomas loved nothing better than to be alone. S. Benedict lays special stress on observance of rule ;—Thomas had an instinctive dread of breaking rule.

This suffices to show how the character of young Aquino was in harmony with the highest theory of monastic life, and to what an unusual degree, in his earliest years, he possessed those habits of perfection, which the whole mechanism of the rule is constructed to foster in less gifted souls.*

His companions tacitly acknowledge his superiority ; and his force of character appears to have made itself felt from the very first. The combination of character and genius, in large

* Parlava molto poco ; il che fù suo costume in tutta la sua vita ; ne mai furono in esso vedute leggierezze da giovane. Hebbe per costume sin dalla sua fanciullezza di ritirarsi ogni giorno à fare orazione, e vi stava due hore continue, e ciascuno si stupiva dell' ingegno e della santità sua. (*Vita, p.* 9.)

proportions, tends to render a man supreme. But character is more powerful than ability. Many a man who had been dull at books as a boy, has shot out a later growth of talent. But is there a single instance of a man, who as a boy had not sufficient character to control his companions at school, acquiring such a power after he had become a man?

The personal appearance of young Aquino indicated the presence of a governing spirit; not the command of brute force, but the command of intellect. He possessed that rare class of spiritual beauty which tells of gentleness, purity, and power. His massive head betokened strength. His broad tranquil brow, his placid meditative eyes, produced the impression, not so much of quickness and vivacity, as of breadth and of command. He seemed to live in a sort of spiritual light,—as the sunbeam striking upon a landscape naturally beautiful invests it with a kind of transfiguration. Though he seldom spoke,—when he did speak, he set hearts beating faster; and often, whilst thus conversing with his companions, the monks would approach the little gathering by stealth, to listen to the precocious wisdom of this extraordinary child.

Contrasts often suggest themselves, especially when associated with a likeness. No two men ever had more intellectual traits in common than S. Thomas and the Stagyrite; and yet no two men were ever more unlike each other in

appearance.* Aristotle had slender legs, and little eyes; a feeble voice, and a hesitating utterance. He was a dandy, wore smart clothes, and several rings; while in morals, some say, he combined ingratitude and impiety, with the vices of the parasite and the glutton.

But, though S. Thomas had great influence over his companions at the Abbey, there was one thought that seemed to oppress his mind by reason of its mysterious greatness. He seems to have felt the thrilling touch of the finger of another world, which acts with galvanic power on the systems of the saints,—so highly wrought, so exquisitely strung. The boy was continually asking his masters, *quid esset Deus?*—what God was. This one question gives the key to his character, and to the whole history of his life. *Puer cœpit solicite quærere à Magistro quid esset Deus?* But this will appear later in the volume.

Nor was mental culture neglected in the midst of these spiritual influences. Thomas was taught the first elements of knowledge by the monks. The fragmentary Latin Grammar of the period, Donatus, Priscian, or Didymus would, by frequent repetitions, be fixed upon the memory. Then the Psalter, and passages from the poets, were learnt by heart. Æsop's Fables, Theodulus, and the Sentences of Cato, led into the gallery of the

* Saint Thomas rappelait Aristote par l'universalité de son savoir, par la gravité pesante mais solide de son caractère, par son talent d'analyse et de classification, par l'extrême sobriété de son langage. (*Ozanam: Dante, p. III., c. III., p.* 297.)

ancient Classics. Ovid, Horace, and Persius were favourite authors; while Seneca was treated with special reverence, as one of the most enlightened moralists of ancient times. Then Lucan, Statius, and Virgil, who were looked upon as seers in the midst of heathendom, on account of certain curiously prophetic passages in their writings, prepared the student for his course of rhetoric. Cicero, Quintilian, and the Stagyrite opened the door to the science of God, and of the saints. That S. Thomas passed through a course resembling this, to say the least, is eminently probable. The Dominican, Fra Tolomeo da Lucca, who was his confessor, declares that, besides grammar—which in those days included poetry—he studied his logic and his philosophy at the mighty Abbey.

These were tranquil days for the young Aquino, days of growth—just as nature rests in the first warm days of early spring, before it bursts into leaf and flower. To breathe at peace under the light of truth, far from the contention of tongues, and then to meditate and resolve in the presence of one Eternal Witness,—this has been the education of many a man of iron will, of soaring spirit, and of blameless life. It was thus that S. Gregory learnt how to rule the destinies of the Universal Church. It was in a little cell that S. Augustine was taught how to subjugate a pagan island to the Cross. S. Boniface, whilst he appeared to waste away his life in solitude, was converting the

German race. Lindisfarne, Ripon, Canterbury, Wearmouth, Jarrow, Fulda, Ferrières, Corby, Richenau, S. Gall, Croyland, Bec, and hundreds more, were springs of peace, where, instead of the imagination being disturbed by the sophisms of intellectual charlatans, the spirit could drink silently of the deep fountains of its Saviour. From the centre of stability, where rest alone is found, springs the activity of the thoughtful mind. The mind that was taught to have no stay but God, partook of God's repose; and exulted in that freedom which expands above the senses. Thus the monks thought much, but talked little; thus the monastic system encouraged meditation, rather than intellectual tournaments; reserve, rather than display; deep humility, rather than dialectical skill. The Benedictines did not aim so much at unrestrained companionship of free discussion, as at self-control; not so much at secular-minded fantasy, as at much prayer and sharp penance, till self was conquered, and the grace of God reigned, and giants walked the earth. Self-mastery, springing from the basis of a supernatural life, moulded the heart to sanctity, and imparted to the intellect an accuracy of vision, which is an act of nature directed and purified by grace. Theodore, Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, Alcuin, Dunstan, Wilfrid, Stephen, Bernard, Anselm, these names are suggestive of this influence of the monastic system.

The traditions of the Benedictine spirit, springing from the Abbey, permeated Europe, Christianized

society, and still maintained at Monte Cassino when S. Thomas was a boy. But, no doubt, there were watchmen on that mountain, whose keen eyes could perceive the signs of a coming change. The conflicts of the Empire and the Church, of the Guelfs with the Ghibelines, and between the various cities and families in Italy, the impetus given by Frederick to freedom of discussion, and the license introduced by the Crusades, were sufficient to make men forecast the future with anxiety.

Though the monks did not go down the mountain side, and mix in the world below, they watched its movements, as they ever do, with intelligent concern. Whilst those who take part in the pageant see nothing of its general effect, monks, being at a distance from it, can view it as a whole, perceive its scope, and prophesy pretty shrewdly its ultimate destination. Paris, Bologna, Naples, the university life, and the din of the city, were to replace the system of the school of quiet. When the change, with many shocks and throes, was working itself into the stability of a new order of things, the monks cried bitterly in their silent cells. But the world stops for neither priest nor layman. The energy of a new principle had entered into society; and, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, that energy would work itself fairly out. The *primum mobile* of the old system was rest; the *primum mobile* of the new system was everlasting motion.

But there were other movements which gave an unexpected turn to the career of young Aquino, and which must briefly be indicated here.

They begin with a gleam of sunshine. The Emperor and the Pope, after the peace of San Germano, met at Anagni, sat at the same board, and made many civil speeches to each other during the meal. The patrimony of S. Benedict was restored to the Benedictines; and the Emperor sent the Duke of Austria to Monte Cassino, to assure the Abbot of the Imperial favour. Gregory, on the other hand, confirmed the Magna Charta of the monks by renewing the privileges and freedoms granted by Pope Zachary; and the Abbey, to all appearances, being established in the friendship of the Empire and the Church, seemed at length to have acquired a stability, which many a holy Abbot had aimed at acquiring by diplomacy, but which none had ever been able to attain.

But this gleam of light was speedily quenched. Frederick and Gregory were not merely energetic individuals, for they represented two master principles, which, during a long term of years, were struggling for the mastery. The principle of matter and of mind, of reason and faith, had not yet, under the changing conditions of society, wrought out a solution of the question—Who is to rule the world? The arrival of Imperial ministers at San Germano, the energy with which the troops were fortifying Rocca Janula, were harbingers of anything but security. Abbot Landulf's mind was

ill at ease. He felt that the keenness of Gregory, and the duplicity of Frederick, were qualities little likely to cement a lasting peace. The political atmosphere looked dark and threatening. Rainald, who had repeatedly been excommunicated, on his submission to the Pope, created for himself an enemy in Frederick. Messina was in rebellion. The Lombard league was growing more formidable every day. And Errico, the Emperor's son, encouraged, it was imagined, by the Pope, had taken up arms against his father. These events filled the soul of Landulf Sinnebald with deep distress. And death (1236) saved him the bitterness of witnessing a catastrophe which would most probably have brought him to the grave.

Five months elapsed before the Emperor consented to the election of another Abbot. The community, impatient of delay, assembled of their own accord, declared Pandulf da Stephano (1237) their Abbot; and then solicited the confirmation of the Emperor and the Pope. After considerable intrigue, the monks obtained Frederick's confirmation. But Gregory would come to no decision, till further instructions had been issued by the Holy See. The monks then determined on a new election (1238). As they were unable to agree among themselves upon a candidate, they intrusted the case to the Archbishop of Messina, and declared that they would consider the Archbishop's nominee as canonically elected: so Stephen di Cervario was nominated, accepted by

the monks, approved by the Emperor, ordained priest, blessed Abbot, and with splendid pomp installed in the Abbatial chair.

And now came the storm which had been threatening so long. Frederick was highly pleased by his successes against the Lombards and the Milanese. Gregory, on the contrary, was in deep distress at the rebellion of the Romans, and the ruin which was threatening the Guelfs. The Emperor was well aware of this. In vain did Gregory attempt to bring him to a reasonable accommodation with the Lombards; and the cup of his displeasure was filled to overflowing, when Frederick nominated one of his many bastards, Enzio, to be King of the Island of Sardinia, which was in reality a portion of the patrimony of the Holy See.

On Palm Sunday, the Holy Father, in full consistory, excommunicated Frederick, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and branded with interdict every place on which he put his foot.

True to the policy of his predecessors, Stephen was shrewd enough to know, says Tosti, that excommunication would act upon the Emperor as medicine does upon a dying man—simply assisting corruption to do its work more speedily. And as it seemed to him that Gregory was on the losing side, he at once set about conciliating the good wishes of the Emperor. He took the trouble to travel from Monte Cassino into Lombardy, to take an oath of fealty. Frederick received him very

graciously. But at the very time that the Emperor was conferring privileges on the Abbot, a band of soldiers, by that same Emperor's command, forced their way into Monte Cassino, laid violent hands upon the monks, drove some of them into the mountains ; and murdering the rest, in the name of their master, took possession of the Abbey. They began at once to fill it with provisions, and having laid heavy contributions on the inhabitants of the plains below, forced them to drag wood and stone up the mountain side, and to help in fortifying the Abbey against attack.

Eight of the monks, not without some trembling, and amidst the desecration of all they held most sacred, clung to the monastery. Historians relate how that mighty Abbey, to which pilgrims resorted from all quarters of the world, and which had been the shrine of piety and letters, was turned into a nest of thieves. Its vast treasures, the accumulation of many years, princely gifts of massy gold and silver, gems, and splendid cups, the legacies of Emperors, Kings, and Knights, became the booty of the soldiery. The sanctuary was darkened on the mountain. Of the eight monks, some betook themselves to other Abbeys, some went to Naples, whilst others, like S. Thomas, took refuge with their families.

Such was the stormy termination of S. Thomas's career under the influence of Monte Cassino. Seven years of such an influence could not have been without effect. S. Thomas seems, indeed,

to have combined, in a remarkable degree, the perfection of the old system of repose with the new system of activity. Whilst S. Thomas of Aquino was a perfect Dominican, he never, for one moment, ceased to be a thorough Benedictine.

CHAPTER III.

S. THOMAS AT NAPLES.

Loreto, a castle belonging to the Aquinos, was situated in the Abruzzi, not far from Aquino, and between Cività di Chieti and Cività Della Penna. Here his parents were residing when S. Thomas left the Abbey. Some say that he was removed, and sent by his parents to the University of Naples, at the advice of his uncle, Abbot Sinnebald. But this can hardly be the case, first, because superiors always prefer to retain their choicest subject, and, then, because Abbot Sinnebald had been some time dead and buried when the Imperial soldiers took possession of the Monastery. Nor is it likely that his parents, who sent him to the Abbey with the settled purpose of his becoming some day Abbot, would willingly remove him from it, and cast him, at twelve years of age, into one of the most dissolute towns in Italy. The real cause of his departure has already been described; and, naturally enough, the boy resided with his parents till they could place him at another school.

The change must have been a violent one for the young Aquino. The noise and excitement of a great feudal castle must have offered a great contrast to the uneventful monotony of the cloister. Horses, and falcons, and the tramp of armed men, the free carousing, the singing of troubadours and minstrels,* the shouts of mirth which accompanied the amusements of knights and esquires, must have been the occasion of many temptations to a boy of twelve.† But Thomas, though but a boy, had a mind which was occupied with higher things than the mere transitory pastimes of his father's castle. It must be remembered that he had often poured out his heart by the tomb of blessed Benedict, and had joined the solemn throng of godly men in holy prayer. Under such influences, a new standard had been set up, and life had been tuned to another harmony.

An anecdote is related of him at this period, which shows how full his young heart was of

* See, for a full and interesting account of the Troubadours, "Les Troubadours et leur influence sur La Littérature du Midi de L'Europe." Par Eugène Baret. *Didier: Paris.*

† The Church has always expressed herself against tournaments. See the second Œcumenical Council of Lateran, 1139. They were prohibited by St. Louis; and Pope Nicholas III. reproaches Philip the Bold, 1279, for authorizing them. So S. Thomas, most probably, was saved those dangerous exciting scenes; though this is not certain, because neither the civil nor religious power was able altogether to restrain the thirst amongst the people for such displays. Nor, indeed, does the Church seem to have condemned them absolutely. Humbert de Romanis, after showing in a sermon the evil side of such amusements, turns to the good side, and says: "Les chevaliers doivent seulement prendre part aux luttes modérées, dans l'intention unique de s'exercer à la guerre. Mais, ce qui est plus meritoire encore, c'est de s'encourager mutuellement, *comme ils en ont l'habitude*, à faire pour Dieu ce qu'ils ont fait longtemps pour les vanités du monde, en utilisant leur valeur contre les infidèles ou dans d'autres exploits plus dignes d'eux." *(Max. Bib. Patr., XXV.,* 559.*)*

charity. During his sojourn at Loreto a terrible famine decimated the inhabitants of the plains of Southern Italy. The people, at length, could only look for succour from the bounty of the rich. Crowds of starving peasants besieged the gate of the castle of Loreto. The hardest heart would move, to witness the strong man perishing for want of bread, and mother and child sinking gradually into a common grave. The Aquinos were charitable to the poor; and Thomas acted as his father's almoner. But not satisfied with this, sometimes he stole secretly into the kitchen, filled his cloak with whatever came to hand, and hurried triumphantly to the castle gate, to divide his spoils amongst the famishing people, who looked upon the boy as an angel sent to them from heaven. On one of these occasions, as he was carrying his cloak full of provisions, he suddenly perceived his father standing opposite him. With a voice full of displeasure Landulf asked the child what he was carrying. Disconcerted by the severity of his father's manner, he let fall his burden; but, in the place of bread and kitchen-stuff, a shower of roses covered the ground beneath his feet. Quite overcome by this sudden manifestation of the Divine will, the old man burst into tears, and embracing the child with transport, declared that, as long as he had an obolus in his pocket, or a piece of bread in his kitchen, his boy should not be prevented following the dictates of that charity which had guided him throughout.

To those who might be inclined to smile incredulously at this legend, it may be remarked, that it is the tendency of the Catholic mind to believe that great holiness will be accompanied by great favours. Yet, it is not the Catholic tendency to believe without reasonable grounds. In the case of S. Thomas—knowing that he led a life of singular purity and love, we feel no temptation to smile with incredulity at the miracle of the roses ;—our tendency is in the opposite direction.* It is a very beautiful legend, and there is no reason to believe it is not founded on fact ; anyhow, it leaves upon the mind a pleasing and edifying impression. Scoffing and contempt, and even highly educated and courteous incredulity, is less reasonable than the Catholic tendency, and certainly has a lowering moral effect, and a vulgarizing influence upon the mind.

It may possibly be objected that there could be no virtue in taking food, even for the poor, without permission. But the answer to this is simple. What is a sin in one man is not necessarily a sin in another man. S. Thomas was, I take for

* This recalls Wadding's beautiful account of S. Francis kissing and blessing the thorn bushes at Subiaco, and turning them into rose trees—the thorn bushes into which S. Benedict had thrown himself in his great temptation. *See Annal. Ord. S. Francisci ad ann.* 1215. Thus the poet sings :—

Virgineum sepit florem Benedictus acutis
Vepribus et proprii rore cruoris alit.
Hinc dumeta novas tanto fœcundo liquore,
Franciscique manu culta tulere rosas.
Falsa quidem roseo cecinere e germine vates.
Sed latuit falso carmine vera fides.
Scire cupis rosei flos exeat unde pudoris?
Sola rosas potuit gignere puncta Venus.

Vide Hœften—*Commentarius in cap.: Secund: Vitæ, S. Benedicti, p.* 79. *Antverp.* 1644.

granted, divinely guided to carry out the action of a higher law. Did God command, it would have been a sin in Thomas to have neglected carrying the food from the kitchen to the poor. Both father and son are subject to the higher law : for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, though He may, for a time, appoint Count Landulf of Aquino as His steward.

The story of the roses is the only event recorded of S. Thomas during his sojourn at Loreto. He did not remain there long. Theodora still clung with ardour to her first idea of seeing the boy one day Lord Abbot of Monte Cassino. His brothers, fierce young Ghibelines, were winning their spurs amidst the bloodshed that tracked the path of Frederick II. His father, and the Count D'Acerra, his uncle, were both men of strong Ghibeline tendencies. If Thomas could only be enthroned Abbot of the vast possessions of the Abbey, if Rocca Sicca were strongly fortified,—with Aquino in possession of the family, and Belcastro held by Count D'Acerra,—the Aquinos would be formidable even to the Emperor himself.

But how could this idea be realised now ? For the boy to return to the Abbey was impossible. To secularize him would not do. There was only one combination which could meet the case,—to send him to study at Naples, under the shadow of S. Benedict ; for, to send him to live amongst young men, notorious for their lascivious lives, at the University, would have been equivalent, not

simply to destroying his vocation, but to throwing away his soul.

For the dangers at the University of Naples at that period were greater, most probably, than those at Oxford and Cambridge are at present. The ferment in the mind of society, the immorality of the place, the undisciplined condition of the schools, where each student shifted for himself as best he could, rendered such a position, for any young man, perilous in the extreme. The city itself, edging the double crescent of blue water, with perfect sky, sea, and air; then the luxuriant Campagna to the east, with its villas buried amongst branching pines and groves of orange blossom; then the stretch of the azure Mediterranean, dotted with gay barges of pleasance and dark galleys of war, tended to relax the virility of a religion which teaches that the road to heaven is the road of prayer, mortification, and self-restraint. All writers of this period unite in describing Naples, with its houses running up seven stories high, with its tortuous narrow streets and teeming population, as the most beautiful and the most wicked city in the world.

Then there was the dangerous influence of Frederick the Second, which is too important to be passed over altogether.

Naples fell into the possession of the house of Suabia, after it had been conquered by the Normans. Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, married Constance, daughter of King William

the Second. Frederick II. was the issue of this marriage. Innocent, Honorius, and Gregory, in turns, were his instructors. Had it not been for the genius of Innocent, to whom the young man behaved with marked ingratitude, instead of becoming the greatest Emperor of the middle ages, he would probably have died in exile, or have fallen a speedy victim to the treachery of his enemies. But his genius and address, his subtlety and learning, encouraged at the Court of Innocent III., together with the protection of so powerful a Pontiff, gave him an opening for the display of his unusual ability. Frederick was emphatically a representative man. He represented the brute force, intellectual license, and moral depravity of the thirteenth century. His versatility, learning, and political finesse; his love of pleasure, of novelty, of free speculation; his courage, his perfidy, his chivalry, his cruelty, his arrogance, his superstition—all combined in one man—were specimens of the various vices and excellencies of the subjects over whom he ruled. He was a thorough Italian. He appears to stand superior to the movements of his day, and while a typical representative of them, he bends them to his pleasure. His ambition, not content with four crowns, carried him through forty years of continual and aggressive war. His influence was greatly strengthened by the extinction of many great feudal houses in Italy, Tuscany, and Romagna; but at last he fell—as Henry did

opposing Gregory, as Barbarossa did opposing Alexander—when proudly endeavouring to break the power of the Holy See.

His enthusiasm for poetry and letters, for music and art, was quite as remarkable as his ambition, and his taste for war. He spoke Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, and Arabic, when, in all probability, not one in four hundred of his knights knew how to sign his name. He occupied many of his leisure hours in his choice library, pouring over rolls of Greek and Arabic manuscripts, which he had carefully collected in the East. Through his brilliant Chancellor Delle Vigne, he announced that translations were to be made of many scarce and important works. He gave a code of enlightened laws to Sicily, and published for the first time, the code for Germany, in the national tongue. He opened the University of Naples, as will appear later on ;—and shrewdly perceiving how the study of jurisprudence was damaging his influence at Bologna, he took the direction of political education into his own hands ; and, closing the University, constrained its ten thousand students to leave the town. So great a sympathy did he entertain for struggling genius, that he supported two hundred students at the University out of his own private purse, that they might thus acquire a tincture of philosophy.

But Frederick was a thoroughly worldly man. Learning did not lead him to the practices of Christianity. If he ever did seriously hold its

teaching, his life amongst the infidels of the East, appears to have upset his faith, and to have delivered him over to the influences of political materialism. He publicly declared that he possessed the right to determine definitively every question, human and divine. Some say that, no longer believing in the reality of a future life, he abandoned himself to all the licenses of sensuality. A legislator, a tyrant; generous, dissolute, courteous; a barbarian king under his tents in Lombardy in the North;—when in the South he slept away his time, with all the voluptuous softness of a Sultan, in his harems of Puglia and Sicily. He founded colonies of Saracens at Nocera. His castle, Foggia, was built in the Moorish style, was furnished according to Moorish taste, and was surrounded by Mahommedan mosques, schools, and bazaars. At his splendid court were collected together from Germany, Italy, and the East, the highest that could be found at that day, of courage, eloquence, and learning, the flower of chivalry, the depth of science, kings and warriors, troubadours and minstrels, wits and beauties — all that was gayest and brightest, all that was gorgeous and magnificent. Here were nurtured the grandchildren of Averroës, the most celebrated of Arabian philosophers. Here were to be seen swarthy Saracens, with their strange costume, standing guard; graceful Mamelukes, attentive in their silent service to every want; astrologers from

Bagdad, with their loose garments and flowing beards; and Jews, learned and sedate, the interpreters of the wisdom that lay concealed in precious manuscripts brought over from Arabia. Here, shocking indeed in a Christian country, but manifesting all the more the morality of those days, was Frederick's harem filled with prostitutes, living in the courtly magnificence of Eastern luxurious repose, waited upon by meek and gentle eunuchs, and ministering to the sensuality of a man who once longed for the hand of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, and offered his heart to Saint Agnes of Bohemia.

Frederick was never more at ease, than when in the company of the subtle, polished natives of the East. When in Palestine, he lived among the Mussulmans, and sent as a present to the Sultan a learned solution of difficult problems in mathematics and philosophy. The Sultan sent him, in return, an artful and curious instrument for indicating the movement of the stars. Whatever seemed capable of offering enjoyment to his mind in science, or to his body in sensuality, that Frederick II. made no scruple of acquiring, and of using with all the elegance, and prodigality of a sinful man of genius. *

* He was buried at Monte Reale, near Palermo, and his natural son, Manfred, thus writes upon his tomb :—

"Si probitas, sensus, virtutis gratia, intellectus,
Nobilitas oris possent resistere morti
Non foret extinctus Fredericus qui manet intus?"

He naturally surrounded himself with minds in harmony with his own. Michael Scott,* and Pietro Delle Vigne, who is fitly placed in hell by Dante to exclaim :

> " I' son colui che tenni ambo le chiavi
> Del cor di Federigo,"

were noted for the brilliancy of their talents, and the pagan tendencies of their minds. Cardinal Ubaldini, the Emperor's familiar friend, professed open materialism, and was accustomed to declare that, if he did happen to possess a soul, he would willingly lose it for the Ghibelines. His words carry all the more weight, inasmuch as he was the mouthpiece of a large section of *literati*, who preferred the teachings of Epicurus or Pythagoras to the religion of Jesus Christ. Dante points to two Florentines, Farina and Cavalcanti, as types of thousands. The Ghibelines were noted materialists, and scoffers at Christianity; and in Florence the infidels formed a wild unruly sect. A poem, called the Descent of Paul into Hell, alludes to a secret society, which was formed with the express purpose of expunging Christianity, and introducing the exploded obscenities of Paganism in its place. Then the overweening

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* " Quell altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Scotto fù: che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco."
(Infer. c. XX., v. 115.*)*

For full information on Frederick II., see Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre des Vignes :* Kington's *History of Frederick II., T. I., p.* 476. Raumer's *Gesch. der Hohenstaufen, T. III., p.* 431. Octave D'Assailly's *Albert Le Grand. Liv. III. L'Empire et la Papauté, p.* 338, *&c.*

admiration of classical antiquity, political schemes for reconstructing pagan Rome, the ferment produced by the newly-discovered philosophy of the Greeks, the slavish imitation of pagan poets, and the biting satires of buffoons and troubadours, such as Ruteboeuf, Jehan, and Renard, helped to spread amongst nobles, scholars, and general society an infidelity and licentiousness, which was a foretaste of the more elegant and polished wickedness of the renaissance.

Naples, being a Greek city, possessed from the first a school of liberal letters. The capacious mind of Frederick fixed upon a plan, for turning the obscure private schools of the beautiful city into one grand academy for the two kingdoms,—for establishing, in one word, an University. His reasons for so doing, drawn out by his brilliant and unhappy secretary Delle Vigne, are worthy of his reputation for shrewdness and enlightenment. He declared that, from the earliest period of its history, Naples had been the mother and home of letters; he alluded to the salubrity of the air; and said that the city, lying with the sea on one side, and a stretch of land teeming with the richest produce of nature on the other, would offer the student the riches of both earth and water for his support.

Then he did not shrink from making use of his despotic power for facilitating his designs. He compelled the students of Puglia and Sicily to come to Naples, whether they would or no. For,

no one was permitted to study medicine or surgery except at Naples, or Salerno. No degree could be conferred in any other seat of learning. No professor dared lecture in any other chair. The Moderators of the Provinces were under strict command to see that no student presumed to study anywhere in or out of the kingdom, except at the privileged University. The Captains of Sicily were strictly enjoined to send all young Sicilians to Naples. And, in 1226, the swarm of students, which filled the city of Bologna, had orders to make choice between Naples and Salerno.

On the other hand, the Emperor gave every encouragement to students to fall in with the Imperial commands. The Naples University was provided with first-class lawyers, doctors, and theologians. The Emperor remunerated with royal munificence the professors of every faculty; and, just as Ptolemy called to his aid Apion of Oasis, Aristarchus of Samothrace, and Dionysius of Thrace, so Frederick procured the services of celebrated foreign doctors, at enormous cost, to give as much *éclat* as possible to the lectures in the schools—such men, for instance, as Pietro d'Ibernia and Roberto di Varano, whom the Emperor calls "*civilis scientiæ Professores, magnæ scientiæ, notæ virtutis, et fidelis experientiæ.*" Pignatello, a name conveying little meaning to the general reader, the greatest canonist of that day, left Brindisi for Naples, and astonished matured and learned men by his masterly lectures on canon law.

Theology was represented by the Franciscans and Dominicans till the profound Erasmus was forced from the repose of Monte Cassino into the whirl of the gay city, to pour forth his accumulated learning in the University chair of Theology. Then the students had many personal privileges. They could select for themselves the best houses, and could borrow money. And they were provided, like the citizens themselves, with the necessaries, if not the luxuries of life. Then they were treated with exceptional respect, they were responsible only to the University, and were independent of all tribunals except their own.

The prosperity of the University had its effect upon the prosperity of the town. As the Emperor often resided here with his court, Naples became the fountain of fashion, as well as the seat of wisdom. The establishment here of the Gran Corte—the highest tribunal of judicature in the two kingdoms—added to the general *éclat*. Here it was that Pietro Delle Vigne, the brilliant orator, and Thaddeus of Sessa, who gained unenviable notoriety at the Council of Lyons, and Roffred Beneventum, celebrated for his Treatise on Legal Discipline, by their exceptional abilities, acquired a lasting fame.

By the time S. Thomas arrived at Naples, the University—which was hardly old enough to have a history—had undergone a revolution. This was brought about by the industry of the Franciscan friars. The Minorite professors—as has been said

before—when Frederick was absent in the Holy Land, industriously circulated a report that he had been carried off by plague. This report gave occasion to the rising of the enemies of the Emperor in different parts of the kingdom. On the return of Frederick these Franciscan professors, together with the Dominicans and Cassinese, were turned out of their chairs, and driven from the kingdom. Naturally, other professors had to be found to supply their place; and this new staff was in activity when S. Thomas first became connected with the University. Three of them are known to have had relations with the Saint. There was Pietro Martini, Professor of Humanities and Rhetoric; Pietro D'Ibernia, the Chancellor of the University, who lectured in Philosophy; and the profound Erasmus, the Benedictine, under whom, if we may follow Tosti, S. Thomas commenced the study of Theology.

It is more probable that S. Thomas lived with the Benedictine monks, than that he lived in lodgings, when he first went to Naples. It seems more probable that his parents should station him in a religious house, than that they should leave him, like another Daniel in Babylon, or another Tobias in Nineveh. It is a little curious that neither the ingenious Touron, nor the modern Bareille, throw out a hint at such a probability. Touron speaks strongly of the corruption of Naples, he touches beautifully on the piety of Theodora, and thinks well of Landulf, and of Abbot

Sinnebald. And he must have been aware that S. Thomas was bound up, not only by relationship, and old tradition, but by the ambition of his mother with the Cassinese. And, finally, he could not have been ignorant that there were two Benedictine Monasteries in connection with Monte Cassino at Naples, viz.: S. Severino and S. Demetrio, both of which would joyfully have welcomed the nephew of Abbot Sinnebald into their community. That Theodora would have thrown up the darling project of her heart, when she saw her way to realize it, by keeping her boy in connection with the Benedictines;—that his father would suffer him to be exposed to the contagion of vice in the city, when he could live in a religious house;—or that the Saint himself, with his quiet disposition and antecedents, would not have done his best to remain with the children of S. Benedict, to say the least of it, is scarcely probable. The supposition that he lived at S. Demetrio, or San Severino, tends to solve all difficulties; the supposition that he lived in lodgings tends to create objections which seem to offer no solution.

His biographers, unfortunately, give us hardly any information with regard to the Saint's life during this early and important portion of his career. But there are two statements of Malvenda that contain more information than many a long history. It was the custom for the students, after the professor had delivered his lecture, to present

themselves at a stated time, and deliver what they had heard before their companions in the schools. By this means they exercised their memory, and had an opportunity of manifesting their ability. It could not be expected that the young students, in these repetitions, would reproduce the lectures they had heard with the same ability with which they were delivered; especially when they had been composed by such professors as lectured in the University of Naples.

It was young Aquino's duty, when the time came round, to reproduce the lectures of his professor. He not only reproduced them with the same perfection with which they were delivered;—which would have been surprising enough;—but he surpassed the original compositions, and repeated them with greater depth of thought, and greater lucidity of method, than the learned professor himself was enabled to command.* The second statement follows as a necessary consequence from the first, viz., that the fame of this extraordinary boy spread amongst all the schools connected with the University, and throughout the city of Naples.†

* Lectiones quas à magistro audierat, profundius et clarius dicebat, quam dixisset magister. *(Malv. in An. p.* 599.*)* Fama ejus per omnes scholas, et per Neapolim volitabat *(id).*

† Those who feel tempted to doubt the Saint's extraordinary gift might recall, that Mozart gave concerts at the age of seven, which astonished grey-headed musicians. Raphael, before the ordinary age of finished pupilage, was master of every known detail in art of oil or fresco, drawing, expressing, and grand composition. *(See Wiseman's Shakspeare, p.* 33.*)* Again, Pico of Mirandola, a youth of twenty, exhibited himself at Rome as master of twenty languages, and proposed nine hundred subjects for disputation. *(See Newman's Mission of S. Philip, p.* 9.*)*

CHAPTER IV.

THE POPE AND THE EMPIRE.

WHILST Naples was ringing with the praises of young Aquino, the gentle youth himself was occupied with more serious and important thoughts. Had he been a young man without much breadth or penetration, in all human probability he would have lived and died a Benedictine monk.* But his mind was far too clear, and his judgment far too accurate to be swayed either by the prejudices of his parents, or by the pressure of circumstances. A youth who was a more brilliant expositor of

* To appreciate adequately the spirit of S. Thomas, and the formation of his character, it cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that the Benedictines had the making of him till he was capable (putting it at the lowest) of thinking for himself, and of expressing his thoughts like an educated man; nay, of surpassing learned and practised professors upon subjects in which they were acknowledged *experts*. A man's spirit and his character—his formation as a working power—is not to be judged arbitrarily by months or years, but by the rate at which his faculties ripen and mature. S. Thomas, when in years quite a youth, was, in intellect and character, a formed, consolidated, and finished man. His future life was but a natural growth—the clear result, under favourable circumstances, of that training, and those traditions, and teachings, amongst which he had been carefully formed in early youth. The Dominican Order being too young to possess a tradition, Providence planted S. Thomas where a tradition flourished. When the tree had been formed, it was transplanted into its new soil:—and S. Dominic acknowledges a pleasing debt to the Patriarch of Western monks. The Benedictines and Dominicans have ever been sympathetic friends, and ready ever for a mutual interchange of kindly offices.

truth than its professors, who could enunciate it with greater lucidity than masters of philosophic method, would, surely, during his stay in the gay centre of Southern Italy, have observed with interest the various phases of the period in which he lived. Men of ordinary understanding take little account of the huge levers that move the world, and experience little temptation to grapple with them as instruments of good, or to master them as powers of destruction. They are made for a work fitting their compass; and their hearts are not stirred, because their vision is narrowed within the range of their intellectual capacity. Such men are full of usefulness;—and make up the staple of labouring humanity in the world, and in the Church. But they are not the originators of great undertakings; nor the men to watch keenly the great movements of the world, to master them, and guide them to great results.

But, Thomas must have been sensible of his power; and when looking on the world's great energies for evil or for good fighting fiercely for the mastery, he must have asked his heart this question:—"Am I to gird myself to the struggle, or am I to live in solitude on the mountain?"

The scene that opened before him was sufficiently exciting. On the one hand, the Church, Monasticism, and the Schools; on the other, the Empire, Chivalry, and Law. The former representing that great principle which, after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, and the barbarian flood,

like a germ of moral nobleness sunk into the hearts of men, then, rising to their intelligences, fashioned them upon a Christian mould into a Christian people; and, whilst it gave laws of order to the social system, directed the noblest energies of man towards a higher world. The public expression of this principle, in the face of the world, was the Papacy. Christ is God's, and God is in Heaven; and the Pope is the Vicar of Christ. His are the keys; his is the power; he binds, he loosens. It was this principle that made the Popes, taking them as a class, the most enlightened rulers the world has ever seen. They were civilizers, peace-makers, patrons of all that elevates or adorns human nature—men with world-wide views, stretching from end to end mightily—martyrs for the truth first, then, rulers of men—and filled with the energy of a supernatural principle which lies beyond the grasp, and out of the range, of mere temporal princes and material politicians.

What men would ignore at this day, was openly professed in the ages of faith. Men were convinced that the power which had to wrestle with the fierce instincts of a half-barbarous world, should possess an immovable centre from which to energize. The empire of Christ could not carry out the full scope of its high vocation, except it were firmly seated in the midst of men. In a word, the temporal power was ever considered a useful instrument for securing the independence of the Pontiff, and a

guarantee for the free exercise of the high principles of Christianity, amidst the diabolical jars of the political world. This is evident in the case of Gregory the Second. It is the key to the donation of the Exarchate, and of Pentapolis (751); to the homage of Robert Guiscard, for the Duchy of Puglia (1059); and to the magnificent generosity of the Countess Matilda. The steady rise of the Roman Pontiffs to the full orb of their power, has its motive in this principle. Men were glad to introduce the sanctifying influence of the supernatural order, amidst the secular influences of political life. They honestly recognized the benignant influence of ecclesiastical law, the lofty example of many Pontiffs, and the spirit of self-sacrifice in the religious orders, springing, as one might say, like another Eve, out of the side of the Christian Church. They could not but look with reverence, nay, with awe—upon the dispensers of Christ's body and blood, who, by professing to live for another world, became examples of the highest Christian virtue in this.

That there were abuses, and, at times, wide-spread infections, that priests have sinned, and bishops have been rapacious, is as true as that human nature is often stronger than the stoutest bonds of religion. But, taking a broad view—(and in large questions, breadth of view is indispensable for forming a fair estimate)—across the length and breadth of Church influence on political life, on society, on civilization, on freedom, on the higher

springs of man's nature, which the delicate mechanism of supernatural religion alone can reach —it must be admitted that the Church's influence for good adequately accounts for the position she attained. Amidst all that confusion, one principle stood written with glittering letters on the brow of every Pontiff :—"My kingdom is not of this world." The very position of the temporal power, being looked upon as merely an *Ancilla* to the supernatural action of the Popes, is, itself, a partial confirmation of this. Had Rome never possessed any temporal power at all, men might have made, to her disadvantage, a supposition, which is no sooner made *now*, than it is refuted by the bearings of historic facts. Rome has wielded the power of earth; but it was simply as an auxiliary, a *Servus* to a higher and nobler vocation.

If some Popes seemed to combat keenly for place and power,—as the world would say—it was simply for power to direct society more surely to its end; and for place, in order more easily to control the wayward passions of mankind. The principle which induces monks to renounce all property by vow, was no invention of the middle ages. Many of the most powerful of the Popes in the civil order had lived in cells, and had vowed poverty and obedience. The greatest Popes of the Church, as a rule, had no more ambition of human riches, place, or power, than the shaven friar of S. Francis, or the grave Cistercian ploughing up the wilderness. In Popes and friars the principle

is one. In the former, it is concealed by the pageantry of place, and the necessary splendour of a throne; in the latter, it is forced upon the attention of the world, in the sandals, the sacking, the cord, and the shaven crown.*

The Catholic, who studies principles from within, does not simply judge by what glitters before the eye, or vibrates in the ear. He judges supernatural works by supernatural principles. To the Protestant, the supernatural world has no existence. To ignore a guiding principle, is equivalent to creating inextricable confusion amongst the facts that depend upon it. And, never do men more helplessly stumble in the dark—like the blind using hands in the place of eyes—than rationalistic historians, when, having ignored the only principle on which "Rome" can be interpreted, they constitute themselves as judges of the conduct of the Holy See.

But why, it may be asked, did the Empire come into collision with the Holy See?

The answer is not far off. The Church and the world have ever been opposed. The pagan world, with sword and flame, persecuted the early Church, —and was vanquished by her: the barbarian world

* "To be detached," says Dr. Newman, "is to be loosened from every tie which binds the soul to the earth, to be dependent on nothing sublunary, to lean on nothing temporal; it is to care simply nothing what other men choose to think or say of us, or do to us; to go about our own work, because it is our duty, as soldiers go to battle, without a care for the consequences; to account credit, honour, name, easy circumstances, comfort, human affections, just nothing at all, when any religious objection involves the sacrifice of them. . . . . Now this 'detachment' is one of the special ecclesiastical virtues of the Popes." (*Newman on Universities, cap. XI., p.* 196—7.)

would have swallowed her up—and she transformed it. It became, out of chaos, Christian. It grew in power. It tasted of the rich things, and the mighty things of life; it grew proud, and waxed worldly. The contest is the energizing antagonism of worldliness and Christianity. No doubt the keen perception of our Saint could detect this principle running through the history of temporal usurpations. He could perceive why sovereigns craved after the title of Kings of Rome, why they loved to put on the iron crown of Lombardy, and why, in the Diet of Roncaglia (1158), they obtained the plenitude of regalian rights.* He could trace their growing ambition as, by degrees, they stepped from the territory of secular princes upon the sacred rights of the Roman Pontiffs, and with singular audacity proclaimed that, through Otto the Great (963), they could interfere in the elections of Popes; and, that, as successors of Augustus, and heirs of Charlemagne, to them, and them alone, belonged the dominion of the earth. That such pretensions as these would cause a rupture with the first Pontiff who made a stand against their overbearing arrogance, requires little power of prophecy to anticipate. The rupture came. The contest began upon investitures. The brute force of Henry IV. was opposed by the genius, and energy, of Gregory VII. The war-cries of Guelf, and Ghibeline, which appear to have been

* See Ozanam's Œuvres complètes, *Tome VI., Ed. 2, p.* 342.

first used at the battle of Winsberg (1140), in the form of Welf, and Weibling, and can be traced to the struggles of Philip and Otto, of Frederick and Henry (1180), of Conrad of Suabia, and Henry the Proud, were no longer hemmed in by the Danube and Baltic, but passed the Alps, and resounded in the Italian Peninsula.

The Hohenstaufens, a family of Weibling, became Dukes of Suabia (1080), quarrelled with the Guelfs of Bavaria, and, waxing powerful, attacked Pope Gregory VII. The Pontiff was defended by Welf, the first Duke of Bavaria, and thus the war-cry entered Italy. From this time, till the overthrow of Frederick the Second, the respective supporters of the Empire and the Church, went by the name of the Ghibelines and Guelfs. Welf II. was the husband of Countess Matilda,—that open-handed benefactress of Pope Gregory VII. Without such support the Holy See would have often been placed in greatest peril. Had it not been for the battle of Lignano (1176), and the defection of Henry the Lion, Pope Alexander, and his Lombard league, would, in all human probability, have been utterly crushed by the fury of Frederick Barbarossa, who, for the third time, crossed the Alps, bent upon extermination. The Ghibelines reached their zenith, when the Suabian family got a foot in Sicily (1190), by the marriage of Constance with Henry the Fourth.* But, the genius, and generals,

* Ozanam, *p.* 340.

even of the Hohenstaufens were not a match for the power of the Keys. The mightiest men of this period had to curb their necks to the successor of the fisherman; and Frederick himself, with all his arrogance, fell at last, struck down by the thunderings of the Council of Lyons.*

Now, at the time in which Thomas was studying his vocation, the Pope and the Emperor were in desperate antagonism. The flame of war spread from principalities to towns, from towns to families, from families to servants. The manner in which the war-cries were accounted for by the people, point out the terrific nature of the combat. Some said they could be traced to two devils, who dwelt in two mountains of Sicily, and whose worshippers were ever engaged, with implacable hatred, in an internecine war; others, that they were the two women seen fighting in the clouds at Manfred's death; the Florentines declared they were two dogs which quarrelled in the Piazza: when the children saw the dogs fight, they took sides and fought; then their families joined; then their relations; then the whole town; then all Italy; till, finally, the whole earth was in an uproar. It suffices to mention

*The influence of the spiritual power in those days can be understood from the power even of Legates to ruin a man by excommunication. "Un légat"—says La Marche—"avait été arrêté dans le Diocèse de Valence par un seigneur félon, qui, après l'avoir dépouillé de tous ses effets et de ses chevaux, l'avait laissé aller, lui et ses gens, dans un dénûment complet. Le coupable fut excommunié, avec sa tour et son domaine; et quelque temps après, les passants s'arrêtaient avec stupeur devant ce manoir, présentant une masse imposante de constructions, et devenu sans guerre aucune, un lieu sauvage et désolé: les habitants avaient fui, les terres étaient frappées de stérilité, le seigneur et toute sa race étaient tombés dans l'abjection et la misère. . . . . Etienne de Bourbon cite deux autres exemples d'interdit jeté sur des biens-fonds. (*p.* 319.)

Venice and Genoa, Florence and Pisa, Pistoja and Arezzo, Modena and Bologna, Cremona and Milano, the Montecchi and Capelletti, the Gieremiei and Lambertazzi, the Torriani and Visconti, the Orsini and Colonna, to bring before the reader's memory the terribly agitated state of society at this period.

A brief sketch of the three great powers,—political, heretical, and religious,—which must have influenced S. Thomas in choosing his state of life,—will come conveniently here.

The rupture between the Emperor and the Pope brought Frederick into the Papal dominions, where he took Foligno, Toscanella, Viterbo, Montefiascone, and many other strongholds belonging to the Holy See. Whilst the Emperor assailed the Pope with the arm of the flesh, the Pontiff had recourse to the God of Battles. He assembled at S. John Lateran's the clergy and prelates of the Eternal City, and they formed a large procession, carrying the sacred heads of SS. Peter and Paul, and a priceless relic of the Holy Cross. Half the population joined the solemn pageant as it slowly advanced, and entered into the Great Basilica of S. Peter's. Here the Pontiff addressed the multitude. In solemn and emphatic language, he spoke of the detestable iniquities of Frederick, declared a crusade against him, and invited the multitude to join the holy war. This appeal of the Vicar of Christ, made in the most splendid Basilica in the world, in pre-

sence of these touching instruments of religion, had a magical effect. A gallant army, filled with enthusiasm, was gathered together, and had several engagements with the enemy. Frederick was so stung by having a crusade published against him, that he ordered the heads of all the Clavissignati that were taken prisoners to be cut into four parts, and a cross to be branded on the brow. But, Rome was saved; and Frederick, having ravaged the country round, burnt what he could not carry away, and then marched back into his own possessions.

But the Pontiff was by no means content. He thought it advisable to call on the Catholic powers to protect the patrimony of the Holy See. He summoned a Council at Lateran for the Easter of the following year. He sent legates to England, Scotland, and Spain, to invite the bishops to come and witness with their own eyes the enormities of Frederick, and assist the Holy See in making head against her enemies. This move exasperated the Emperor's ungovernable pride. He wrote off to the King of England, conjuring him to stop the English prelates; and, with brutal threats, expressed the like desire to the Germans, and the French. He sent his son to Genoa with instructions not to suffer the bishops to advance, to take as many of them prisoners as he could, and to harass the Genoese, who were friendly to the Pontiff.

Meantime, a large gathering of foreign arch-

bishops, bishops, and prelates had assembled at Genoa, together with cardinals from England and Scotland. Dreading the army of the Emperor, the prelates determined to take the sea in the Genoese galleys, commanded by Admiral Guglielmo Ubriachi. But they were intercepted by twenty of the Imperial galleys, commanded by Ugolino. On the third of May, not far distant from the little Island of Meloria, between Porto Pisano and the Island of Corsica, the fleets came into collision. The Genoese suffered a terrible defeat. Three legates, all the prelates, and a host of ambassadors, together with about four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Twenty-two galleys were taken, and three others were scuttled, and foundered into the sea. Of the prelates, some were butchered near Meloria, others were flung into prison, at Naples, Salerno, and other towns along the coast; and perished, either of starvation, or from the hardships and indignities suffered in their dungeons.

Gregory, when he heard of this disaster, became as sad as death. Then the advance of the Imperial troops into the very heart of the patrimony of S. Peter, the rifling of churches and shrines of their sacred treasures, the treachery of Cardinal Colonna, the destruction of Monte Albano and Tivoli, and finally the violent and shameful death of his own relations, inflicted by a band of ruffians, who had seized their castle by surprise, was more than could be borne by a mind,

already ulcerated and wearied by years of contest and anxiety. Gregory died of a broken heart in 1241.

To this fever, in the political world, corresponded the religious aberrations of men's imaginations.* The Albigenses, whose suppression took at least 200 years, from Eugenius III. to Alexander IV., had grown into the proportions of a Church when Innocent III. became Pope; and had spread from the Danube to the Pyrenees, and from Rome to England. In France, they went by the name of Albigenses, from the town of Albi, their principal stronghold. Their doctrines resembled more the cruel fanaticism, and fantastic creations of Asia, than the tenets of a European people. They had more in common with the Timurti, Siva, and Wishnas of India, with Ormuz, and Ariman of the Bactrians, or with Osiris, and Serapis of Ethiopia and Egypt, than with Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

They believed in two gods,—a god of matter, filled with the most devilish malice; and a god of spirit, who was benign.† Spirit was pure, matter essentially satanic. The god of evil enticed some of the inhabitants of heaven to the earth, robbed them of their spiritual bodies, and imprisoned them in heavy forms of clay. Devils walked amongst

* See the decrees of the Councils of Avignon, 1209; Montpellier, 1214; Tours, 1163; Verona, 1184; Toulouse, 1229; Béziers, 1233 and 1246; Albi, 1254.

† See Hefele. *Concil. Geschichte: Fünfte Bd. Zweit Abteilung, p.* 732, § 645.

men in human form, and dragged them to perdition. Christ was a creature—some held, a myth; all agree that he was born of an angel, without sex, and died simply in appearance. The Old Testament was the Bible of the Devil, S. John the Baptist an impostor, and the Church the instrument of hell for the destruction of the elect. Sin consisted in defilement with matter. The *Perfecti* fasted with cruel rigour, held marriage to be wicked; and, after leading the lives of maniacs, deemed it a virtue, having received the *consolamentum*, to destroy themselves by opening a vein, or by starvation;—that they might thus leave the wicked earth of sense, and, escaping from the body, soar into the kingdom of pure spirits. Innocent III. declared that the Albigenses were more full of violence than the Saracens, and that their teaching was more opposed to Christianity than the Koran. Then, there were the followers of Peter De Bruys, the Henricians, whose founder was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the Council of Rheims (1148); the Catharites, who spread from Italy to England; the Ebionite, and Arian sects of the Circumcised of Lombardy; the Poor Men of Lyons, who rivalled the Albigenses in their satanic hatred of the hierarchical order of the Church; and endless risings of maddened and infuriated men, thirsting for pillage and destruction, who threatened by their theory and their practice to overset the foundations of supernatural religion, and those first principles by which Christian society

is bound together.* The Trinity, the Incarnation, the Church itself, the priesthood, and the sacraments, the laws of social life, of marriage, of property, of authority, of the civil order, all, indiscriminately, became the objects of their fierce attack, and devilish hatred. Their principles spread throughout Italy, Spain, Germany, and France. The Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who careered from place to place, clothed like maniacs, and yelling for bread, partook of the common intoxication. Their immoralities, their blasphemy, their inversion of the commonest laws of nature, their obscene practices, besotted with impurity, show to what an excess human nature can be carried, when no longer subject to supernatural control. Wilhelmina of Bohemia, who lived at Milan, believed, and made others believe, that the Holy Ghost was incarnate in her person. Gerard Sagarelli made his followers wander about to imitate the Apostles, with long gray beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied by loose women who were called their sisters. His successor, Dulcinus, waged a bloody contest against the Pope, but finally, together with the bad women who shared his iniquities, was made to suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

* Cette coalition s'affilia de nombreux rassemblements de pillards, Brabançons, Aragonais, Basques, routiers, cottereaux, triaverdins, disposés, à porter partout le fer et le feu. Avec de pareils partisans, la cruauté devait se mêler au fanatisme et provoquer des représailles désavouées par la religion, quand elles ne l'auraient pas été par ses ministres. La Somme des Conciles Généraux et particuliers par L'Abbé Guyot. Paris, Victor Palmé, Deuxième Partie, *cap. III., p.* 82. 1868.

And the clergy seem hardly to have been in a fit state for confronting successfully the passionate fanaticism of these lawless men. Speaking of certain prelates, who dressed expensively, Cardinal Vitry says:—"How can they blame women, whom the Apostle forbids to wear precious ornaments, when they themselves delight in the softness of a sumptuous costume? Anyhow, women have the intention of pleasing their husbands as an excuse: but whose favour are they seeking who make profession of imitating and preaching Jesus Christ? . . . Should not all this tinsel be stripped off them at the moment of death, and sold like the skin of that cat used as a plaything by the Paris students?" In another place he says, that "the bad priest gives the kiss of Judas four times in celebrating mass;—to the altar, to the paten, to the book of the Gospel, and to the minister or assistant." Godfrey of Troyes uses very strong language:—"Plunged in material things, the priest troubles himself little about intellectual things. He differs from the people in his dress, not in his spirit; in appearance, not in reality. He teaches in the pulpit that which he gives the lie to by his works. The tonsure, dress, and language, give him a superficial varnish of religion *(umbratilem picturam);* and within, under the skin of the sheep, are hidden hypocrites, and ravening wolves." Again, Elinand, who had had all the experience of a wild life himself, says:—"What priest blushes to appear in public well-

combed, to walk with a soft gait unworthy of his sex—in a word, to be a woman? Look at those who ought to give an example of modesty, gravity, and mortification to others: you see them got up with minute care, their hair curled *(calamistrato crine)*, the parting well-made, the face fresh-shaved, the skin cleaned with pumice-stone, the head uncovered, the shoulders naked . . . the hands shod, and the feet with gloves on *(calceatis manibus, chirotecatis pedibus)*. What is wanting to them more to make them look like libertines, to bring shame upon the order to which they belong? All day they are looking out for a mirror: they walk about with a spotless dress, and with a soul all soiled; their fingers shine bright with rings, and their eyes with the brightness of their smile. Their tonsure is so small that it looks less like the mark of a churchman than that of a venal body."* Then, "they build great palaces under pretext of devotion, saying that they do so to give them to their Church, to increase the worship of God. They want to have houses in Paris like those of the English barons in London."† Then concubinage‡ was

* Tissier VII., 269. † De La Marche, *p.* 330.

‡ "Ce vice était si fortement ancré chez quelques-uns, que, s'ils venaient à recevoir de leur évêque l'injunction d'opter entre leur femme et leur paroisse, ils préféraient abandonner celle ci: alors la première les abandonnait à leur tour, les voyant sans ressources. Avant même d'être privés de leur cure ils tombaient dans la misère et se laissaient dépouiller entièrement. . . . . Dans certaines localités, les populations avaient tellement horreur de la *prêtresse*, comme on l'appelait, que personne, à l'église, ne voulait échanger avec elle le baiser de paix. Le paysan qui craignait de voir ses récoltes mangées dans ses greniers répétait ce refrain:—

Je vos conjur, sorriz et raz,
Que vos n'aiés part en ces tas
Ne plus que n'a part en la messe
Cil qui prent pais à la prestresse."

(De La Marche, p. 331.*)*

another evil which the Church was ever striving against in the clergy, and which, together with pride, riches, simony, nepotism, and other miseries, rendered the work of making head against the fierce sincerity of heretics, who knew how to stain the minds of the people, and make the most of the sins of priests, a very terrible task.

Still, it must not be imagined that there was not a large body of devoted clergy and earnest men on the side of purity, truth, and order. The rust had eaten into the clergy ; but had not destroyed them. This state of things gave a handle to the enemy, and called loudly for some organization, which could oppose the mighty evil in the Christian world.

Two more extracts, and then this disagreeable subject will have been sufficiently illustrated. S. Bernard says, then, "Infant scholars, beardless, boys, are promoted to ecclesiastical dignities for their gentle blood, and pass from under the ferula to the government of the Church, sometimes thinking more of their emancipation from the rod, than of the authority with which they are invested, better pleased to have escaped one control, than to have assumed another."* Thirty years later, Peter of Blois writes :—"O empty glory, O blind ambition ; O miserable thirst after earthly honours. O that desire of dignity, that worm that gnaws the heart, that ruin of the soul! Whence has the plague come upon us, whence has our execrable

* Letter XI. to Henry, Archbishop of Sens.

presumption the hardihood with which it excites the unworthy to aim at dignities, men whose eagerness in pursuit is proportionate to their unfitness for office? Through every avenue, without concern for soul or body, these unhappy men fling themselves upon the pastoral chair, which has become for them an envenomed seat, and for all a source of perdition."*

On the other hand, in opposition to the excitement of political life, and the fanaticism of heretics, and the imperfection of priests, chosen men prepared quiet havens in which others could repose, and look out, calmly, on the thundering ocean of human life beyond them. In the eleventh century, there was a steady movement in this direction—the Order of Grammont, instituted by S. Stephen (1073—1083), the Carthusians, who by their rigid silence, and long vigils, betokened a strong reaction against the license of worldly life (1084), the Cistercians (1098), the Camaldolese (1023), the Vallombrosians (1039), the Order of Fontevraud (1094), and the Order of S. Anthony (1093). Then, near his own time, S. Thomas could see the movement still unspent in the Premonstratensians, founded by S. Norbert (1120), and the Carmelites (1156); or, directed in a more active course, in the Brethren of the Hospital (1176), the Trinitarians (1193), the Knights Templars (1128), the Hospitallers (1099), the Order of Teutonic Knights,

* Letter to Card. Octavian.

founded during the siege of Ptolemais about 1190; and the Brethren of the Sword, founded by Albert, Bishop of Livonia (1202), besides many other military orders in Portugal and Spain.*

S. Thomas must have seen that an organized power alone could meet the world; and that the Church alone, out of the fulness of her own life, had created influences which had broken the enemy to pieces, and had left her more triumphant than ever, because the heroine of another marvellous success. In civilizing the Northmen, who came from their forests into the fertile plains of the south, S. Benedict was the instrument made use of by the Almighty. Young Aquino saw what an immense power monasticism had been in the world which was passing away. He could trace the influence of men of solitude, who, when brought by accident amidst the conflicts of active life, proved to the world that they had not ventured a life of loneliness in vain. He could follow the track of silent men who had gone down the mountain-side, and had left at their deaths tokens of their labours worthy of their origin, in spite of Goth, Hun, Tartar, or Lombard,—splendid cloisters, learned schools, precious libraries, stately churches, and a civilized and happy people, living in culti-

* So eager were men after the novelty of religious devotedness, that Innocent III. forbade any more Orders to be instituted.

"Ne nimia religiosorum diversitas," says the IV. Council of Lateran, "gravem in Ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat: sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. *(An.* 1215, *c.* 13.*)*

vated and fertile plains, where they had found wild morass and impenetrable forest, robbers, snakes, and wild beasts.*

But he also saw that the world had changed. The efforts of the reformers of solitude and contemplation had not been able to direct its course. Citeaux and Clairvaux had done a work indeed, but it was not the work of directing the stream of human thought. They had not perceptibly affected the world. The old methods seemed to have dropped out of use. The principle of *quies* had done its work for a time. Monte Cassino and its glories were almost visions of the past. Men would no longer fly the world, and bury themselves in monastic retreats. They would not be content with the silent monotony of the cloister, and take wisdom from the lips of men whose principal conversation was with nature and nature's God. Some great flow had entered into the channels of human life. Discovery and travel, and enterprise, excited the imagination, and men loved activity better than silent thought. They congregated in towns, and the teaching of the monastery gave way to the excitement and uproar of university life. Meditation and singing psalms, and long vigils, were little suited to the nervous, and almost fanatical temper of the growing world. What then, Thomas would ask himself, is the instrument, or the

* See origin of Cassino, Subiaco, Cava, Jumièges, Richenau, S. Gall, Fulda, Clairvaux, Citeaux, and the great majority of Benedictine foundations.

organism, created to oppose the powers of the world ?

The Order of S. Francis, and the Order of S. Dominic, were created by the Church for resisting the mighty pressure. The former, whose characteristics of poverty and love, the latter, whose specialities of eloquence and learning, were to manifest the perfection of Christianity in a world full of the pomp of riches, the fire of passion, the secret canker of misbelief, and the maddening influences of pantheistic mysticism. Fortunately for humanity, those passions which were most sensitive to the action of fanatics, were no less responsive to the eloquence of men, who, despising the comforts of life, and abhorring the aberrations of philosophy, aimed at raising up humanity from the anarchy of passion, and the idolatry of pride.

These two Orders had chairs in the University of Naples, when S. Thomas was surprising the students with his talents. The Order of S. Dominic seems to have been particularly flourishing. No doubt young Aquino was struck by the devotedness and ability of the Dominican professors. Besides counteracting the evils which were raging in society, the Order was charged with the heroism of an institution in its primitive fervour, whose founder had not long been taken to his reward. Thomas, no doubt, had heard this man's history, and had found in it much that fascinated a mind so noble, and so gentle as his own. The special scope of the Order, its love for learning,

its active ministrations to humanity while still retaining the self-restraint of solitaries and the humility of monks, must have struck a new chord, or an old chord in a new fashion, in the heart of the Saint. Anyhow, he soon became intimate with the fathers of the Order. Many an earnest talk he had, no doubt, with his dear familiar friend, John a Sancto Facundo;* many a discussion on the merits of the old method of contemplation, and of these spiritual knight-errants who mixed in the dust, and joined in the battle of active life.

The young man was often seen in the Church of S. Dominic, after his companions had retired to their cells to rest, and when gay young men were wasting their energies away in the wicked city. The Dominicans, perceiving how deeply he was impressed, watched him with a lively interest, and prayed fervently that so much talent, and so much promise might find the most favourable field for its display. Hundreds, famed for their genius, many of high lineage and alluring prospects, had been seduced by the heavenly influences that radiated from the great Order of S. Dominic. Why not Thomas of Aquin also? He was a Benedictine; but so was S. Dominic a Canon Regular of S. Augustine. Once, one brother, who had employed himself in watching the Saint, returned full of admiration to his brethren,

* Costui considerando la virtù, conditione, ed habilità di Tomaso, con belle ragioni, e persuasioni confirmò il suo santo proposito e l'essortò, che lasciasse il Mondo, ed entrasse nella sua Religione. (*Vita, p.* 9.)

declaring that he had seen the face of young Aquino, like that of another Stephen, darting forth, on all sides, rays of supernatural light, as he prayed before the great altar in S. Dominic's.*

The issue was what might have been anticipated. S. Thomas expressed a wish to abandon the monks, and join the friars. To the stability, largeness, and self-control of the Benedictine, he was going to add the learning, eloquence, and judicial steadiness of a Dominican. If the Dominicans were raised up to combat the special errors of those days, S. Thomas was providentially raised up amongst the Dominicans for reducing to practice the perfection of S. Dominic's spirit. It was by a special Providence that the Saint became a Benedictine, the Providence was no less special that turned him into a Dominican.† He petitioned for the habit. His request was granted. Thomas of Aquino became a brother of the Friars Preachers.‡

* Frater quidam ingenium ejus vehementer admirans, videre sibi visus est radios quosdam luculentos de ejus vultu vibrari; qui longè lateque diffusi cernentium oculos illustrarent. *(Malv. an. p.* 600.*)*

Del cui angelico volto, come d'un altro Stefano, alcuni d'essi vedono uscire splendentissimi raggi di celeste luce. *(Frigerio, B. II., p.* 11.*)*

Something the same is related of S. Euthymius, S. Philip, Abbot Mark, and others.

† So "S. Philip was prepared by S. Benedict, S. Dominic, and S. Ignatius. From eight to eighteen, ten years, he was under the teaching of S. Dominic: from eighteen to twenty-eight or twenty-nine, he was with S. Benedict and the ancient Saints of Rome. . . . As, then, he learnt from S. Benedict *what to be*, and from S. Dominic *what to do*, so, let us consider that from S. Ignatius he learnt *how he was to do it.*" *(Dr. Newman's Mission of S. Philip, p.* 35, 37.*)*

‡ Authors disagree about his age at this time. For instance, Tolomeo da Lucca says he was 16; Morosini and Lacordaire say he was 17.

CHAPTER V.

S. FRANCIS AND S. DOMINIC.

In the middle ages, in spite of the power of her enemies, the Church had reached the topmost height of social eminence and worldly splendour. Never before, in the eyes of the world, had she appeared more full of vigour, and never before had she used that vigour with more triumphant success. But she had her human element. The vast riches which had been accumulated by the monastic bodies, the wealth of the secular order spread throughout Europe, became a source of envy to the laity, who began to long more after the temporal goods which she possessed, than after her spiritual ministrations. Pride, and simony amongst the clergy, and other scandals, which godly men bewailed, held out to thousands of prying eyes, sharpened by hunger and fanaticism, arguments which were difficult to answer, when once they had been impressed upon the popular mind. The Popes had constantly directed their energies to upset abuses. From Gregory VII. downwards,

they were ever striving to purify, and elevate, the mass of corruption which had encrusted itself about the sanctuary. Holy men saw, with eyes illuminated by the Holy Ghost, the dangers which threatened the Church, and, with great effort, attempted to renew the early days of Pentecost. But the steady pressure of the tide seemed almost too heavy for Popes, councils, and reformers, till Dominic and Francis created two enormous instruments for elevating the Christian world out of its entanglements, into a more healthy and a freer atmosphere.*

The Orders of S. Dominic and S. Francis were so intimately bound up with our Saint, that to omit touching upon them would render it very difficult fully to appreciate his life.†

S. Francis was eminently a child of the religion of the thirteenth century. He was the son of a

* The following shows the immense influence exerted by the Franciscans and Dominicans in imperial and ecclesiastical affairs :— "Quant à l'influence politique qu'exerca le *bataillon sacré,* qu' on en juge par l'énoncé de ce document : '*Les frères mineurs et les frères prêcheurs,* écrivait Pierre des Vignes, chancelier de l'empereur Frédéric II., à l'empereur, son maître, se *sont élevés contre nous dans la haine ;* ils ont réprouvé publiquement votre vie et votre conversation ; ils ont brisé vos droits et nous ont réduits au néant . . . Et voilà que pour énerver encore plus votre puissance et vous priver du dévouement des peuples, ils ont crée deux nouvelles confréries qui embrassent universellement les hommes et les femmes ; *tous y accourent et à peine se trouve-t-il une personne dont le nom n'y soit inscrit.*'" *Hist. de Saint François,* par M. Emile Chavin de Malan. See D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand, mouvement Religieux., p.* 82.

† "L' un fu tutto serafico in ardore,
L' altro per sapienza in terra fue
Di cherubica luce uno splendore."
(*Dante Parad. XI.* 37—40.)

Again : "Quando lo'mperador che sempre regna,
Provvide alla milizia ch'era in forse . . .
. . . . a sua sposa soccorse
Con duo campioni, al cui fare, al cui dire
Lo popol disviato si raccorse . . ."
—(*Ibid., XII.* 40—46.)

merchant of Assisi, and was brought up by his parents, according to Cellano, in carelessness and godlessness. Their neglect of his moral training was not long producing its fruits. He soon became famous amongst the dissipated men about town. If the young coxcombs of the period wanted a leader in their carousals, a comic singer in their boisterous meetings, or a rollicking boon-companion, who could spend with the best of them, and surpass them all in the daintiness of his attire, Francis was the man. Of all the dissipated young men of Assisi, Francis had the reputation of being the most dissipated.* He gave himself up to this kind of life till five-and-twenty years of age.† About this period he was struck down by a terrible sickness. He had to keep his bed, and could no longer indulge in his favourite sports and dissipations. During this sickness, a great change was wrought in his mind. When he got a little better, and was able, with the aid of a crutch, to totter to the door, he was excessively surprised to find that the beauties of nature, which formerly had had such a charm for him, seemed to have lost all their attractions. He not only felt contempt for worldly things, but he began to feel contempt for those who valued them. This was the beginning of his extraordinary conversion.

* Immo supra coætaneos suos in vanitatibus male proficiens, incentor malorum et æmulator stultitiæ abundantius existebat: admirationi omnibus erat, et in pompa vanæ gloriæ præire cæteris nitebatur. In jocis curiosis, in scurrilibus et inanis verbis, in cantilenis, in vestibus mollibus et fluidis. (*Cellano, Vita, Boll. p.* 584. 2.)

† "Fere usque ad vigesimum quintum annum ætatis suæ tempus suum miserabiliter perdidit et consumpsit." (*Id., p.* 584.)

About this period he had a dream, in which he saw his father's house filled with innumerable shields, and swords and spears, and other engines of war. This imagination affected him so deeply that he retired into a crypt close by, and prayed to God for light. Here he remained some considerable time in great dejection and uncertainty. At length, he was suddenly possessed by an extraordinary seizure of light and joy. He came forth from his hiding-place exulting, and was inebriated with so overwhelming an effusion of delight, that he could not prevent his feelings from pouring themselves out upon the first person he met.* Being asked if he would marry. "Marry!" he exclaimed, radiant with glee, "Yes, the most beautiful of women, and filled with purest wisdom." For true religion, say his biographers, was to be his immaculate spouse. Then he rode off, sold his horse and clothes, and, hurrying to S. Damasus', offered the money to the priest for repairing the Church. The priest refused the offer.† Francis flung the money out of the window, and then buried himself in a dark pit, fearing the anger of his father. Here he lay a whole month. At the end of this period, so great a courage was wrought in him that he came forth, and offered himself, freely, to the insults, and passionate reproaches of his perse-

* Tantoque deinceps repletus est gaudio, quod non se capiens præ lætitiam, etiam nolens ad aures hominum aliquid eructabat. (*p.* 584.)

† Viderat enim eum, ut ita dicam, pene altera die enormiter vivere ultra cognatos et notos, et supra cæteros suam stultitiam exaltare. (*p.* 585. 9.)

cutors.* The people of the town, on seeing him so emaciated and changed, thought that his head was turned, and that he had gone mad. They hunted him with shouts and yells, and pelted him with mud and stones. But Francis, his heart brimming with that strange supernatural joy, gave thanks to God. Next, his father throttled him, and having flogged him unmercifully, cast him into a fetid dungeon. His mother set him free. And again the extraordinary young man presented himself before his father, and declared that he would bear with joy any ill-treatment he thought fit to inflict upon him. Finding that he could not move the youth, the father thought to secure his property; so he hurried him off to the Bishop, to make an act of formal resignation. Francis accompanied his father with the greatest delight. Before the Bishop could say a word, he had stripped himself stark naked, and in this condition stood before his judge, intoxicated with the idea of abandoning all he had for Christ.† The Bishop here saw the finger of God, and throwing his cloak about the young man, embraced him tenderly.

The next thing that we hear of him is of his singing joyfully through the woods, songs and hymns in praise of God. Whilst thus engaged,

* Perfundebatur tamen indicibili lætitia quadam, hactenus inexpectata, in qua totus ignescens, relicta fovea, palam se persecutoribus exposuit maledictis. (*p.* 585. 10.)

† "Sed continuo depositis et projectis vestimentis, restituit ea patri: insuper etiam, nec femoralia retinens, totus coram omnibus denudatur. (*p.* 586. 15.)

he was set upon by thieves, who demanded brutally of him "Who are you?" "I am the herald of the Mighty King," he replied, singing out to them with transports of joy; upon which they took him, and beat him, and hurled him into a deep ditch, full of drifted snow, and shouted down at him "Lie there, then, thou rough herald of God!" When they had departed, Francis got out, shook himself free, and set forth as before, singing away through the woods his cheerful melodies to God. Next, he disguised himself, and did scullion's work in a monastery. Then he tended lepers—a class he once so greatly loathed, and kissed their miserable sores and wounds with loving transport. He repaired churches. He dressed like the hermits of S. Augustine. But hearing in church one day the Gospel which tells of the Apostles abandoning all things to follow Christ, he was set on fire with a new delight, and exclaimed "This is what I want, this is the very thing I seek! This I yearn after with all the intensity of my heart!"* With incredible joy he cast away his shoes and his stick, and putting on a rough tunic, commenced a life of utter poverty and self-contempt.

Now he began preaching with intense vehemence, with wonderful simplicity. With all the fire of his beating heart, he spoke of God, of Christ, of

* "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses: nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff." *Matt.*, *X.* 9.
Hoc est inquit, quod volo;—hoc est quod quæro: hoc totis medullis cordis facere concupisco. (*p.* 588. 22.)

peace, of poverty. He always began with the words "*Dominus det vobis pacem*," for at this period the world was filled with factions and war. A poor idiot first joined him, then Ægidius and Philip, and four others. They often beheld him wrapped in ecstacy. In one of those states, he saw, like S. Paul, what no human language could express, was assured of pardon, and saw in vision the future spread of his mighty Order. He now sent his disciples two and two to preach penance, peace, and remission of sins. Eager multitudes pressed around them; many joined the Order. Villages and towns went forth to listen to him. He was regarded as a visitant from another world. Men were impressed by his deep earnestness, his intense self-immolation, and his vehement impetuosity of Divine affection. We are assured that the whole face of society was changed by the fiery simplicity of the extraordinary eloquence welling up from that large and loving heart.

He called his brethren *Fratres Minores*, to remind them that they were last of all. Their practice of poverty was most severe.* They slept in caves and pits, and joyfully partook of the hospitality of lepers and outcasts. Their spirits overflowed with supernatural joy when, in imitation of Christ, they had an opportunity of suffering chains, and prisons, and smitings. They were

* "He used to pick up paper, and take care of it if written upon," says Cellano. If asked why, he would answer :—"Fili, literæ sunt, ex quibus componitur gloriosissimum nomen Dei."

ever meek, gentle, and filled with guileless charity. Their prayers were simple and earnest, their austerities terrific. In temptation, they would cast themselves, in mid-winter, into ponds floating with broken ice. Their food was rarely cooked, often it was mixed with ashes.* On one occasion Francis being ill indulged in a piece of chicken. Of this he afterwards bitterly repented. Putting a rope round his neck, he bade a brother lead him through the town, and obliged him like a town-crier to cry out: "Look at this glutton, who has been caught eating chicken on the sly!" He commanded the brothers to call him names, and when they did so he was transported with delight. He would preach to the birds of the air, and remind them all what God had done for them, then he would dismiss them with the sign of the cross, and they would fly away obedient to his voice. He would command the swallows, who were building their nests, and twittering and circling round him, to stop and listen to his word. They remained motionless and attentive, till he dismissed them with incredible joy.† He loved

* This wonderful spirit of mortification spread to the orders of chivalry. James of Vitry speaks of a chevalier "que ses frères avaient surnommé *le pain et l'eau*, et qui tombait de cheval au premier choc, tant il était affaibli. Son compagnon le relevait toujours: mais il se lassa d'un pareil exercice, et finit par lui dire: Seigneur Pain-et-eau, prenez garde à vous; car si vous vous laissez choir de nouveau, je vous abandonne." (*De la Marche, p.* 368.)

Bossuet says in his beautiful way: "François fut peut-être le plus désespéré amateur de la pauvreté qui ait été dans l'Eglise."

† Ad hæc aviculæ illæ (ut dicebant, qui cum eo fuerunt) miro modo secundum naturam suam stantes, inceperunt extendere collum, prodere alas, aperire os, illum respicere. (*Cellano, p.* 596—58.)

nature with all the tenderness of a little child. His prayer sums up his whole character: "O Most High Almighty, Good Lord God," he says, "to Thee belong praise, glory, honour, and all blessing. Praised be my Lord God, with all His creatures, and especially our brother the sun, who brings us the day, and who brings us the light: fair is he, and shining with a very great splendour; O Lord, he signifies to us Thee."

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the moon, and for the stars, the which He has set clear and lovely in the heavens."

"Praised be my Lord for our brother the wind, and for air and clouds, calm and all weather, by the which Thou upholdest in life all creatures."

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the water, who is very serviceable unto us, and humble, and precious, and clean."

"Praised be my Lord for our brother the fire, through whom Thou givest us light in darkness; and he is bright and pleasant, and very mighty and strong."

"Praised be my Lord for our mother the earth, which doth sustain us and keep us, and bringeth forth divers fruits, and flowers of many colours, and grass."

"Praised be my Lord for all those who pardon one another for His love's sake, and who endure weakness and tribulation: blessed are they who peaceably shall endure: for Thou, O Most Highest, shalt give them a crown."

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the death of the body: from whom no man escapeth. Woe to him who dieth in mortal sin! Blessed are they who are found walking by Thy most holy will, for the second death shall have no power to do them harm."

"Praise ye, and bless ye the Lord, and give thanks to Him, and serve Him with great humility."*

So inebriated was he with the love of Jesus that he could not steadily pronounce the Holy Name. Such was the passionate lover of poverty, the ardent disciple of the passion of Christ. A creature full of vehement, sovereign devotion to the folly of the Cross, and to the shame. His life was profound forgetfulness of self, and unquenchable charity, and unutterable heroism, beyond all words of mine to express. In his soul, and in his body, he bore the marks of the fruit of Christ's passion. He poured himself out to God, and he poured himself out on men, drawing them with the cords of Adam, to peace, penance, and the love of Christ. No wonder that, in a few years (1219), he collected round him five thousand brothers from all quarters of the world, whose heroic lives of penance, prayer, and gentleness, did a work which no other influence of the day could possibly have accomplished. Thirty-five years later, there were

* So rendered in the *Cornhill Magazine*, *p.* 430, *April*, 1864. Segetes, vineas, lapides, et silvas et omnia speciosa camporum . . . terramque et ignem, aërem et ventum ad divinum monebat amorem, etc . . . omnes creaturas *fratres* nomine nuncupabat; *frater* cinis, *soror* musca. (*Cellano*, *p.* 705.)

eight hundred convents, and at least twenty thousand religious belonging to the Order; a century later, there were one hundred and fifty thousand friars.* Such men as these, filled with so great a fire, would, of the very stones, if possible, raise up children to Abraham. Poverty, prayer, and preaching, these were the instruments in the hands of detachment and of love, for regenerating the world.

And what the Franciscans did principally amongst the people at large, that S. Dominic did for the higher and more educated classes.

The founder of the Dominicans, whom Innocent III. beheld in a vision, supporting with his shoulders the tottering walls of the Lateran Basilica, had only been dead twenty years when S. Thomas joined the Order. His birth, like that of S. Thomas and S. Bernard, was preceded by influences of a supernatural character. His mother, Joanna d'Aza, dreamt that she carried in her womb a hound with a flaming brand between his teeth. So terrified was she by this dream, that she often threw herself on the tomb of the Benedictine, S. Dominic of Silos, and implored him to protect her in her desolation. In return for the comfort she experienced, she called her boy, after the holy Benedictine, Dominic.† Sprung

* At the present moment there are 30,000 persons in France belonging to the third order of S. Francis. (See D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand, p.* 79.)

† At Gumiel, near Calaruega, S. Dominic's mother was buried. "En dos arcos desta capilla fueren depositados los nobles y devotos senores de Felix Guzman, y D. Joanna de Aza, padres del glorioso S. Domingo, fondador de la orden de Prædicadores." This is the wording of the inscription in the chapel of the Guzmans.

of the bluest blood of the Guzmans, Dominic summed up in his character the noblest and fairest traits for which the Spanish nobility are justly famed.* His creative fantasy loved to explore the highest region of ideal chivalry, living in a world of poetry, and burning with high resolves of startling enterprises. With a heart gentle as a woman's, and elevated by the most careful education, his will was excessively tenacious, and of unalterable resolution. He seems to have embraced, within the wide circumference of his elevated character, all that is most perfect in the dispositions of either sex. When seven years old, he was confided to his uncle, the Archpriest of Gumiel d'Izan.† At fifteen, he went to Palencia, the most celebrated university in Spain, and studied with great ardour and success, literature, eloquence, philosophy, and theology.‡ His heart overflowed with singular generosity. He created a sensation amongst his companions by selling his clothes, and even the

* Theodoricus de Appoldia paints him thus:—Erat staturæ mediocritate æqualis, corporis tenuitate agilis, facie pulcher et paulisper rubens; barba vero ejus et capilli aliquantulum rufi coloris speciem præferebant. De fronte ipsius et interciliis splendor quidam radiosus micabat, qui omnes venerationem ac dilectionem ejus attrahabat. Hilaris semper et jucundus apparebat, nisi eum ac compassionem per quamlibet afflictionem proximi movebatur. Manus longas habebat ac pulchras: vocem magnam et pulchram: et tubaliter resonantem. Calvus non fuit, sed coronam rasilem totam integram habebat, paucis canis respersam. (*Boll. in vita*, 4 *Aug.*, *p.* 518, § *XLV.*, *n.* 836.)

† The university was transferred eventually to Salamanca, on account of the climate, and the fertility of the soil. Alcala was chosen as a site for the same reason. Bologna was called *La Grassa*, on account of its richness and natural gifts.

‡ Vir purissimis moribus, prudentia, gravitate, religione conspicuus. (*Malv. c. I.*, *p.* 14.)

books annotated with his own hand, to relieve the poor during a famine. He dried the tears of a woman, who came to lament to him that her brother had been dragged into captivity by the Moors, by offering at once to take his place.* At five and twenty, he was induced by the Bishop of Osma, to join the Canons Regular. He threw himself into his new life with his characteristic earnestness. He passed his time in contemplation and penance, in preaching, in studying the Epistles of S. Paul, in turning over with delight the pages of Cassian, and in bringing about stricter discipline in the somewhat relaxed observance of the Convent.†

But the energies of such a man were not destined to be confined within the compass of an obscure convent of Augustinians. Alfonsus VIII., of Castille, wished his son to marry a Danish Princess. Don Diego de Azevedo, the successor of Martin in the see of Osma, was entrusted with the delicate mission of arranging the preliminaries of the alliance, and took Dominic with him through the South of France. There he saw the fearful ulcer that was eating into the heart of the Church in the

* *(Boll. Die 4. Aug., p. 390.)* Some put it thus :—Quædam enim mulier conquesta est ei, fratrem suum apud Saracenos detineri captivum et ille ut erat plenus spiritu pietatis, intimo compassionis affectu saucius, vendendum se obtulit pro redemptione captivi. *(Id., p. 390, n. 168.)*

Caritate in tantum fervebat, ut se ipsum pro Christianorum necessitate vendere *sæpius* esset paratus. (*n.* 170.)

† In libro quoque de Collationibus Patrum frequentissime [et] studiosissime legens, magnum ex eo perfectionis cumulum apprehendit. (*Boll, p.* 392. *n.* 180.)

Die noctuque terebat ecclesiam, lectioni et orationi sine intermissione vacabat, secumque cum Jacob in tabernaculis habitans, Esau vagos declinabat excursus. (*n.* 181.) Pernoctandi in orationibus mos erat ei creberrimus . . . interdum et inter orationes *a gemitu cordis sui rugitus* et voces solebat emittere. (*Vid. B. Jordanus, c. I., no.* 10.)

heresy of the Albigenses, which has been already touched upon.* Dominic felt that a single man was but as a drop in the ocean in the midst of such a vast and organized corruption. Man may be met by man, but a system only can oppose a system. A religious institution, combining the poverty of the first disciples of Christ with eloquence, and learning, alone would stand a chance of success in working a regeneration. The Poor Men of Lyons, and the followers of Waldo, he was well aware, would simply mock at men who came preaching to them the poverty of Jesus, in the trappings of worldly wealth; and the starved ascetic, who in his fantastic studies had arrived at scientific heresy, could not be overthrown, he felt convinced, without a profounder knowledge of theology than was possessed by the majority of clergymen at that period. The pomp of the ecclesiastical nobility, which was a scandal enough to make earnest men turn sick, is illustrated forcibly by the conduct of the Cistercians, and the Papal Legate. At the synod of Montpellier (1206), these men bitterly lamented the ill success of their perilous mission. Saint Dominic, with that freedom with which Christ had made him free, told them out, that the number of their attendants, the splendour of their costumes, and the magnificence of their equipages and horses, would ever stand

* Here is a passage from Elinand's sermons about them :—"Credentibus suis persuadere conantur indifferentem esse omnem cum muliere concubitum, nec magis abstinendum esse à sorore, vel filia, vel matre quàm à propriâ uxore. O doctrina infernalis, à quibus tenebris emersistis!" (*Tissier, VII.*, 297.)

in the way of the simplicity of Gospel truth ;—that they ought to begin by practising what they preached, and that the heretics had been seen making a mockery of those Apostles, who came amongst them on the backs of gallant horses to preach Jesus Christ, who was poor, and who walked on foot. The monks and Legate dismissed their servants, got rid of their gay horses, and adopted a greater simplicity of life.

It is not necessary to remind the reader of the struggles which took place in France. That treachery and cruelty went hand in hand, is to be expected of men fighting in a cause which stirs up the keenest and most violent passions of mankind. The Saint, through all that time, conducted himself with that gentleness, charity, and courage, which became so well the noblest soul of the noblest of Saints. By his devotedness to the poverty of Christ, he manifested the true spirit of the Gospel to those acting a horrid parody upon it. By his high courage, and large charity, he contrasted the true religion with the cruel fanaticism of men devoured with spiritual pride, and ill-regulated piety. By his eloquence, his tender heart, his intense compassion for sorrow, and by the exquisite refinement of his cultivated nature, he converted into friends those whom he had not the good fortune to convert into Christians. Amidst all the fire and fanaticism of that time, it was always said of Dominic that his charity and compassion were never for a moment eclipsed by any less amiable

influence in his nature. To say this of a man under these circumstances,is to say simply that he was a saint. Being asked what would be his conduct if threatened by the enemy with death, he replied with the boldness of inspired chivalry, "I would beg them to kill me by degrees, that thus I might witness the more fully to the truth which I profess!"

In 1215 there were sixteen men in the little institute. Eight Frenchmen, six Spaniards, one Portuguese, and an Englishman. In five years there were sixty convents of the Order spread throughout Western Europe.

The greatest wisdom was shown in the construction of the rule. The society was divided into three parts, two for men and women engaged in the convent, the third for men and women living in secular employments. The third order was of immense service to religion. By its means S. Dominic was enabled to touch and transform—what so much required touching and transforming—the souls of persons dwelling in the world. By joining them in holy union, not so severe as to interfere with their domestic duties, and yet sufficiently strict to remind them what they were, he elevated them, and strung them together in the interests of religion. Men and women of every class, from polished ladies of the first courts in Europe, to the ignorant and poor, were here bound together in a spiritual sodality, which seemed to

partake of the sanctity of monastic life. S. Dominic's experiences at Osma, and the requirements of the new institute, induced him to found his rule on that of Saint Augustine. Poverty was enforced with great severity. The brothers lived on alms. Like the children of S. Francis, they were mendicants. The principle of *quies*, which gave the monk a permanent habitation, and insured to him a resting place which he loved more tenderly than anything else after Christ, was not in keeping with the new principle of motion. That his children might be ready at a moment's notice, S. Dominic was excessively strict on the observance of holy poverty. If they had nothing to leave, they would have little to regret. On one occasion, a brother was sent on a journey without money. He complained to the Saint. Dominic flung himself on his knees before the brother, and with tears gathering in his eyes, implored him to go forth bravely, and trust in God. At times the community would sit down to an empty board. On one occasion, whilst they were meekly and silently sitting at the bare table, Dominic prayed over it. Instantly, two youths, whom none of those present had ever seen, walked up the refectory, and divided amongst the astonished friars wine and bread of such a quality, that they rose from table filled with a species of supernatural strength they had never experienced before.

They prayed, and studied, and fasted; their

Church-services were simple; they lay on hard beds; and the very manner of their travelling manifested the tenor of their lives.

After its approval by Honorius, the Order spread abroad with great rapidity. Men of high birth, accustomed to living in the lap of luxury, men versed in many kinds of learning, listened with rapture to the eloquence of Dominic, and breaking up, and abandoning the traditions of their lives, bound themselves in the holy vows of religion.* With an eye steadily fixed upon his object, Dominic selected the men of greatest promise amongst his followers, and sent them to the universities to take degrees, to mature their scholarship, and to conduct schools. His forecasting wisdom is evident in his fixing the three centres of his Order in the three most flourishing university towns. From Rome, the capital of authority; from Paris, the capital of theology; and from Bologna, the capital of jurisprudence radiated the activity of scholars, saints, and confessors. The fame of the Friars Preachers soon spread, when men of mark who had left the world entered into it again—with their cords, and hoods, and shaven crowns, and full of spiritual knowledge, and of supernatural eloquence. Brother Reginald, on his return from the holy sepulchre, entranced the citizens of Bologna by his extraordinary gifts:

* His eloquence had its effect—"Interim et per urbem concionatur, etiam in Basilica S. Petri tanto plausu et fructu, ut ejus vestes auditores veluti reliquias conscinderent, ita ut ejus scapulare sic per particulas decisum vix ad genua descenderet." *(Echard Boll., Lie 4 Aug., p. 375. n. 96.)*

"I see the heavens open," he exclaimed on one occasion, "I see the heavens open—the doors are yawning wide to receive all who would gaze upon the majesty of its glory! The heavens, I tell you, stand open wide, why do you delay?" He then spoke with so great persuasiveness in the scope and object of his Order, that priests, students, and professors, and even lawyers who are not often carried away, there and then abandoned their occupations, and entreated to be allowed to take the habit.

Some, however, who entered the society with eagerness, soon became as eager to depart as they had been to join it. Two men, for instance, remarkable for the breadth of their attainments, joined the little community. After a while, becoming wearied of restraint, they said that they could stay no longer. This was a heavy blow. B. Reginald called a Chapter, and announced the calamity to the assembled friars. His discourse was often interrupted by sobs and tears, as he stood in the midst with his eyes fixed on heaven, expressing his unshaken confidence in God. Then Brother Clarus, who had been a professor at Bologna, offered to speak a few consoling words. As he was beginning, to the surprise of all, Master Roland of Cremona, a famous professor of philosophy at Bologna, burst into the Chapter-room, threw himself at the feet of Reginald, and implored to be received. Reginald, being stunned at first, at length recovered himself, took off his

own scapular, and, with joy almost too great for his control, clothed the professor in the garb of a Dominican; then the sacristan hurried off and began ringing a noisy peal on the church bells, the community broke forth with the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the church was quickly filled with an astonished crowd, who, when they had heard of this singular *grazia* or intervention, set the whole town in a violent commotion of joy and admiration. To crown all, the two professors who had cast aside the habit, with tears streaming from their eyes, and with hands stretched to heaven, begged on their knees in the Capitulum to be received once more amongst the brethren. This is but a specimen of the temper of those strange ages of emotion, so full of high aspirations, intense faith, and overwhelming passion.

John of Germany was General when S. Thomas entered the Order (1239—1254), and a constellation of famous men shone with a steady light from the *Corona Fratrum*. In Germany there was Albertus Magnus—a wonder to posterity, on account of the vast circumference of his knowledge, and the extraordinary versatility of his elastic mind. Hugh of S. Caro edified all France by his sanctity, and was consulted as a heavenly oracle;—and, whilst Peter of Verona pierced his enemies with the lance of controversy, John of Vincenza electrified Lombardy by the thrilling effects of his powers of speech. Men not only listened to him with delight, but consulted him in their most delicate affairs. In

all matters of difference between individuals, families, and states, John was sure to be consulted, and was sure to set things right. At his word prisons were opened, and enmities, which for hundreds of years had been handed down as traditionary in families, melted by the heat of his charity into lasting friendships. Cities, Kings, and Popes sought his counsel, and were sure to find in it a solution of the difficulties they had not been able to solve before.*

Many Dominicans became martyrs amongst the Albigenses. In Spain the Order flourished exceedingly. S. Hyacinth was an extraordinary missioner—Poland, Bohemia, both Russias, Livonia, Sweden, Denmark, the coasts of the Black Sea, the sea-board of Asia Minor, and the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, were studded with convents which marked the progress of his missionary enterprise. His strange supernatural power converted Mussulmans, drew barbarians round the Cross of Christ, and established schools and convents in Pomerania, and along the shores of the Baltic. Within twenty years after S. Dominic's death, the Gospel had been preached in almost every country. In the following century it spread still more widely. During the middle ages, the pulses of the mighty heart of the great Order were felt throughout the whole of the known world, from the north-west coast of Africa, to the great water-courses of Asia; from Fez, and Morocco, as far as Greenland. A party of Dutch sailors were

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. : Ann.: 1233.

struck with astonishment, when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, touching on the coast of Greenland, they found that men clothed in the white wool of S. Dominic had been preaching, praying, and studying in that inhospitable region for upwards of four hundred years. It was through Dominican influence at the Court of Spain that Columbus obtained the ships in which he made the discovery of the new world; and they were Dominicans who followed upon the footsteps of the enterprising subjugators of that vast continent, and planted the standard of the Cross wherever the others had been victorious with the sword. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, they colonized the East and West Indies. In 1550, in the Peninsula of Malacca and the adjacent islands the Dominicans had eighteen convents, and made sixty thousand converts. Then they penetrated into Siam, and were the first Christian missioners who set foot in China,—where they established schools, and built churches. They had already settled in S. Domingo, Mexico, and the Floridas. In 1526 they sent twelve brothers to New Spain, where they soon had an hundred houses and convents. In 1540, they possessed in New Granada sixty houses and churches. In Chili they had forty convents. The Philippine Isles, Mozambique, and the Eastern Coast of Africa, were under Dominican influence, while at Manilla and Lima they established universities for the education of the higher classes. Within a hundred years

(1234 to 1334), the Order could number thirteen thousand three hundred and seventy martyrs.

To this marvellous activity corresponded an immense influence over the minds of men. The Dominicans played an important part in questions of science and religion; and ever aimed at purifying, and making free the social positions of mankind. Bartholomew de las Casas was a Dominican. Four thousand writers of distinction were brothers of the Order. Antoninus wrote the first complete history of the world. The golden legend of Jacobus de Voragine has been translated into every language of the west. The church at Florence of Santa Maria Novella, where Michael Angelo daily prayed, and which for the severe purity of its style has received the name of Sposa, was built by Fra Sisto, Fra Ristoro, and Fra Giovanni, three Dominican brothers. Fra Angelico, who could never paint Christ and his Blessed Mother without tears gathering into his eyes, nor would consent to paint them in any other position than on his knees, was a Dominican. Michael Angelo declared that Giovanni da Fiesole's picture of the Annunciation must have been copied from a vision in the skies. Fra Bartolomeo, and Benedetto, as well as Fra Angelico, were brothers of the Order; while S. Catherine of Sienna, and S. Rose of Lima, were under Dominican control.*

* Gentil Bellini puts these simple words under his great painting of a miracle by a piece of the true Cross :—

"Gentilis Bellinus amore incensus crucis." 1490.

To sum up: in six hundred years (by 1825), there had been seventy Cardinals, four hundred and sixty Bishops, four Presidents of General Councils, twenty-five Legates *a Latere*, eighty Apostolic Nuncios, four Popes, and a Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, belonging to the Order of S. Dominic.* Such is a rapid sketch —these are the mere *cartoni*—of that religious system which, in its days of energy and expansion, captivated the mind and imagination of young Thomas of Aquino.

The historians of the Saint give a glowing description of his reception to the habit. The news of his clothing soon spread throughout the town. The Dominicans made the ceremony as public as possible. From a very early hour, the Church of S. Dominic was "inundated by an enormous crowd, amongst which might be observed persons of the highest distinction in the city." When the hour arrived, Thomas, in presence of a great multitude, advanced between two rows of friars—whose eyes must have beamed with delight as he passed before them—and received from the Superior, Fra Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino, the badges of penance and subjection.

* Still not so wide-spread as the Benedictines. They had, according to Trithemius, at the end of the fifteenth century, 15,000 convents. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, according to the census, there had been 22,000 archbishops and bishops, and 40,000 saints in the Order. See Newman's "*Benedictine Centuries*," *Atlantis No. III.*, *p.* 13. Lechner, in his *Leben des heiligen Benedict:* Regensburg, 1857, says:— "Der Benediktiner-Orden zählte vor der Säcularisation 37,000 Häuser, 1,500 Schriftsteller, und 50,000 Heilige, deren öffentliche Verehrung anerkannt ist." (*p.* 57.)

The sentiments awakened in the breasts of the beholders were anything but harmonious.* Whilst the friars were filled with joy at so signal a mark of Divine favour in their regard, more worldly-minded men did not shrink from saying that the reception of one so young, who had so brilliant a career before him, amounted almost to sharp practice. Some admired a spirit which could exchange the fascinations of life, and the hopes of the future, for the scanty fare and rough garments of a Mendicant friar. Others thought it a great pity that one so accomplished, so well connected, and so virtuous, should throw away his gifts in practising poverty and blind obedience. Many considered the step rash and inconsiderate. There were not wanting those who blamed the Prior, and were highly indignant at the diplomacy by which the cunning *frati* had entrapped the young fellow into the Order.† Doubtless, the gossip of the world then, was something like the gossip of the world now—very flowing, very flippant, and very contradictory.

* "Si sparse la fama di questa cosa per tutta la nobiltà di Napoli, e ogni vno si marauigliaua, considerando questo, c'haueua fatto un giouane di si rare qualità, e di tanta speranza. Lo lodauono alcuni, e pigliauono essempio da lui, e molti lo imitarono, cosi huomini, come donne della sua età, etiandio in diverse Religioni." (*Vita*, *p.* 9.)

† "Altri lo biasimauano, dicendo che come giouane si era deliberato troppo presto, e biasimauano ancora il Priore, che gli haueua dato l'habito." (*Vita*, *p.* 9—10.)

CHAPTER VI.

TRIALS OF VOCATION.

It may be imagined that the family of S. Thomas felt little gratified when they heard of the clothing. The report of the ceremony was not long reaching Rocca Sicca. Theodora first heard of it from the lamentations of her vassals, who had seen the young Count dressed up like a Dominican friar, and at once returned home to bewail the disgrace which had fallen on the family. She forthwith hurried off to Naples, accompanied by a large retinue. Some say she was excessively angry with her son for joining the Mendicants;* others, that she wished to encourage him in a vocation which she considered had come direct from heaven.† The former opinion is the more probable one.‡ Theodora had already made up her mind about the will of God in her son's regard. She had reasons

* "Seine Mutter machte sich augenblicklich auf den Weg nach Neapel, um den Sohn, den sie für eine Beute trügerischer Beredung hielt dem Orden zu entreissen, die Ehre der Familie und die Zukunft ihres unerfahrenen Kindes zu retten." (Werner, *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Cap. II., p.* 26; *Cf.* Bareille, *Chap. VI., p.* 48.)

† "Cum gaudio venit Neapolim volens eum in prædicto præviso sibi divinitus ordine maternis monitis confirmare." *(Boll., Cap. II., n.* 8, *p.* 659; also, Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. IX., p.* 34.)

‡ "Fleury says:—"Ses parens le trouvèrent fort mauvais, dédaignant la pauvreté de cet ordre." *(Tom. XVII., Liv. LXXXIV., p.* 581.)

in abundance, human and divine, for making him a Benedictine. And it is hardly to be supposed that she hurried to Naples, "*cum gaudio*," as Tocco has it, to confirm her boy in a state of life about which she had not been consulted; the first notion of which she received from the gossip of her servants; and which would simply be the death-blow to her cherished aspirations.

It is pretty clear what the Dominicans thought: for, no sooner did they hear that Theodora was on her way to Naples,* than they hurried the boy off—some affirm, at his own request—by a different route, with several companions, to Rome.† And so greatly did they fear his meeting the excited Countess, that the party had orders to avoid the ordinary road, and to travel through Terracina and Anagni.

The Dominicans were established in Rome during the time of S. Dominic. The old church of S. Sixtus II., in which lay the relics of six martyr-popes, must have attracted the attention of the Saint. It stood opposite the gigantic ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, and at the foot of the Celian Mount, upon the Appian Way. The convent attached to the church must have been ample, for S. Dominic, by his eloquence, in the

* "Secretamente odorando la sua venuta," as some have it. (See Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. II., p.* 13.)

† How strongly he felt is evident from his quotation from S. Jerome:—"Hieronymus dicit in epist. ad Heliodorum, a princ.: *Per calcatum perge patrem, per calcatam perge matrem, siccis oculis ad vexillum crucis evola: summum genus pietatis est in hac re fuisse crudelem.*" (*Summa Theol., Tom. III., Quæst. CI., Art. IV., p.* 371.)

space of a few months had filled it with an hundred disciples. Here it was that he worked some of his most famous miracles—raising the dead, multiplying bread and wine, and bringing angels in human form into the presence of the community.

But the Dominicans had left S. Sixtus for Santa Sabina before the time of S. Thomas, Honorius III., desiring to establish a community of nuns at the convent of S. Sixtus, offered to the friars the convent of S. Sabina, situated close to his palace on the Aventine. The church seems to have been founded, as early as the fifth century, by an Illyrian priest, in the Pontificate of Celestine I. It stood boldly on the highest verge of the Aventine, and overlooked that classic spot, where Horatius Cocles, with a prowess which immortalized his name, defended Rome against Porsenna. The church was built on the plan of the old Basilicas. Two rows of ancient pillars, supporting a plain roof, divided the church into three naves, each terminated by an altar. Here, under the high altar, rested the relics of S. Sabina, who had suffered under Adrian. Close at hand stood the palace of the Savelli, occupied by Honorius III. The Pontiff made over a portion of this noble residence to the friars. From the windows of this palace-convent, the eye stretched over Rome, and, passing over towers and domes, rested on the Vatican Basilica. Two flights of steps led to the city, one running to the Tiber, the other to a corner of the Palatine, near the church of S. Anastasia.

The convent, which had been a workshop of saints, was, even in S. Thomas's time, full of touching reminiscences. Here Hyacinth and Ceslas, two of the most successful missioners who ever laboured for the love of God, received their inspirations of devotedness and sacrifice. Here Henry of Moravia, and Hermann of Germany, lived, and studied, and prayed. Here it was that "Mary, in the person of Reginald," once Doctor of Law in Paris, and Dean of S. Argnan D'Orleans, "girt the reins of the Order with the girdle of chastity, and prepared its feet for the Gospel of Peace." Here it was that S. Dominic, being wrapped in spirit, "saw the Lord, with the Blessed Virgin on His right hand, clad in a cope of sapphire." Here it was that he had the vision of S. Mary, S. Cecily, and S. Catharine. Here, to this day, may be seen in the church, upon a pedestal, the great, black, shining stone, said by the legend to have been hurled by the demon at the Saint, to interrupt him in his nightly meditations. Here is shown the narrow cell where he prayed, the hall in which he gave the habit to S. Hyacinth, and an orange-tree in the garden, which, to this day, tempts, with its golden fruit, the piety of citizens and strangers.

I need not attempt a description of the emotions of young Aquino on approaching the Eternal City, and on entering that venerable church where the bones of S. Sabina rested, and the great Saint Dominic had loved so much to pray. Doubtless, wonder and devotion were mixed with sad thoughts

about his mother, and with strange anticipations about his future life. Doubtless, long and earnestly he prayed before the altar, and begged of Christ to fill him with S. Dominic's spirit. This much is certain, that the young man gave himself up to study and to contemplation—to prepare himself for that mighty mission which he was afterwards to fulfil.

But his repose was speedily disturbed. Theodora, with the fire of her nature thoroughly stirred up, finding that her son had been carried away from Naples, set out forthwith for the Eternal City. She was extremely angry with the friars. In vain the Countess called at their convent; in vain she begged admittance, by entreaties the most imploring, and by threats the most indignant; in vain she protested that, far from wishing to trifle with her son's vocation, she simply desired to confirm it all the more. Thomas did not appear; the doors remained shut; the Dominicans would not be moved. She then bewailed her hard lot amongst the Roman nobility, and denounced to the Pope the rapacity of the cruel friars, who, in spite of her position and all her promises, had robbed her of her boy.*

The Dominican superiors, perceiving how excited Theodora was,† and dreading her influence in the city, sent S. Thomas off from Rome, with

* "Pendant que la Contesse d'Aquin faisait retentir toute la ville de Rome de ses plaintes, ou de ses menaces contre les Religieux de Saint Dominique, Thomas continuoit son voyage vers la France." (Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. X., p.* 35.)

† "La madre . . . si tenne gravemente affrontata, e beffata, vedendosi su gli occhi di tutta Roma, e per la seconda volta defraudata de'suoi ardentissimi desiderij." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. II., n.* 13, *p.* 14.)

four others, to travel by secret roads to Paris. Whilst the party was making its way towards the frontier, Landulf and Reginald (the Saint's two brothers) were actively engaged ravaging Lombardy with a band of Frederick's soldiers. Theodora, who had heard of the young Dominican's departure, despatched a courier to the brothers, beseeching them to secure the fugitive. They set the military at once to watch the passes through which the Dominicans might escape. Meanwhile, the friars, fagged with the journey, which they had made on foot, halted near Acquapendente, between Sienna and Lake Bolsena.* Here, as they lay resting under the shade of a tree, suddenly they beheld themselves surrounded by armed men; and, to his intense astonishment, Thomas found himself, without a chance of escape, a prisoner in the hands of his brothers. The two young soldiers behaved with great brutality to the Saint,† threatened to tear his habit off his back, and, forcing him on horseback, carried him away to San Giovanni,‡ whilst his companions fled hastily back to Rome.

* "Tutto debile e lasso per la stanchezza del viaggio fatto a piè, a cui essendo giovinetto, e di gentilissima complessione, uso non era." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. II., n.* 14, *p.* 15.)

† "Senza usare officio di pietà o di carità, fecero impeto in quelli à guisa de nemici." (*Vita, p.* 10.)

‡ "Il Gibelli con parecchi altri antichi scrittori della vita di S. Tommaso narra che il giovane fu chiuso nel paterno Castello di Rocca Secca: ma è tradizione costante che fosse guardato nella Rocca di Monte S. Giovanni, in sulla riva destra del Liri ove si mostra tuttavia la cella terrena (ora divota cappella) in cui S. Tommaso era sostenuto della Principessa Teodora sua madre. . . . La città di Monte S. Giovanni elesselo ab antico per suo Patrono, e la Chiesa nelle lezioni del Breviario Romano, dice anch'essa che il santo giovane fu rinserrato non in Rocca Secca, ma nella Rocca di Monte S. Giovanni, ch'era a quei dì dei Conti d'Aquino." (*Civiltà Cattolica, Serie Seconda, Vol. X.*, 19 *Maggio*, 1855.)

From the accounts given of Theodora's interview with S. Thomas, some notion can be formed of the energy of the mother, and of the calm determination of the son. She made use of every argument she could invent, and brought into play all the passions of her nature—her tears, her entreaties, her prayers, her fierce anger, her threats, her hatred, her love—but without effect. She argued that obedience to parents is a law of God, that filial piety is of strict obligation, that youth is easily deceived, that what inexperience admires is condemned by mature reflection, that Thomas would ruin and disgrace his father, and bring upon the family the anger of the Emperor—and so on in a similar strain.*

But Thomas was immovable. Though full of tenderness towards his mother, he had read enough, and had thought enough, and had been visited by God too often, to abandon a call which he deemed Divine. Perceiving that neither threats nor blandishments could effect her purpose, Theodora threw Thomas into prison, fastened the door, and set guards to watch outside.† She then sent godless young men in to him, to argue him out of his resolve. His

* "La madre in prima gittogli al volto i termini scortesi e rozi da' suoi frati ricevuti, mostrolli la necessità, che di lui haveva la casa, ch'altrimenti era ben tosto per venire a doloroso fine; studiandosi con queste ed altre apparenti ragioni, espresse con materno affetto, di ritrarlo dalla Religione." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III., n. 2, p.* 16.)

† "La madre lo facesse rinchiudere sotto stretta custodia dentro la rocca del lor Castello di S. Giovanni." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III., n.* 4, *p.* 17.)

sisters seconded their foolish mother. They alone were permitted to serve the prisoner; and they practised all their arts upon him, to turn him from his high vocation. But the calm deportment of the future Angel of the Schools, his resignation, his tenderness to his sisters, his tranquil mind ever fixed on things Divine, were more powerful, in the end, than creature stubbornness, or human passion. The impress of heaven ever overpowers, in the issue, the instability of human influences. The two girls, by degrees, ceased their talking, and began to listen, and finally, rendered themselves up to the mastery of a superior power; their hearts expanded, their minds enlarged; they listened, they believed, they acted, they were subdued—in a word, S. Thomas converted his sisters; his prison became a hallowed spot; his habit, an earnest of high heroism; his obstinacy, a note of predestination; and his life, a pattern of perfection. They were no longer his guards and his seducers, but his companions, his helpmates, his dearest sisters, and his constant friends.

They put him in a position to communicate with his brethren. The monotony of confinement was broken by study, prayer, and contemplation. The Saint procured a Bible, the "Sentences" of the Lombard, and some of the works of Aristotle.* His memory, which was so retentive as never to

* "Dans la même prison Thomas lût toute la Bible, et le texte du maître des Sentences: il y étudia aussi la traité des sophismes d'Aristote." (Fleury, *Tom. XVII., Liv. LXXXIV., p.* 592.)

forget anything he once had read, is said to have got these books by heart.* Thus it was that he prepared himself for his mighty labours in the future.

But this comparative repose was broken in upon rudely enough by the perseverant brutality of his brothers. They still persisted in their determination to force him from religion. After they had delivered him to his mother, they were called away, into active service, under Frederick. But, when the troops had been brought down to Melfi, and were encamped near Ciprano, they had an opportunity of visiting the prisoner. Possibly they imagined that, through the influence of the family, he had already changed his mind. If so, they were bitterly disappointed. For they found that, far from being changed himself, Thomas had converted both his sisters. They were furious.† They forbade the girls to approach him, and, forcing themselves in upon the boy, they insulted

* Tocco says of him :—"Quod legendo caperet, perpetuo retineret." *(Boll., Cap. VII., n. 42., p.* 670.)

In the middle ages, the memory was exercised more than at present, partly on account of the difficulty of getting books, and of understanding them when got. That clever, modest writer, Matthew of Paris (1246), speaks of a monk who could repeat all David's Psalms backwards, from memory.

† Chivalry in the thirteenth century, be it remembered, was in its decline. De La Marche quotes James de Vitry to this effect :—"Les pauvres, le clercs, les abbayes ne trouvent plus en eux des défenseurs, mais des persécuteurs. Ils retiennent les dîmes et les offrandes dues à l'Église, enfreignent ses immunités écrasent les hommes qui lui appartiennent de prestations directes et indirectes *(angariis et parangariis)*, ne respectent point le droit d'asile, et portent des mains impies sur les personnes sacrées, parce qu'elles ne peuvent pas leur résister ; mais ils se gardent bien d'attaquer ceux qui sont armés et disposés à la lutte. Aigles rapaces, ils se jettent sur les biens des défunts, et veulent avoir la main-morte pour ajouter à l'affliction des affiigés c'est-à-dire des veuves at des orphelins." *(La Chaire Française, Troisième Partie, Chap. II., p.* 357.)

him with brutal jests and oaths, and ended by tearing his habit piece by piece off his back.*

Meanwhile, his sisters informed the Dominicans outside of what the Saint was undergoing. Br. John of S. Juliano brought another habit for him from Naples. This made Landulf and Reginald worse than they had been before. They fixed upon a most infamous expedient for shaking their younger brother's vocation. They hired a bad woman of the neighbourhood, and sent her secretly to his cell, to tempt him to sin.† Whilst waiting the issue, a fearful shriek, proceeding from the direction of the prison, rang from one end of the castle to the other. A rush was made by Landulf and Reginald to their brother's cell. They saw the door burst open, and beheld the girl rushing away in an agony of terror, and the young man chasing her with a blazing brand, which he had just plucked out of the fire.‡ Even the brutality of the two rough young soldiers was overcome by this; and from that day forth, they ceased to persecute their gentle, younger brother.

Just before his death, the Saint told his familiar

* "I Conti Landolfo e Ranoldo . . . perch' essi rinovando l'antico proposito di levargli a viva forza l'habito dell' Ordine, gli posero soperchievolmente le mani addosso, e non dubitarono di lacerarlo, talmente che la forma dell' habito appena vi rimase; ma egli non si smarrendo punto, racconciatolo il meglio, che potè, indosso se lo rimise." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III., n.* 6, *p.* 18.)

† "Istigati da Satanasso, gli introdussero in camera una molto vaga e non meno lasciva giovane con larga promessa fattale di denari, accioche ella con ogni arte procurasse di farlo cadere in peccato, e in questa maniera spogliarlo dell' habito sacro." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III., n.* 7, *p.* 18—19.)

‡ "Ne pouvant ni fuir, ni éviter la vue d'un objet, qui ne cessoit de le poursuivre : et saintement irrité par sa présence même, il arma sa main d'un tison allumé ; et poursuivant à son tour cet impudique instrument du démon, il l'obligea de se retirer avec précipitation tout couvert de honte et rempli de frayeur." (Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. XIII., p.* 50. *Boll., Cap. II., n.* 11, *p.* 659. Malv., *p.* 602. Bareille, *Chap. VIII., p.* 72.)

brother, Rainald, that no sooner had the girl been driven out, than he made a cross with the charred brand upon the wall, and, casting himself upon his knees before it, made a vow of chastity for life. Whilst thus praying, he fell into a calm, gentle sleep, and was ravished by a heavenly vision. He saw angels descending from the clouds, and they came and bound his loins with the girdle of continence, and armed him for life as a warrior of heaven.* The pain of this binding roused him up with an unconscious cry of suffering. On hearing it, his guards entered the cell, but he carefully concealed his favour from them. He declared to Rainald that, never since that time till his death, was the spirit of darkness suffered to approach his person, to seduce him from that heavenly-mindedness which is one of the characteristic notes of his gentle, meditative character.

The girdle was worn by the Saint till his death. Afterwards, it was given by John of Vercelli to the Dominican Convent of Vercelli, in Piedmont. With what jealousy the friars preserved the relic, is evident from their refusing to part with it, even at the request of a Sovereign Pontiff.† A holy confraternity was speedily established, called "The Angelic Warfare." Its object was to preserve purity, or to restore it, if unhappily it had been for-

* Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. XIV., p.* 51 ; Boll, *Cap. II., n.* 11, *p.* 660 ; Bareille, *Chap. VIII., p.* 72.

† The arm-chair of Gustavus Vasa was purchased for 58,000 florins ; Nelson's coat for £150 ; that of Charles XII. for £22,000 ; a tooth of Newton for £730 ; a cane of Voltaire for 500 francs ; the vest of Rousseau for 959 francs ; the wig of Sterne for 200 guineas ; Napoleon's hat for 1,920 francs. Why, then, may not we prize the relics of the saints ?

feited. Cords, made after that given to S. Thomas, were worn by members of the institute. And Innocent X., in a Brief of March 21, 1654, and Benedict XIII., in a Bull in favour of the University of Toulouse, enriched it with many signal favours.*

The confraternity spread rapidly and widely. Rich and poor were anxious to place themselves under the protection of this glorious Saint. Students of the University were glad to possess a token of his triumph, and an earnest of their own success in resisting one of the most seductive enemies of youth growing to maturity.

But, though his relations had ceased to persecute S. Thomas, they kept him in his confinement, some say, two years—and they would, no doubt, have detained him longer, had it not been for the influence of the Dominicans with the Pope. It was an unheard of thing for an ecclesiastic to be set upon, and cast into prison, by a band of ruffians in the Papal States—particularly when those ruffians were in the pay of the Emperor; it was an affront to the Pontiff, as well as an infringement of the law. The Dominicans did not represent their grievance in vain. The Holy Father was roused. He not only brought the case before the Emperor, but he ordered him to let the prisoner free, and to visit the perpetrators of the outrage with condign punishment.† Frederick, having latterly been humiliated by the

* For a full account, *see Acta Sanctorum, Tom. I., Mart.* 7, § *III.*, *p.* 744—746.

† "Perturbatus quod quasi in ejus Provincia tantus excessus fuisset commissus mandavit Imperatori, quod faceret de raptoribus dignam pro convenienti satisfactione vindictam." *(Boll., Cap. II., n.* 9, *p.* 659.)

Viterbesi, and having, in consequence, been abandoned by some of his supporters, was not sorry for an opportunity of gratifying the Pontiff. Orders, accompanied by threats, were at once sent to Landulf and Reginald to set the captive free. Still, these stubborn soldiers, with their haughty mother, would take no active steps to give Thomas his liberty. However, his sisters informed S. Juliano of the position of affairs, and he at once hurried to the castle, accompanied by one or two companions.* And finally, the girls let their brother down, through the window, like another S. Paul, into the hands of his delighted brethren. The party at once set off for Naples, and our Saint found his rest once more amongst those chosen souls, who had so deeply impressed him at the outset of his university career.†

Who, at this period, was Superior of the convent, and received our Saint's profession, is uncertain. Many, following Tocco, say it was John of S. Juliano, the old adviser of S. Thomas ; others, such as Bernard Guidonis, S. Antoninus, and Malvenda, say that Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino was the Prior—a man second to none at that day, in virtue, energy, and zeal. He joined the Order during the lifetime of S. Dominic ; founded the convent at Naples (1231) ; ruled over it, some say, till 1255 ; and then

* See Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso, Cap. IX., p.* 27.

† "I Padri dunque dell' Ordine, ch'eran quivi venuti, con grandissima festa il riceverono, come un Angiol dal Cielo disceso ; ne potevano quasi crederlo a gli occhi loro, tanta era la contentezza de vederlo libero : così più occultamente che poterono, il condussero a Napoli." (Frigerio, *Liv. I. Cap. IV., n.* 2, *p.* 22.)

became, successively, Bishop of Bethlehem, Archbishop of Cosenza, and Patriarch of Jerusalem—in which capacity, like another Peter the Hermit, with fiery eloquence, he preached, from kingdom to kingdom, and from court to court, the deliverance of the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidel.*

A prelate of this temperament would be but too glad to engraft into the Order a young man, who had already, in a marked degree, manifested a character, promising the unusual combinations of genius with humility, of sweetness with firmness, and of an almost womanly gentleness with a more than manly courage.

But Theodora and her soldier-sons, unfortunately, took a very different view of the case. The mother bitterly repented having permitted Thomas to escape at all, and blamed herself for culpable weakness in having suffered him to be carried away to Naples. She accused the Dominicans of dishonesty, and, assisted by Landulf and Reginald, applied to Pope Innocent to annul her son's vows, and to set the young man once more at liberty.

The Holy Father sent for the young Dominican, and questioned him in presence of the Court. Thomas, with his natural modesty, and yet with gentle firmness, told the Pope how S. Dominic had called him to religion, how unmistakable was the voice, and how he attributed his present difficulties, not to the violence of his brothers, or to the loving

* For a fuller account, see Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. XV., p.* 58.

indiscretions of his mother; but to his own many sins and imperfections. He implored the Pope to protect him in his one desire of embracing Jesus Christ, and of walking with sure step along the road of perfect charity. Innocent, and the Prelates about him, could not suppress their emotion whilst witnessing so unusual a manifestation of heavenly purity and grace.* We are told that after the young man had finished his appeal, they turned to Theodora, and with congratulations mixed with tears, comforted her; and whilst they lauded Thomas to the skies, they could not bring their hearts to blame a mother, who had made such giant efforts to regain so loving and so admirable a son.

The Holy Father, too, acted with great benevolence. Knowing Theodora's weakness, he proposed to make Thomas Abbot of Monte Cassino, whilst still allowing him to wear the habit of S. Dominic, and to partake of the privileges of the mendicant friars.† The court extolled this generosity of the Sovereign Pontiff. His brothers and relations implored Thomas to accept the tempting offer; and to their prayers, his mother joined her warm entreaties. The one long desire of her heart seemed about to be fulfilled. But Thomas had made his resolve. He was inexorable. He implored the Pope to leave him alone, and

* Mittenleiter, *p.* 71.

† "Cui cum Papa concederet, ut in ordine et habitu suo præesset officio, noluit ille." (*Cantimp.* : *I., de Apibus, cap. XX.*, § 10. *Malv.*, *p.* 603. *See Touron, p.* 64. *Bareille, p.* 86. *Gibelli, p.* 38.)

Echard puts the event six or seven years later.

begged that he might be permitted to abide in his vocation. He was so overpowered by the thought of being dragged from his position of a simple friar, that he spent his nights in tears and prayers, begging for graces necessary for salvation ;—the principal one of which—it seemed to him—was that of being permitted to live without charge or dignity, whether in the Cloister or in the Church.

Such was the termination of the conflict which S. Thomas had to sustain whilst carrying out the strong inspiration that possessed him. His mother now no longer worried him, his brothers left him alone, and he was permitted to begin that career of usefulness, which was the source ultimately of such blessings to the Church.

Not long after this, Reginald and Landulf had a disagreement with the Emperor. Frederick took his revenge. He destroyed their stronghold, and cast them into prison. Theodora spent the remainder of her life in prayer, and the practices of an ascetic life —making up in a short time for that too strong human element which she had suffered to possess her heart. Though not without blame, one cannot help looking with some sympathy at her strong passionate nature, her violent devotion to her child, and her love, vehement and ardent too, for God, which ended in her giving herself entirely to Him.

CHAPTER VII.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

Now that S. Thomas was free from the persecutions of his family, his Superiors began to form plans for developing those conspicuous abilities which had created so great a sensation in the schools. Thomas was the very man that the keen eye of the General would fix upon as likely to profit largely by the most perfect education. From the very first, knowledge was taken by the Dominicans as a principle of power: not knowledge buried in seclusion, or antiquated in its form, but knowledge, which would tell upon mankind, and raise up humanity from the egotism of nature, to the standard of the Cross. This instinct is manifested in a remarkable manner by the Acts of the first general Chapter of the Dominicans, by the *dicta* of their greatest men, and by their

authorized exposition of the rule of S. Augustine.* From the first, they seem to have had a kind of fore-knowledge of the great combat that would have to be waged in the arena of human reason. From the first, with prudence, forethought, and wise economy, they prepared a system for turning the abilities of their members to the fullest account. With them, no intellect was lost. Power was recognized, trained, and put in motion. Those who were less gifted were set to less intellectual employments;—those who had great powers were, with care and patience, by time and the best professors, fitted to become lights of the world and ornaments of the Order.

The interest taken by the Friars in the studies of their rising men, is clearly seen in the case of S. Thomas himself. He had already received a good education at Monte Cassino, and the University; so much so, that, as has been seen, his name was mentioned by the learned in the city with mingled awe and admiration. With such an

* The Acts of the General Chapter say:—

"Studium in liberalibus artibus et scientiis valet in Christianitate ad multa. Valet enim ad defensionem fidei, quam non solum heretici et pagani impugnant, sed philosophi . . . Ex his ergo et multis aliis patet rationibus, quod studium in artibus liberalibus valde necessarium in Ecclesia est. *(Martène et Durand, ampliss. collectio, tom. IV. See Werner, vol. I., p.* 32.*)*

Again: "Taliter debent esse in studio intenti, ut de die, de nocte, in domo, in itinere legant aliquid, vel meditentur, et quidquid poterunt retinere corde tenus nitentur." "Priores et Lectores, Fratresque omnes ad Studii promotionem incumbere tenentur." "Sacrarum litterarum studium Religioni nostræ quam maxime congruit." "Ordinamus, ut nullus ad habitum clericalem in nostro ordine recipiatur, vel ad professionem admittatur, nisi sciat distincte et clare legere, bene intelligat ac declaret quæ legit, et latinam calleat linguam." *(See Const., etc., Capitulorum Generalium S. Ord. Prædic. Romæ, MDCLV.)*

intellectual capital as our Saint possessed, he might fairly have been set to work in the active ministrations of his Order. But fortunately, his superiors were men who looked into the future, and knew how a present sacrifice would be repaid. They were aware that a young man, carefully built up, fully formed by a process of so much study, and so much training spread over so much time, would be as a fortress for defence or for attack. These men were aware that *time* is as essential a condition for maturing a man, as it is for ripening a fruit; you may bake an apple, but you cannot ripen it at pleasure. To force nature beyond its pace, be it in man or beast, is not to build nature up, but to pull nature down. Time, and trouble, and expense—patience, and confidence in the result—these were the secrets of Dominican success. Like the great material buildings of those days, they built up—stone upon stone, in labour and toil, in process of time—men, full of light and intellectual activity, with their moral nature trained and consolidated into stability. Thus it was that instead of looking on S. Thomas's education as finished, they considered it as only just begun. His mind was now in a position to imbibe the knowledge of scientific things. It was open: light could be poured in with advantage. Who was the master capable of bringing it to its perfection?

This question, no doubt, John of Germany, fourth General of the Dominicans, must have asked himself; it was not a question of distance or expense, but

a question of doing the best for the Order. So he at once set off with the Saint, on foot, for a three months' journey, from Rome to Paris, and from Paris to Cologne, where Albertus Magnus was lecturing.* When the reader calls to mind what kind of undertaking such a journey must have been, especially when made with no other assistance than a prayer-book and a stick, and that by an old man, and a delicate youth, he will begin to realize one of the causes of the rapid development of the Dominicans, who could, even at this date, number eight provinces, sixty convents, and nearly thirty thousand friars. What was easier than for the General to have saved himself this tedious journey? Why could he not have sent S. Thomas to Bologna, or to Naples, or to Paris, where there were teachers renowned for learning and ability? The reason is simple as the principle is golden. Because, at that date, no scholar was so promising as S. Thomas of Aquin, and no master had so high a reputation as Albertus Magnus.

Unfortunately, historians have left us no account of the incidents of the journey of the young student with the venerable General.

The modesty of the Saint himself, his horror of being talked about, and the natural reserve of a lofty mind, has deprived posterity of much that,

* Quem quum Joannes Teutonicus magister ordinis in carissimum in Christo filium suscepisset, duxit eum Parisios et deinde Coloniam, ubi sub Alberto, magistro in Theologiâ ejusdem ordinis, florebat studium. (*Antoninus, Hist., p.* 5, *tit.* 23, *cap.* 7, § 34.)

undoubtedly, would have been full of interest, and have tended to edification. One anecdote is however told of the Saint and his companion which shows how, from his early days, he had learnt to love the great fathers of the Church. It is related that, as they were approaching their destination, and they descried what appeared a distant town, and as the beauty of the city of Paris grew upon them with their advancing steps, the General turned to Thomas, and said "What would you give, Brother Thomas, to be king of that city"? "I would rather have S. John Chrysostom's treatise on the Gospel of S. Matthew," replied the young man, "than be king of the whole of France."*

The life of S. Thomas of Aquin would not be complete, were I to omit a brief notice of that extraordinary man whose teaching exerted so profound an influence upon him. If Thomas surpassed his Professors at Naples and Cologne, at all events, he now met his match in a teacher, whose breadth of knowledge and wide experience must have convinced him that there was something yet for him to learn. Nothing is a greater blessing for a master-mind, than to come in contact with another master-mind, more highly educated, and with a more matured experience than itself.

* Cardinal Augustine Valerio, in his book *De cautione in edendis libris*, shows how highly S. Thomas prized this work of S. John Chrysostom, and how careful he was with his penmanship: "S. Thomas," he says, "sanctissimorum virorum doctissimus, cum commentarium S. Chrysostomi in sanctum Evangelistam Matthæum in ejus manus pervenisset, thesaurum se reperisse existimans, sua manu illud totum descripsisse fertur, industriam Demosthenis imitatus, qui Thucydidis scripta non semel, sed octies descripserat." *(See La Carità, Ann. II., vol. IV., p.* 252.)

Albert was born of the noble family of Bollstadt in 1193, at Lavingen, on the banks of the Danube, in Bavarian Suabia. Some of his historians say that, like S. Isidore, he was dull as a boy. Others tell us that he was so dissatisfied with his tutor at home, that, accompanied by an uncle, he was sent to study under the most famous dialecticians at Paris. The next we hear of him is at Padua, applying himself to medicine and mathematics. Here it was that he was persuaded by Br. Jordan, the General of the Dominicans—who had already, by his eloquence, attracted one thousand young men out of the universities of Paris and Bologna—to join the Order At once the Dominicans, seeing what a prize they had drawn, set about making the most of it. Albert must complete his education. He was sent at once to Bologna, the second centre of the then intellectual world. Next he began to teach. As lecturer, he was unrivalled.* People went in crowds to listen to him as to an intellectual wonder. Princes, Bishops, Prelates, nobles, rich and poor, laymen and clerics, all thronged into

* And yet he did not make use of startling methods to gain disciples. From Albert, possibly S. Thomas gained a portion of that admirable spirit of intellectual moderation, for which he was so justly famed. Of Albert, Peter of Prussia says:—"In omnibus suis scriptis hunc humilitatis modum servat, ut, cum alta mirabiliter validissimis rationibus sanctæ Scripturæ ac sanctorum auctoritatibus muniens scriptitat, nulli tamen unquam doctori præjudicium in suis opinionibus voluit generare; unde quam sæpe proprias opiniones ponens, præmittit sic inquiens—'Sine præjudicio loquens . . . Salva pace sic videtur loquendum. . . . Ita cum aliis magistris sentio . . . Hæc opinio videtur mihi probabilior' . . . In quo modo scribendi nullus doctorum ipsi similis reperitur . . . Unde maluit inscius in quibusdam reputari quam temerarius in periculosis." (*Cap. V.*) See also Sighart—Hœrtel—Bianco. *Die alte Universität Köln.* Compare D'Assailly, *p.* 383.

the hall of this extraordinary man. The logic, ethics, and physics of Aristotle, and portions of the Holy Scripture, were the subject-matter of his lectures. He put a new impetus of intellectual life into a body of men who would seem to have been intellectual enough before, and was looked upon as a second founder of the Order. He went from Freiburg to Regensburg, and from Strasburg to Cologne, always begging his way, and travelling on foot, giving lectures in philosophy and theology. In 1228, he was sent to Paris to look thoroughly into the studies, and to put them on a footing to meet the requirements of the age. Then he returned to Cologne. It was at this period that he first met S. Thomas, who became his favourite disciple, and to whom in private he opened the stores of his capacious mind.

Albert's life looks as if it were wholly taken up in travelling and talking. In 1245, he was again sent to Paris to take his Doctor's cap, and to give public lectures in S. James's. It was at this period that he attained the height of his reputation as a professor. Some of his later historians declare that so great was the press to hear him, that no building in Paris was large enough to contain his audience, and that thus he was forced to lecture in the open air.* In 1248, he was once more sent back to

* Ses leçons sur Aristote eurent un tel succès, que, faute de salle assez vaste, il dut, dit-on, les faire en plein air, sur une place à laquelle on donna son nom : *place de Maître-Albert* ou *Aubert*, puis *place Maubert*. Dans les environs se trouve encore aujourd'hui la *rue Maître-Albert*. (*Franklin, vol. I., p.* 178.)

Cologne, to become *Regens*, and *Primarius Lector* of the school. In 1254, he was elected Provincial. The year after, he was called to Rome, and made Master of the Sacred Palace. In 1260, he was made Bishop of Regensburg, and then Papal Legate in Poland, by Alexander IV. Any one of these offices would have been full occupation for any ordinary man. When it is remembered that Albertus Magnus held each of them with credit—that as Professor he surpassed all his contemporaries; that as Regens, he was a zealous and prudent reformer; that as Bishop, he left a mark which remains to this day; that as Master of the Sacred Palace, he astonished his hearers by the wisdom of his discourse; that as Papal Legate, he did more than any man of his period towards mitigating the ferocity of barbarians, and encouraging a Christian spirit—when it is remembered how in those troubled times he was occupied in defending his Order, in making peace, in acting as arbitrator between rivals, for instance, in 1249, 1251, 1258, and that over and above the performance of all these active duties, he repeated the entire Psalter every twenty-four hours, and wrote twenty-one folio volumes* upon every then known subject that can be put under logic, metaphysics, psychology, natural science, ethics,

* Brought out by the French Dominican, Peter Jammy. *Lyons*, 1651.

Medieval Professors sometimes made their students write for them. Some had as many as fifty young men at work at a time. St. Peter of Cluny employed men to translate from the Arabic. S. Raymund got work done in the convents of the Order.

theology, chemistry, botany, and the rest, we begin to get a glimpse of what manner of a giant S. Thomas had for his professor.* Is there any man in the whole range of history who has manifested in equal proportions such practical ability, such speculative power, and indefatigable industry? Well may his contemporaries have called him the "Doctor Universalis," and Engelbert have written of him "Vir in omni scientia adeo divinus, ut nostri temporis stupor et miraculum congrue vocari possit. †

There is no doubt that Albert took a wide and profound view of the conditions of the intellectual world of his day. A man does not labour as he laboured, nor strike out a novel course of teaching, with the likelihood of being misunderstood, without having a grave reason for doing so. The very task which he set himself to accomplish, points to the depth and the wisdom of his appreciation of the times. He saw clearly the immense influence which had been, and still was being

* L'énumération des ouvrages laissés par Albert le Grand ou recueillis sous son nom, en vingt-et-un volumes in-folio, n'occupe pas moins de douze pages dans la Bibliothèque des écrivains de son ordre. (*Hauréau, Tom. II., p.* 5.) Some say he wrote eight hundred works.

† De Summo Bono. (*Tom. III., c.* 9.)

This is rather different from the criticism of that industrious bigot Prantl. Albertus Magnus (*geb.* 1193. *gest.* 1280.) war ein unklarer Kopf und nicht befähigt, irgend eine grundsätzliche Auffassung hinauszudenken, soweit dieselbe reicht. . . . Aber Verstand oder etwa gar philosophische Begabung besass er wohl nicht in höherem Grade, als die ganze grosse Masse aller Mittelmässigen, ja, wie sich alsbald zeigen soll sogar in geringerem Grade. . . . Wenn in Bezug auf bekannte Anekdoten über die erste Jugend und das Greisenalter des Albertus seine Feinde, die Franziskaner von ihm sagten, "Ex asino philosophus factus et ex philosopho asinus," so trafen sie hiemit auch in derbstem Ausdrucke, doch etwas Richtiges. (*Prantl, Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande. B. III., cap.* 17, *p.* 89.)

exerted, by those vast intellectual powers represented by the Koran, the Talmud, and the Stagyrite. Much truth thrown into philosophic form was on the side of the enemy. The power of Greek thought, its precision, its clearness, its order, its logical force, together with the traditionary teachings of men of intelligence, as subtle as profound, could always make a respectable appearance, and often confuse those who were really seeking after truth, and keep them from perceiving clearly the philosophy and beauty of the Christian religion. Besides, not only had the enemy to be attacked, but the whole body of catholic teaching, like some vast city, had to be defended—and defended, not merely against the assaults of her own children, but against the clever insinuations, the artful fallacies, the philosophical systems of men with intelligence every bit as powerful, and as educated, as her own. All this was clear to Albertus Magnus.

The two grand objects he kept in view during his brilliant career as Professor, and his long labours as Theologian, were, first, that, the influences of philosophy, the wisdom, clearness, and systematic methods of the powers of Paganism, should be brought over, and turned round for the defence and glory of the Church,—that Aristotle should be Christianized; and, secondly, that faith should be thrown into the form of a vast scientific organism, through the application of Christianized philosophy to the

dogmata of revealed religion. Thus would the Church possess all the highest truths of Greek philosophy in the purest form, without the alloy of error that is generally encrusted round the noblest of human speculations. Thus she would present an impregnable barrier to the efforts of pride of intellect, when endeavouring to overset the framework of the Church. Thus, also, would that almost endless array of points of belief, of which religion is composed, be united in the oneness of a philosophic form, and instead of being objects of difficulty to the enquirer, in reality, startle his mind, not only by their reasonableness, but by their strict relationship to one another. What could be more Divine than the conception of salvation as reflected in that splendid *Summa* of S. Thomas, which, humanly speaking, would never have existed had it not been for Albertus Magnus ?

It was not without causing astonishment, and I may say, not without some scandal, that Albert set about this great work of bringing Aristotle into the midst of Christianity. Had he contented himself with hunting up old manuscripts, with laboriously searching out the true text, and still more laboriously, perhaps, eliciting the true meaning, by comparing one execrable translation from the Arabic, with a still more execrable translation from the Greek ;—or, foiled in this,—by comparing one part of the author with another, or with Theophrastus or Avicenna, men might simply

have wondered at the extraordinary hobby of an industrious bookworm.* But he did far more than this:—he actually had the boldness to modify, and mould Aristotle, by the right of Christian principles, into a Christian form, to be set before Christian men, as Christian philosophy. And what is more, he made use of the position he occupied of Public Professor of Theology and Philosophy to instil his novel views into the minds of the rising generation. Never before this, had Aristotle been made the special subject-matter for lectures in the schools, and never before had the disciples of any professor seen their master with such fulness, depth, and comprehensiveness, build up so vast a system of harmonious truth.† Albert has, over and over, been accused of "introducing the philosophy of Aristotle into the very sanctuary of Christ," of "allotting to him the principal seat in the middle of Christ's temple;" of being drunk with the wine of secular science, human wisdom, and profane philosophy; of uniting contentious, thorny, and garrulous dialectics with most sacred and most pure theology, and of teaching his followers a new and philosophic method of

* Some say that Albert only knew the Arabian philosophy through Jewish writers. (See Dr. A. Schmiedl's interesting *Studien über jüdische, insonders jüdisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie, Die Engellehre, p.* 78, also Schmölders, *Essai sur les écolesphilosophiques chez les Arabes, p.* 263. Munk, *Le guide des égarés, II. p.* 60.)

† In der that ist er es gewesen, welcher das christliche Abendland zuerst in das Verständniss der Aristotelischen Philosophie einführte, wie er auch der Erste sie zum besonderen Gegenstande öffentlicher Lehrvorträge machte: er überraschte seine Zeitgenossen durch ein zusammenhängendes System philosophischer Lehren. (*Werner, B. I., p.* 89.)

explaining and teaching the Holy Word. He has been called "an ape," and "an ass," has been accused of sorcery, and of witchcraft," * and, in fact, has received that tribute from the foolish, which all truly superior men are accustomed to receive, and gratefully to acknowledge.

It would be too long, and beside the purpose, to go round the many-sided fabric of theology, and point out the merits of this mighty architect. It will suffice to hint, in the words of an able writer, at one or two of the services he rendered in particular questions. "He added two new proofs of the existence of God; he exposed the fallacies of pantheism; he completed the Lombard's doctrine on reprobation; refuted with consummate ability the Aristotelian doctrine of the Eternity of the World, introduced the famous distinction ever since employed against optimists; illustrated by ingenious analogies the Catholic doctrine of Justification; and went more profoundly than any of his predecessors into the sublime mystery of the ever Blessed Trinity." †

Besides being a theologian and philosopher—indeed, the first theologian and philosopher of his day—Albert was also great in natural history, he

* "Telle perfection y a-t-il eu, qu'aucuns lui ont jeté le chat aux jambes, qu'il estoit necromancien et detestable magicien." (*See Histoire des plus illustres et sçavans hommes de leur siècles. Thevet. p.* 87.)

† With him began the distinction of *essentia* and *existentia*. Psychology owes to him the conception of the soul as *totum potestativum*. All theological virtues are *virtutes infusæ*. Conscience the first law of reason. He also did more than any other towards determining the limits of the reason's knowledge of God.

was a botanist, a chemist, a geographer, an architect, a geologist, and a mechanic, besides being an anatomist and an alchemist.* He spent thirty years' toil in working at an automaton, which at length he succeeded in making to speak—the same, if the tradition have any truth in it, which so startled St. Thomas when, unawares, he came upon it in the workshop of Albert, that he seized the first stick that came to hand, and shrieking Salve! Salve! smashed the fearful monster to pieces, thinking it to be some cruel savage who was about to attempt his life.† He entertained William of Holland, in the midst of the severest winter, in a garden he had constructed, breathing the softest zephyrs of spring, and filled with most delicate flowers.‡ Humboldt declares that in his *Liber Cosmographicus de natura locorum* he surpasses in many points the age in which he lived. As a botanist, Maier puts him before all the ancients but Theophrastus. Dr. Jesser, whobrought out his work *De Vegetabilibus et Plantis*, and is a thorough bigot, equals Albert in his Cosmos to Aristotle and to Humboldt. Peter

* He wrote twenty-six books on animals, which Cuvier pronounced to be interesting, describing their physiological, anatomical, and historical character. The commerce of furs had brought many northern animals before him. He describes shoals of herrings, speaks of whales, of birds, of falconry, of anatomy, medicine, and alchemy.

† Both Gerbert (Sylvester II.) and Roger Bacon had a statue, it is said, which answered all their questions. (*See Lecky's Rise of Rationalism, Vol. I., p.* 301.)

‡ "We are told that Hallaj, a famous juggler and fanatic, who was executed at Bagdad (A.D. 922), could astonish his numerous spectators by making winter-fruits appear in summer, and summer-fruits in winter." (*Crichton's Arabia, Vol. II., p.* 22.)

Crescentia popularized his discoveries and views. His chemical knowledge may not have been far in advance of the Arabians Geber and Razes,* whose doctrines he tried to reconcile with Aristotle's teachings on the elementary properties of matter; but he certainly far surpassed all the ancients in the ingenuity of his experiments, and in some of his discoveries. He could make gunpowder. His remarks on gems would repay the perusal of the student at this day. He was the first to perceive the chemical affinities of bodies, and to detect various relations of metals to each other, while he greatly increased the practical utility of chemical materials.† Even the Jews looked upon his writings and discoveries with respect.‡ A certain Abraham translated into Arabic his *Summa* of natural philosophy; while the learned Jewish physician, Portaleone (1542—1612) pays a handsome compliment to Albert's treatment of "precious stones," in that portion of his scarce and celebrated work, "Schilte-ha-Gibborim," which touches on the subject. § Then

* Razes lived in the tenth century, was director of the hospital at Rhé in Irak, his birth-place, and Professor at Bagdad. His fame is principally owing to his medical writings. Geber, a native of Harran in Mesopotamia, lived in the eighth century. He was the father of Arabian chemistry. He is said to have written five hundred volumes on chemistry. Four tracts only remain.

† For a full account of Albert's chemical labours, see Kopp, *Geschichte der Chemie*, 4 *Bände*.

‡ (See Niedner, *Kirchengeschichte*, *p.* 487.)

§ The following works of Albert have been translated into Hebrew :— *De Forma Visionis*, *De Causis*, *De Anima*, *De Spiritu Brutorum*, by Jehuda Romano. *Summa Philosophiæ Naturalis*, by R. Abraham. *De Gemmis*, partly, by A. Portaleone.

as a geographer, Albert is said to have anticipated the discovery of America ; * and, as an architect, he gave plans for several churches; and the first design of the stately cathedral of Cologne is said to have been copied from his drawings.†

What is as remarkable as anything in this extraordinary man is, that, though he knew neither Greek, Arabic, nor Hebrew ; though he was very feeble in history ;‡ though he is simply ludicrous when he attempts to trace the etymology of words ;§ still, on the authority of one of the most able writers of the history of philosophy, it may be said, that he understood Aristotle better than our great modern philologists ; ‖ and added to all this versatility, was a simplicity, a modesty, a gentleness, a piety, a love for the Blessed Sacrament, a love for our Lady, a devotional spirit, a moral sublimity of character, which has ranked him justly among the blessed, and made him a fit companion for the saints. ¶ So great was his piety and learning, that some writers declare

* (See Werner, *B. I.*, *p.* 85.)

† Kreuser, *der Christliche Kirchenbau*, *p.* 275.

‡ "Zählt er die Pythagoräer unter die Stoiker, sagt, Sokrates sei ein Macedonier gewesen, er meint, Hesiod habe auch den Namen Homer getragen, Anaxagoras und Empedokles seien beide aus Italien gewesen ; den Plato betrachtet er als, den "Princeps Stoicorum ;" den Namen "Epicuraer" erklärt er so, dass er sagt, sie seien Leute, welche auf der faulen Haut (super cutem) liegen, oder sich um Unnützes bekümmern (curantes) ; Endymion leitet er ab von in und dymion (intellectus)." Stöckl, *B. II.*, *erst. Abt. p.* 358. See also Werner, *S. Thomas*, *p.* 88.

§ Adam of Perseigne seems to have had a little touch of philological knowledge. (Vincent de Beauvais, *vol. IV.*, 1227.)

‖ "Albertus habe den Aristotles wohl besser verstanden, als unsere neueren grossen Philologen." (Ritter, *B. I. p.* 626—Stöckl, *B. II. p.* 352—421.)

¶ His spirit is seen in *De adhærendo Deo*, *cap. V.*

that his knowledge was infused into him by heaven.*

One can well imagine him swaying the minds of his disciples by the marvellousness of his many-sided knowledge. One can see now, in imagination, that placid figure, those features, beautiful in their regularity; those eyes, singularly meditative and profound; those lips, speaking of gravity and energy; and that general impress of calm genius, with passion altogether conquered, or, at all events, entirely controlled; as—surrounded by admiring and loving eyes—he unfolds the hidden science of the saints, or dwells upon the origins and springs of God's beautiful creation. †

He continued teaching till he was eighty-five years old, and ended his laborious and saintly life in 1280. ‡

* "Inde ben tosto fu [Tomaso] per degni rispetti inviato a Colonia per sentire Alberto il Magno, oracolo di quel secolo nelle scientie tanto humane, quanto divine, infuseli più tosto liberalmente da Dio, ch'a forza di studio da lui acquistate." (Frig. *l. I., c. IV., n.* 4., *p.* 24.) See also Ulric Engelbert, his disciple, *De Summo Bono, Tract III., c.* 9.

† He deserved, if any one ever did, the same epitaph as Alfonso Tostatus, the celebrated Spanish divine :

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

‡ Celestine III. became Pope when he was eighty-five years old; Raymund of Pennafort lived and worked till ninety-eight. Some say that Albert lost his knowledge when he became old: so most people do when past eighty-four. Newton, at the end, entirely forgot all his great discoveries, and Kant, all his critical philosophy. The legend referred to is mentioned by Flaminius, Leander, and Jammy. Lacordaire, also, mentions it in his *Histoire de Saint Dominique, p.* 37. D'Assailly relates that our Lady appeared to Albert, and asked him "'Dans quelle science veux-tu devenir habile?'" . . . "'Je voudrais devenir habile dans la connaissance de la nature,' répondit simplement Albert." "'Tu seras ce que tu désires et le plus grand des philosophes,' murmura la Vierge, un peu surprise et désolée, 'mais parce que tu n'as point préféré la science de mon fils, la théologie, un jour viendra, où, perdant même la science de la nature, tu te retrouveras l'intelligence, voilée comme à présent.'" (D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand, p.* 48. *Paris: Didier*, 1870.)

Such was the master selected by John of Germany for young Thomas of Aquino. Such was the chance given to the young Dominican for bringing to their highest perfection those extraordinary gifts of nature and grace entrusted to him by God.* When the genius of the Italian is directed and fostered by the genius of the German, the result cannot but be a glorious manifestation of cultivated ability and power.

* His sanctity is evident from these words of Peter of Prussia: (*Vit. Alb., p.* 230.) "Cum beatus Thomas ejus discipulus sanctorum adscriberetur catalogo, *de Alberti etiam canonizatione* ut aiunt, *tractabatur;* licet propter negligentiam fratrum prosecutione careret." (See also Sighart, *cap. XXXVII. p.* 285.)

CHAPTER VIII.

TEACHING DOWN TO S. ANSELM.

BEFORE attempting an account of the studies of S. Thomas under Albert, a rapid sketch must be drawn, as with a stroke, of the course of the theological current up to the period of his pupilage.

There is nothing more sublime than the influence which one grand idea, introduced by the Redemption, has exerted on the most powerful of minds. Before the principle of Christianity, by which is meant the whole idea of the Christian dispensation, was set to work, the power of mere reason, the religion of passion and sense, ruled paramount in the world. I am not speaking of the isolated nation of the Jews, but refer to those multitudinous peoples whose ruling principle was naturalism and materialism, and whose highest efforts never reached beyond the misty vision of a doubtful splendour—too volatile to be firmly grasped, and too weak, compared with passion and pride, to affect the destinies

of men. When a higher philosophy for a time seemed to gather to itself the natural aspirations of humanity after the good, the beautiful, and the true, the coarseness of nature soon eclipsed the refinement of reason; and those two sympathetic developments which domineer where Christianity does not counteract them—pride that ends in blindness, and sensuality that ends in despotism—took possession of the moral and intellectual man.*

Reason, left to itself, history assures us, will go astray; sense, uncurbed by illuminated reason, history as clearly says, will produce disorder. Reason has been tried, and reason has failed; sense has been master, and has proved a tyrant. God sent one to rule them both, and to use them as her servants.

Great was the struggle before faith became consolidated in her position. She is seen on the day of Pentecost, in flames of fire, descending upon the Apostles, and "sweetly interiorly burning," as S. Gregory says, and fully mastering the hearts and intelligences of men. Then she took her seat, with her Greek profile, and simple majesty, in Alexandria, and withstood, as one gifted with a divine power, two subtle and dangerous enemies, heathen philosophy, and heretical theology; and by means of Clement,

* See Cicero, *Tuscul. I.* 49. Plato, *Apol. Soc. p.* 40. Lucian, *Acad. quæst. II.* Aristot., *Poet. XXVI.*, 12. Xenophanes, *Frag. in Sext. Emp. VII.*, 49. Seneca, *Ep.* 31.

"Nemo novit Deum. Indulge genio: carpamus dulcia: nostrum est
Quod vivis. Cinis et manes et fabula fies." (Pers. *Sat. V.* 151 *sqq.*)

See Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums Erster Band, Zweite Abtheilung, Das Bedürfniss der Offenbarung, p.* 457—515.

and of Origen, proved to passion and misbelief that a new and strange intellectual influence had been brought into the world. Then, she appeared in the fourth century at Antioch, less eager, perhaps, regarding the speculative doctrines of theology, but more deeply interested in the Sacred text, and arming herself with sharp, bright weapons, against the thrust of the heathen and the blow of the heretic. Next, she combated, with her own fearless grace, and matchless dexterity, those who advanced, time after time, against her teaching on Grace, on the divinity of the Word, and on the Incarnation. Her form developed during the combat, in grace and elasticity, and she began to acquire the complete symmetry and perfect fulness of her beautiful proportions. The activity of assault simply made victory the more secure, and proved to the world her divine original.

S. Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Gregory Nazianzen —sometimes called the second Origen—were amongst her most distinguished champions. She appeared in the West, with almost the same garb as she adopted in the East. S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, S, Jerome, Rufinus, and Cassian, drew the sharp instruments of their controversy, if not the riches of their rhetoric, from the more simple logic of the Grecian Fathers. And whilst S. John Damascene, in the East, with little individual originality, and without much comparative genius for advance, gathered into one all the learning of the past;*

* He chiefly follows S. Gregory Nazianzen: "Ἐρῶ τοιγαροῦν ἐμὸν οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ σποράδην θείοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδρασι λελεγμένα συλλήβδην ἐκθήσομαι." (Joan. Damas. *Dialectica, Opp., Vol. I., p.* 9.)

S. Augustine, in the West, who stands out like a giant amongst the greatest—with an originality of conception, richness of fancy, and severity of reasoning, that cannot be well surpassed—not only widened and advanced the boundaries of scientific Christianity by his contests with the Pelagians and Donatists, but left, in the efforts of his genius, so firm a ground-work of Catholic teaching, that the Church of this day may be said to rest upon it, as upon an immovable intellectual basis.

Thus, Faith had her great champions, whose courses, like lines of light, can be traced in the expanse of history, now burning steadily, now more brightly, now breaking into flame, at times converging into one great focus, and always manifesting one principle as the guide and mistress of brute force, and intellectual despotism.

As far as the West is concerned, the Champions of Faith never died out from decrepitude or age. Violence, the torrent springing out of the wilds of Northern Europe, overswept all in its flood. A new nationality, young and vigorous, took the place of the power of ancient Rome. It had to be civilized. A world-work had to be done. The Encyclopedic Capella (450), Cassiodorus (467), and the Aristotelian Boethius (480), led the way to Isidore of Seville (636), Tajo, and Venerable Bede (674—735), who were the first to arise after the world had been submerged. They proved that dogma and exegesis had not died, if they had slumbered. Faith, though seemingly eclipsed, had not been cast out. Retired into monastic retreats,

and clothed in the simple habit of a Benedictine monk, she at length came forth to set the world in order, and raised up a man to do the work of reconstruction. Charlemagne was a man of stupendous gifts, whether as a soldier, a legislator, or a Christian. The one dominant principle of his life was the principle of faith. It is the key to his personal policy, and formed the foundation of his legislation. Under him, religion speedily regained her own. He was the warrior who set her on that throne, from which she ruled, with sovereign sway, during the feverish period of the middle ages. He it was who set on foot those schools which formed the transition from the monastic education of the past, to the academies and universities of the future. The teaching in them, to be sure, was meagre enough, not extending beyond the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*;* but, hidden in their secret archives, were preserved priceless treasures of ancient literature and wisdom.

It was only in the twelfth century that medicine, scholastic theology, and canon and civil law, entered into the *Curriculum.* Amongst the learned men, with whom Charlemagne surrounded himself, was Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, and

* Sometimes expressed thus: "*Grammatica:* Quidquid agunt partes, ego semper prædico partes. *Dialectica:* Me sine Doctores frustra coluere sorores. *Rhetorica:* Est mihi dicendi ratio cum flore loquendi. *Musica:* Invenere locum per me modulamina vocum. *Geometria:* Rerum mensuras et rerum signo figuras. *Arithmetica:* Explico per numerum, quid sit proportio rerum. *Astronomia:* Astra viasque poli vindico mihi soli."

The three first, the *Trivium*: the next, the *Quadrivium.* They are also called the "Seven Liberal Arts."

Alcuin (732—804). Alcuin, who was a scholar of Bede and Egbert, founded a school of laborious students. Fridegisus, Rabanus Maurus (776—856) Paschasius Radbertus, a disciple of Adelhard who was pupil of Alcuin,—all of them monks,—spent their days diligently writing, or rather collecting information, on history, dogma, and exegesis, and in preparing the subject-matter for the great contentions of a future day.* Then came the strife of truth with error, and the consequent victory of truth. The controversy between Gotteschalc and Hincmar on predestination (819—868), the gentle smoulderings which afterwards blazed into a fierce flame of Nominalism and Realism, connected with the names of Gerbert, Heric and Remigius of Auxerre, and John the Sophist—the contest, above all, in which Berengarius (1003) and Lanfranc split, drawing from the latter that vigorous, violent, and witty *Liber Scintillarum*,—were but as the slight movements and distant rumblings in the earth, which were afterwards to grow into violent shocks and loud thunderings.† The world was set in motion, men's minds were becoming possessed with an idea, and we begin to leave the period of *catenæ* and *summulæ*, of chronicles and annals, and to enter into that period of fermentation which was the prelude

* The first command the Bishops had, to establish at their cathedrals public schools, where scholars should be taught gratis, was in the Assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789. It was renewed by the III. Council of Lateran, in 1179. The Council of London, in 1138, and that of Rouen, in 1074, aimed at centralization.

† In the thirteenth century, any collection of thoughts or extracts was called *Scintillaris*, or *Scintillarius*.

to the large scientific expression of Catholic truth in Albert, Thomas, and Bonaventure.

I refer to the period beginning with S. Anselm, and ending with the Lombard—a most exciting epoch, and one full of the contests and antagonisms of human thought. At this period it was that faith and reason, the principle of authority and self-assertion, stood over against each other, and grew into clear and distinct shape, and manifested their bearings on society with greater boldness than, perhaps, ever they had done before. This was the period in which those two sides of truth, the speculative and contemplative, and those two sides of the human mind, the reason and the will, created the great schools of scholastic and monastic theology.

Many causes led to the intellectual activity of the twelfth century. The increase of schools, the multiplication of professors, liberty of opinion, heat in the maintenance of personal convictions, the increased knowledge of theological and philosophical problems, the awakened sense of the power of human reason produced by the study of Aristotle's Dialectics, the study of Plato, public displays of intellectual fence—all this tended to develop the activity of the mind, and to bring out, clearly, truth and error from their opposing camps. Just as young men, when they first begin to study logic, are not satisfied till they are practising upon their companions, caring little for truth, but much for victory; so, now, men's minds began to grow sensible of their power; and the great fascination

was not so much love of truth, as an unquenchable craving for single combats, and for victory over the intelligence of fellow men. Thus, when professors and students settled down in large towns, these lovers of mental excitement would travel from place to place, spending their days in intellectual gladiatorial displays—upsetting gray-headed professors, and bringing confusion into the schools.* This was developing reason with a vengeance: and it is not surprising that the time was not distant when these bold knights should find themselves in open antagonism with one, fairer and more dexterous than themselves. Men who could deify the Aristotelian method of syllogistic reasoning, and could be absorbed by those miserable translations of his dialectics; who could abandon knowledge, to run after mere intellectual display; were just the persons to manifest little reverence for the mysteries of faith, and little respect for the traditions of the past.

The one central question, out of which many developments grew, was the dispute upon Universals. To omit a short account of it would be to turn the history of this period, and the one succeeding it, into an enigma. But the reader need not fear. Scholastic refinements and distinctions shall, as far as possible, be avoided in this volume.

* "Men at this time waste their whole lives in controversy; even disputing in the public streets. When too old for any other employment, they still retain their fondness for debate; always seeking but never arriving at truth, because they are ignorant of the ancients, or disdain to adopt their opinions; for ever framing new errors of their own, or, through poverty of judgment, retailing the opinions and sayings of others, and compiling an inconsistent mass, out of which each author would find it difficult to recover his own." (John of Salisbury, *Metalog.*, *B. II.*, *cap. VII.*, *p.* 864.)

When powder is dry, a mere spark can set it in explosion. So, one doubt, falling upon men's minds in a certain moral state, is capable of creating an activity which may issue in a revolution. Boethius and Rabanus Maurus, as far back as the ninth century, as well as an anonymous writer of the eleventh, had, in their meditative way, ventilated the question of Universals. But the period for an explosion had not then arrived.

At length it came. It originated with a problem translated out of Porphyry by Boethius, of which Porphyry himself did not dare to offer a solution. The *dicere recusabo* of Porphyry, soon set the curious and contentious minds of the twelfth century in motion. The question was this:— Have genus and species, such as animal, horse, &c., an independent existence of themselves, or do they only exist as we think them in our minds? If they do exist of themselves, are they body, or spirit? Do they exist separate from sensible things, or in them? *

* It will be interesting to give this in full:—

"Cum sit necessarium, Chrysaori, et ad eam quæ est apud Aristotelem prædicamentorum doctrinam, nosse quid sit genus, quid differentia quid species, quid proprium, quid accidens; et ad diffinitionum assignationem, et omnino ad ea quæ in divisione et in demonstratione sunt, utili istarum rerum speculatione, compendiosam tibi traditionem faciens tentabo breviter, velut introductionis modo, ea quæ ab antiquis dicta sunt aggredi, ab altioribus quidem quæstionibus abstinens, simpliciores vero mediocriter conjectans. *Mox de generibus et speciebus illud quidem sive subsistant, sive in solis nudis intellectibus posita sint sive subsistentia corporalia sint an incorporalia, et utrum separata a sensibilibus, an in sensibilibus posita et circa hæc consistentia, dicere recusabo. Altissimum enim negotium est hujusmodi, et majoris egens inquisitionis.*" (Porphyrius: Αὐτίκα περὶ γενῶν τε καὶ εἰδῶν, τὸ μὲν εἴτε ὑφέστηκεν εἴτε καὶ ἐν μόναις ψιλαῖς ἐπινοίαις κεῖται, εἴτε καὶ ὑφεστηκότα σώματά ἐστιν ἢ ἀσώματα, καὶ πότερον χωριστα ἢ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ὑφεστῶτα, παραιτήσομαι λέγειν· βαθυτάτης οὔσης τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας, καὶ ἄλλης μείζονος δεομένης ἐξετάσεως.) Porphyrii introductio interpret. Boëthio init. (Boëthi *opp. ed. Basil.*, 1570. *fol. p.* 50.)

Doubtless, some may wonder how such questions as these could have caused so violent an intellectual commotion as we know was in reality produced. It has been the fashion to dilate on the subtleties, refinements, and barren disputes of the scholastics; and some writers among the schoolmen have given an opening to the charge. But thus to stigmatize the question of Universals in the main, is to manifest either remarkable shallowness of mind, or a profound ignorance of its bearings—of its influence on moral conduct, and its relations with the relative and the absolute, with multitude and unity, with science and faith, with man and God. Destroy the Universal—say that whatever is not one and individual is a myth—and you destroy everything except the egotism of humanity. The principle of self, is the principle of barbarism, and of destruction, and naturally brings about the denial of the reality of the Universal. The Universal, the ideal, whether of the good, the beautiful, or the true, draws man out of himself, and disciplines him, and one may say, sanctifies, and lifts him up in his effort after its realization in himself. If goodness, beauty, and truth are absolutely nothing but words, if the only reality is in the concrete individual, then objects, which have been held in the greatest reverence by mankind, are phantasms or mockeries, such as Church, State, Country, and even Humanity itself. Kill ideas, blast theories, explode the archetypes of things, and the age of brute force is not far distant. The whole history of Christianity, of its

victories, of the heroic sacrifice of its children in its defence, of their intense belief in its reality, of their marvellous love for its severest laws, is the worship of an Universal, of an idea—an idea which has possessed such a reality as to have subjected the world under its control, and to have lifted up the noblest to its imitation.

Are these ideas to be considered illusions of the mind, or at best creatures of the brain ? or do they possess sufficient reality to justify Christians in their love of ideal goodness, beauty, and truth ?

Such questions as these, surely, were serious enough, and deserved to occupy the minds of men educating the world in the middle ages.* For, especially at this period, theory speedily resolved itself into practice ; what to-day was a speculation of the schools, to-morrow became a fact ; men lived quickly, thought quickly, and acted quickly in the days of William of Champeaux and Abelard. Reason was trying her wings and making her first ventures, and had not learnt as yet to control her liberty. She had to be broken in, and trained : and being disdainful, wanton, ambitious, and not wanting in self-conceit, it was no light task to subjugate and tame her, and teach her to be content with her proper place.

The first who brought the question of Universals

* Hence we can understand John of Salisbury, when he says of this question that it is "Veterem quæstionem in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpserit Cæsarea domus : plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Crœsus." (*Polycrat., Lib. VII., cap. XII., p.* 664.)

to a point was Roscelin. He was a Canon of Compiègne, a celebrated professor, and a bold speculator. He had made his studies at Soissons and Rheims, had taught at Locmenach (near Vannes), and at Tours, and had succeeded in attracting round him a large and motley gathering of disciples. But the novelty of his views, and his audacity, soon drew upon him the keen eyes of trained theologians and philosophers. They were amazed to hear—what might, perhaps, have been advanced by infidels, and Pagan philosophers, but not by Christian thinkers, much less by a priest and a professor—that Universals were mere delusions of the mind, and that the only thing of which existence could be predicated was the individual. It was strange, indeed, to the ears of men who had been accustomed from youth to look upon the great ideals with reverence and admiration, to hear them proved away, and shovelled on one side as so much intellectual lumber, or derided as the fanciful creations of playful imaginations. Not only did this strange professor make out that Universals were mere sounds, that genus and species were pure abstractions of the human spirit; but he actually had the hardihood to affirm that the parts of a whole had no existence in reality: that they can only be found in the whole, and that the qualities of bodies, considered apart, did not exist at all: so, while he admitted the existence of man, he stoutly denied the existence of humanity; while he affirmed that a house existed, he denied

existence to its walls; and while he admitted the reality of a coloured body, he denied, with the same breath, the existence of the colour. Either these Universals, he argued, belonged to the individuals, and thus the mind acquires the notions of them; or they belong to the intellect, being creations of its activity; and, in either case, they are simply unrealities, with names.

How far this professor had studied theology I cannot pretend to say. Possibly carried away by his love of intellectual display, he had neglected the deeper study of dogmatic truth, and the relations of reason to revelation. Anyhow, he brought his philosophical principles to bear directly upon the great corner-stone of all religion. He boldly opposed himself to the whole traditionary teaching of the Church in support of a system of philosophy that had not, at that time, at all events, a single weighty name to recommend it. The one nature of the Three Divine Persons, according to his theory, was an Universal; and, therefore, its existence must be denied; and so the Canon denied it. Yet he did not admit that he denied the existence of the Creator—because he affirmed a God existing in Three Persons. He admitted the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as three distinct entities, like three angels, in the identity of power and of will. In point of fact, he taught that there were three Gods. This shows the temper of the times, and how thoroughly the human reason was being roused into activity.

But Roscelin's boldness soon met its match. S. Anselm,* in the name of theology, and William of Champeaux, in the name of philosophy, came forth to confront these dangerous novelties, and to support the cause of truth. To the pure Nominalism of Roscelin, S. Anselm opposed a Realism which harmonized philosophy with the doctrines of the Church. Gifted with vast power, with a tender heart, a warm imagination, a piercing intelligence, and a power of order and synthesis beyond any of his contemporaries, he did more than any man of his age towards constructing an organized theology on an intellectual basis, and towards accounting philosophically, by the precision, accuracy, and lucidity of his metaphysical reasoning, for those points of Christian theology which formerly had rested almost exclusively in revelation. The natural bent of his soaring and refined intelligence, and his practices of Divine contemplation, together with hours spent in the solitude of his cell over the pages of S. Augustine and the Fathers, made him particularly fit for the arduous task of directing the mind of the age in which he lived, and for combating, with reason tempered by revelation, the extravagance and wildness of ill-regulated philosophers.†

* Disciple of Lanfranc; Prior and Scholastic, 1063; Abbot of Bec, 1078; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093. Died, 1109.

† The conduct of S. Anselm, before the Pope and the Greeks, is the most striking testimony to his extraordinary power:—

"From an elevated seat, Anselm began his discourse. He established from Scripture the orthodox doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son; with a self-possession, force of argument, and power of eloquence which seemed like inspiration. . . . A deep Amen was the one response of the whole assembly, when Urban exclaimed:—"Blessed be thy heart and understanding, blessed be thy lips and the words which flow from them." (Hook, *vol. II., p.* 229.)

His great imagination, yet extreme caution, gave him a singular power to meet and understand his opponents; his profound knowledge of Scripture, and his theological acumen, gave him a great facility in exposing the tendencies of their doctrines; and the wide sweep of his reasoning, and the firm grasp of his strong intelligence, directed and subdued in the school of contemplation,* gave him a mastery over what of all things was most cherished at that day, the dialectical skilfulness, the intellectual keenness, and the logical force of the human mind. Besides all this, he possessed a natural chivalry, and that delicacy of feeling, and that art of soberly meeting the boldest antagonist, which generally issued in his gaining the mastery, and in his rendering triumphant the cause of truth, liberty, and justice.†

It was whilst engaged in his lofty meditations, in the secluded valley of Bec, that he first heard of the astounding propositions which were being defended by the Canon of Compiègne. He saw at a glance what would be the issue of the destructive method of materialism which this Professor was establishing amongst his scholars. But it was rather as a theologian, than as a philosopher, that Anselm determined to overset his adversary.‡ Stung by the injury to religion,

* "We are told, for instance, that he neither got up nor went to bed, nor, it was reported, even turned himself in bed without the command of his Director." (Hook, *Vol. II., cap. III., p.* 267.)

† "The Western world was filled to inebriation with the nectar of Anselm's exalted character. (Eadm. *V. Ansel. T. II.*, 13.)

‡ He had a good library to consult: Lanfranc left 160 vols. at Bec.

and the traditions of the Fathers, which this Nominalism created, he penned his *De Fide Trinitatis*, in which, though he may, as a theologian, be repeating the teachings of antiquity, yet as a philosopher, he can be considered the founder of the Realistic school.* With great force and point he lays down the teaching of the Church upon the Trinity and its relations ; and not without a touch of scorn, asks : how men who blunder so ignorantly over the relations between one creature and another, can be capable of arguing upon the sublime doctrines which are included in the Trinity ? †

In Roscelin and in Anselm we have fair samples of two schools, which divide the intellectual world even at this day. The materialism, experimentalism, and sensism of Roscelin, who maintains that nothing has any existence except in the individual, that is, that the senses furnish us with all that we can be said in any way to understand, and the spiritualism, mysticism, and intellectualism of Anselm, who, impatient of the trammels of mere sense, absorbed by the contemplation of spiritual things, bursts out of the shell of material existences, to expand in a purer and brighter air — to contemplate and possess, as far as may be, those very truths or essences the existence of which was scoffed at by his opponents.

* De Fidé Trinitatis, *L. I., cap.* 4.

† He seems to discover the real cause of Roscelin's unorthodox doctrine in his too great attachment to "human reason." (*See De Fide Trinit., L. I., c.* 2.)

The secular Canon, engaged in his active life, had not had the advantage of monastic contemplation. Anselm was a monk. He had lived retired with God. He had renounced material things.* Contemplation, faith, tradition, meditation of the Fathers, the exercise of reason under strict subordination to supernatural truth, had formed him into a theologian.†

It is the ascetic man, he whose heart loves, and whose spirit is exercised in contemplation, who—when some great crisis arises—comes forth and casts the light that is in him on the sophisms of clever men. He knows how, powerfully, to set the traditionary teaching of the Church against the brilliant originality of error—of philosophers who think much and love little, and have a strange tendency to put themselves on the wrong side in the great religious questions of their day.

It was the solitude of the cloister, the midnight office, the frequent vigil, and a life of prayer, that set Lanfranc against Berengarius, Anselm against Roscelin, and Bernard against Abelard.

The next chapter will show, in the case of Abelard, how the two confronting powers battled for the mastery, and what was the ultimate issue of the combat. It is necessary, for clearly understanding the position of S. Thomas, to touch upon

* "Ad nomen proprietatis inhorruit." (Eadm. *in Vit.*, *p.* 8.)

† He naturally shrank from the world, "and likened himself to an owl, which is only well when it is with its young ones in a hole: but if it comes out among crows and ravens, sees nothing on all sides but pecking beaks, and knows not which way to turn." (Hook, *Vol. II.*, *cap.* 3, *p.* 274.)

these developments of an earlier date: for there are no great intellectual movements to be found in history which do not reach far beyond the place where first they were set in motion. The stone is dropped in the centre of a pool, the circling ripples expand till they touch the shore.

CHAPTER IX.

RATIONALISM AND IRREVERENCE. ABELARD.

ABELARD is a type of the excitable and disputatious age in which he lived. Born in 1079, he was, like his brothers, destined by his father for the career of arms. But the brilliancy of his talents, and, above all, his headstrong passion for dispute, made him turn with disgust from the calling of a soldier, to dedicate himself to a life of intellectual activity. When only a lad of fifteen, he abandoned home and all it offered, and threw himself upon the wide world, bent on seeking his fortune amongst the logical contentions of the schools. He was, as St. Bernard declares, a "*vir bellator ab adolescentia.*"* Roscelin appears to have been his first master, and he speaks of him with that contempt with which he seems to have been accustomed to repay the efforts of his teachers.† When only twenty years

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* Epis. CLXXXIX.

† Hefele, however, denies this, but it would seem without adequate reason. (*See* Goschler's *Dic. Encly. de la Theologie Catholique. T. I., p.* 12, *ed.* 3. 1869.)

of age, having visited the provinces, and exercised himself in the subtleties and arts of dialectical disputation, astonishing all he met by his logic, wit, and audacity, he came to Paris to break a lance with the most experienced and skilful masters of debate.

At this period, William of Champeaux's reputation was at the zenith. He added to the dignity of Archdeacon of Notre Dame, a piety and asceticism which threw a charm round his person, and conciliated to him the reverence of those wild young men who pressed around his chair. His lectures on the great question of Universals, in which he went in direct opposition to the heresy of Roscelin—and endeavoured to start Realism as an independent philosophy, and the only foundation of dialectics—made him a sort of Apostle of the Faith. And the talent and originality which he manifested in defending the dogmata of religion, gained for him the proud appellation of "*Columna Doctorum.*"*

Shoals of scholars, from every coast, were attracted into the school of William. And so great was the excitement and emulation amongst them, that, not content with their altercations in the schools, and sometimes in the streets, they occasionally brought their syllogisms to cuffs and blows, and had to be dispersed by the civil authorities of the town.

* Fleury, *Hist. Eccl., T. XIV., p.* 285.

Abelard joined the noisy throng of disputants who poured into the lecture-hall of William. Having lived in this element from childhood, he cared little for contending with his equals, but he kept his eyes fixed steadily on the chair of William of Champeaux, and thirsted to overthrow the master, in proportion as he became aware of the greatness of his fame—yearning to display before the whole school his matchless powers of debate. So much ambition, and such parts, could not remain long in obscurity. Abelard boldly questioned his master, struck blows he could not parry; and, when once he began, speedily drew all eyes upon himself, by his precocious knowledge, by his flowing rhetoric, by his astounding memory, by the singular charm of his melodious voice, and by the grace and beauty of his personal appearance.

At first, William looked upon this extraordinary stripling, who showed an acuteness and depth so far beyond his years, with pleasing admiration. But his admiration was speedily turned to concern and to alarm. He found that neither his authority, nor his experience, nor his undoubted talent, could keep pace with the adroitness of a youth, who seemed bent upon displaying his dexterity by upsetting his professor. Neither grey hairs, nor position, nor *prestige*, had any effect on Abelard. To bring discomfort on the "Column of Doctors" was nothing but a treat to him. He had gained many a victory in the provinces, but to overset in his own chair, upon his own subject, the most

famous doctor of the most famous school of the capital, and that in the midst of disciples who hung upon his every word, was an opportunity which such as Abelard could not possibly throw away.

Whilst the Archdeacon was disconcerted, some of his pupils looked upon the new comer with blank astonishment, whilst others, detesting Abelard's love of popular applause, and jealous of the reputation of their master, made up their minds to be revenged.

Though but three-and-twenty years old, Abelard determined to set up as master. William of Champeaux did all he could to prevent this move, but without success. The young Professor, surrounded by the young men who had witnessed his passages of arms with the *Columna Doctorum*, commenced his public lectures at Melun (1102). But here he was too far removed from the school of William. He went to Corbeil. Now William's students flocked to him, and he was looked upon as one of the first philosophers of the day.

Meanwhile, to the astonishment of all Paris, William of Champeaux suddenly threw up his Archdeaconry and Professorship, and, abandoning Notre Dame, retired to a little oratory dedicated to S. Victor Martyr, in a quiet suburb of Paris.* Here he determined to end his days

* Sur une partie du vaste emplacement qu'occupe aujourd'hui [1860] l'Entrepôt des vins, on voyait alors une petite chapelle dédiée à S. Victor, et qui venait d' être erigée en prieuré ; c'est là que Guillaume de Champeaux alla cacher son désespoir et la honte de sa défaite. (Franklin, *vol. I., p.* 136.)

in the practices of prayer and contemplation. This was the beginning of that famous school of S. Victor, which produced so many deeply-learned and monastic-minded men.

But William was not suffered to repose. Urged by Hildebert, Bishop of Mans, he opened a school, which was soon filled with those students who all along had remained faithful to their master, and with others who, having heard of the sanctity of the Professor, were drawn to listen to his word.

When Abelard heard that the old Professor had retired from his chair, he hurried up to Paris with the hope of securing it for himself. But William had anticipated him, and had placed one of his own disciples in it. Abelard then left Paris, invaded the quiet retreat of St. Victor's, and gave out that he had determined to take lessons in rhetoric from William of Champeaux. William at this period was lecturing on Universals. He was opposing emphatically the materialistic doctrines of Roscelin, which had been condemned by the Council of Soissons. Whilst Roscelin by his materialism destroyed the Universal, and only admitted the real existence of the individual, William did the reverse. He did away, in reality, with the individual in his anxiety to affirm the Universal. Man is essentially one, and upon this one essence certain forms fix themselves, and constitute, for example, Socrates. This self-same man—this one essence—receives other forms, and we have Plato, or other individuals. Nor is

there anything in Plato which is not, at the same time, in Socrates, except the Socratic form in the one, and the Platonic form in the other. So that, prescinding from the forms, the humanity of both is identical. In fact, individuals are not necessary for the existence of the Universal, nor are men necessary for the existence of humanity—for the essences of things are not dependent on accidental forms. Such was the doctrine which William of Champeaux, with great weight of authority, was teaching his disciples when Abelard took his place amongst them.

But Abelard did not come to school to listen, or to seek truth, or to establish a theory—he came simply to conquer. He had already shown himself to be a dangerous rival to William of Champeaux—he now determined to upset him once for all, to occupy his chair, and upon the ruins of the system he was bent upon destroying, to build up a system of his own. With his keen vision, like some intellectual hawk, he swooped down upon the vulnerable part of William's theory, and with merciless force burst it up into twenty absurdities. If the substance or humanity of Socrates be identical with the substance or humanity of Plato, then, when Socrates is at Athens, and Plato happens to be in Rome, in reality, they are both in each of those cities at one and the same time. It was useless for William to explain, and say that he did not mean that the Universal was *essentially* one in all individuals,

but *indifferently* in them all. He may thus have managed to escape an absurdity, but it was at the price of all his followers. They lost their confidence in him, the spell was broken, and the full tide set in, in the direction of the brilliant and adventurous logician.

So great a reputation did Abelard acquire by this victory, that the Professor who was brought forward by William to oppose him, spontaneously offered his chair to Abelard, declaring that he would consider it a privilege to sit for the future at the feet of such an intrepid young philosopher.* William at once recalled the dazzled Professor; and having replaced him by a man of more stubborn mind, abandoned his retreat at S. Victor's, and accompanied by a chosen few, buried himself in a still deeper solitude. Abelard returned to Melun.

But as may easily be conceived, he did not remain long at rest. He came to Paris, opened a school at Mount S. Geneviève, and began a violent crusade against the new Professor. William sprang from his retreat in support of his disciple. A fierce philosophical contest raged between the schools; till finally the Professor, thoroughly overcome by the power and brilliancy of his opponent, hurried out of the city, to hide his shame in the solitude of some distant monastery.

* Lanfranc seems to have acquired a similar reputation. "The youthful orator," says Ordericus Vitalis, "when pleading a cause, frequently triumphed over his veteran opponents, and by a torrent of eloquence, won the prize from men long in the habit of speaking eloquently." (*Lib. IV., c.* 9.)

Having achieved such success as a philosopher, Abelard now made up his mind that he would be a theologian.

At this period another Anselm, a disciple of the Saint, full of the ancient teachings of the Church, and possessed of a copious store of erudition, was teaching theology with success at Laon. He was gifted neither with the originality of William, nor with the logical acumen of Abelard; but he was a calm, simple-minded man, who taught what the Fathers had taught before him, and reached the soul, rather through the memory, than through the understanding. With a natural flow of pleasing eloquence, he poured out his varied knowledge, and on account of his erudition, and his grasp of dogma, was called "*Doctor Doctorum.*" His strength was tradition, and positive theology, and he had waxed gray with the labour of forty years' teaching in the public schools. He could expound better than he could reply, and could state the doctrine of the Church more ably than he could defend it.

It was not likely that the rapid intellect of Abelard, so full of self-conceit, and conscious of his logical attainments, would bear in silence, for any length of time, the ponderous dogmatism of the venerable Anselm. Abelard listened to him patiently once and—after having expressed supreme contempt for his abilities—declared that he was, like the barren fig-tree cursed by Christ, covered with leaves, but without a single fruit. He boasted that any man of ordinary gifts, with the

help of the Fathers, could understand the Scriptures, and that all other masters were superfluous. Anselm's disciples were scandalized at his arrogance, and more so still, when he took into his hands Ezechiel the Prophet, and boasted that, next morning, he would prove the truth of what he said, by delivering a lecture on the Prophecy. With bitter irony some of his companions implored him to take a little longer time to prepare his lecture. He replied with disdain, "My road is not the road of custom, but the road of genius." He was true to his word: and mockery was speedily turned to amazement, when his companions, overcome by his eloquence, followed him, verse after verse, with increasing admiration, as he unfolded the hidden sense of the obscurest of prophecies, with a facility of diction, a clearness of exposition, and a readiness of resource, which subdued the mind and captivated the imagination.

This success encouraged him to continue his lectures. But Anselm's disciples, Alberic and Lotulf, calling to mind how he had emptied the flourishing school of William of Champeaux, whispered in the ear of their venerable chief that this arrogant upstart, by his rash treatment of the Sacred Scriptures, was putting in jeopardy the Word of God. Ezechiel was closed, and Abelard left Laon.

He came to Paris (1114). The chair of Notre Dame was empty. William of Champeaux had been raised to the episcopate. There was no one

in Paris capable of rivalling Abelard in philosophy. He was received by the thronging students of the capital with transport, and they declared by acclamation that his astonishing successes in the past entitled him to the vacant chair of the cloister of Notre Dame. It was a proud moment for Abelard when, by the unanimous voice of intellectual Paris, he was elevated to that distinguished position which he had coveted so long.

Having now no one to oppose him, he turned his attention to dialectics, and to the solution of philosophical problems, amongst which, as may be expected, was the interminable question of Universals. Having upset the Nominalism of Roscelin, which annihilated the Universal and prepared the way for the Materialism of Hobbes and Mill, and having exploded the false Realism of William of Champeaux, which pointed to the Pantheism of Spinoza and the Germans, he had to establish a reality which should exceed in neither direction—he declared Universals to be conceptions of the mind really existing.

Thoroughly to understand the merits of this system in its logical and ontological bearing, and to distinguish it from the teaching of Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle, the reader must refer to Abelard's tract *De Generibus et Speciebus*, discovered by M. Cousin. Suffice it to say here, that the brilliant logician was now at the height of his reputation and popularity. Not only the students, but the very inhabitants of Paris, paid him a homage which

almost amounted to a sort of worship. He was the cynosure of all eyes. He could not pass to and from his lecture-hall without attracting the admiring gaze of the Parisians. The boys who thronged the streets, on his approach, with his fine figure, his beautiful countenance, and his distinguished air, respectfully made way for him, and for a moment arrested their boisterous mirth to gaze in silence upon the most brilliant philosopher of the age. The inhabitants of the houses by which he passed, left their occupations to watch him from their doors; and we are told that the women in the topmost stories of those lofty buildings would draw back the curtains of their windows, to catch a glimpse of the greatest of living orators—the gay and handsome cavalier, as he swept by, surrounded by a swarm of his disciples, who were still under the spell of his spirit-stirring eloquence.*

The charm of Abelard's teaching lay in its clearness and simplicity. A child could have understood him. He reminds one more of the classic days of the old Greek sophists than any other man who lectured in the middle ages. But he startled his hearers more by the originality of his genius, than by the novelty of his ideas; more by his critical sagacity, than by his fertility of invention. His power of luminous exposition, his

* It reminds one of the days of Pope, when crowds would surround him, and almost quarrel, to get to touch his hand.

The under-graduates of the University, when they heard that Gray was passing through the quadrangle, would rush out from their dinners to look upon him.

subtlety, his facility of expression, his erudition, his richness of allusion, his elastic *vivida vis*, his boundless command of language—his *badinage* brightening the stream of his rapid eloquence, even his literary digressions, in which he brought Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and the poets to bear, with all the elegant taste of a scholar, upon dry matters of philosophy, then his impetuous spirit, his thirst after knowledge, and his unquenchable ambition to excel, made him stand pre-eminent amongst the greatest spirits of that day. His contemporaries were in the habit of saying of him that he was ignorant of nothing under heaven except himself. One Pope (Celestine II.), nineteen Cardinals, more than fifty Archbishops and Bishops, French, English, and German, and a much larger number of those men with whom Popes, Bishops, and Cardinals had often to contend, remarks Guizot, were his disciples. Five thousand young men at one time collected round his chair.*

But sensuality, which ever follows pride as its shadow, drew Abelard down from his high estate. His guilty passion for Heloise is but the logical

* Comp. Crevier, *Hist. de l'Université de Paris*, *T. I.* Rémusat, *Abélard*, *T. I.*, *p.* 45.

"People came to him from all quarters—from Rome, in spite of mountains and robbers; from England, in spite of the sea; from Flanders and Germany; from Normandy, and the remote districts of France; from Angers and Poitiers; from Navarre by the Pyrenees, and from Spain, besides the students of Paris itself." Amongst his disciples were "Peter of Poitiers, Peter Lombard, John of Salisbury, Arnold of Brescia, Ivo, and Geoffrey of Auxerre." (Newman *on Universities*, *p.* 301.)

result, in the moral order, of so much arrogance, and so much self-conceit.*

It is instructive to fix one's eyes on that once proud philosopher as, degraded in his own eyes, and in the eyes of those who once worshipped him with such boundless admiration, he creeps away, after the shameful vengeance wreaked upon him by the brutal Fulbert, heart-sick, to the Abbey of S. Denis, only too glad to bury himself for ever from the sight of men, and in place of lifting up his voice in the contests of the schools, to join simple-minded monks in the plaintive psalmody of the cloister.

After his terrible fall, misfortunes crowded thick upon him. Though humbled and broken, his contentious spirit would not suffer him to rest at peace with Bishops, Priests, or Monks. He quarrelled with the monks of S. Denis till they cudgelled him, he had a violent contention with Roscelin; and through the persevering malevolence of Alberic and Lotulf, he was summoned to the Council of Soissons, accused of heresy, compelled to recite aloud the Athanasian Creed, and to burn his own book with his own hand before the assembled Fathers.

This stroke almost broke his heart. He determined to leave for ever the society of men whom he declared were less Christian than the

* This portion of his career calls to mind the words of the Prophet: "Superbia ejus, et arrogantia ejus, et indignatio ejus, plus quam fortitudo ejus." (Isaias, *XVI.*, 6.)

Turks. And abandoning the Abbey of S. Denis, he concealed himself in a mournful solitude, near the city of Troyes. Here he made a hut of reeds daubed over with mud; and here he dwelt. But it was not long before his solitude became as populous as the Thebaid. The severity with which he had been treated at Soissons, the spirit of Alberic and Lotulf, which was known to be bitterly opposed to him, drew the thoughts of hundreds upon him, who could not rid themselves of the remembrance of his mighty gifts, nor get out of their ears the ring of his silvery voice. They discovered his retreat. The forlorn desert was peopled. These men provided food, and clothing, and shelter, for themselves, and for their master; and the days of the Egyptian Nile-valley seemed to have come over again, when innumerable anchorites surrounded some stately solitary, to drink from his lips his mystic parables and proverbs. But these men, says Cassian, "spoke of penance and humility, and the terrible day of account;" here all minds were pre-occupied with the mysteries of genus and species, and differentia, and the more abstruse problems of existences.

Whether in the whirl of Paris, or in the suburbs of S. Victor, or at Laon, or in the mournful desert, Abelard never lost for a moment his power of attracting the young world around his chair. He appears to have possessed the special gift of rendering articulate the cravings of the age in which he lived. Others may have felt every bit

as deeply as himself; but none had his gift of throwing those feelings into shape, and pouring them out in burning words.

Of his relations with Peter the Venerable, with Walter de Mortagne, of his quarrel with the monks of S. Gildas, of his hatred of S. Norbert, of his love of Plato, and of his spiritual relations with Heloise, much might be written. But I must hurry on to one important event which has a more intimate connection with the contests of these times.

If Abelard was a type of the age in which he lived, the austere S. Bernard represented that energy and authority which has never been wanting of the Church in days of trial. Reason seems to triumph in the combats of the world. Still, in the length and breadth of history, it is Faith, after all, that is victorious. Abelard had far greater gifts than Anselm of Laon. And in the judgment of the young men of that day Abelard proved himself superior to the venerable Anselm. But what has been the verdict of posterity? Faith was right; and reason was wrong. That is, reason, misdirected by a brilliant man, has had to submit to the calm and unexcited utterances of tradition directed by the spirit of the Church.

It is remarkable, considering how great an evil Abelard was effecting, that twenty years should have elapsed between his condemnation at Soissons, and his condemnation at Sens (1140).

S. Bernard, who, from his position, from his keen appreciation of the influence of principle, and his knowledge of Abelard, must have perceived the general drift, possibly was too much occupied with the antipope, to be able to attend to the dangerous teachings of the Paris Professor. It is clear, from John of Salisbury, that Abelard taught a large school, at his old hall of S. Geneviève in 1136. He was not content with lecturing in philosophy, but gave full play to the powers of his extraordinary intellect in ventilating the most subtle questions of theology. Besides S. Geneviève, there were other schools at Paris, such as S. Denis, S. Victor, and more besides of second-rate importance.

But of them all, the most popular by far was that of Abelard. The high reputation of the Professor gave it a name at once. Even to look on such a man, with his violent intellect, and genius for blow, and thrust, and parry, must have made a deep impression on young and ardent minds, which are more subdued perhaps by intellectual power, than by any other influence under heaven. To watch his countenance, to follow his eye, to listen to his voice —to marvel at his genius, and to despair at it - this must have been done by many a young man who came from the provinces to acquire fame in the great centre-seat of learning in the mediæval world. Besides, in those days, when the reason was beginning to feel its power, the method and manner of Abelard would hold out a peculiar

charm. His school was the arena where reason was exercised to the full stretch of its capacity. At Notre Dame, the abiding reverence for ancient forms kept the natural craving of the mind for novelty within reasonable compass. At S. Victor's, the pure monasticism of Christian love brought an illumination from above, which captivated the reason to the obedience of Faith. But at S. Geneviève—under a professor who declared himself to be the only philosopher of Christendom; who, when a mere stripling, held theologians in such contempt as to dispense with their services altogether; who could attack S. Augustine, S. Hilary and S. Anselm; who could speak slightingly of such men as S. Norbert and S. Bernard, and designate bishops as ignorant intriguers; who could turn a deaf ear to the loving warnings of Peter the Venerable; who did not shrink from probing the unfathomable mystery of the Blessed Trinity with the dangerous instrument of human reason, and who would guage the infinite with the finite measure of human understanding—subjects would be handled, methods would be adopted, and conclusions would be arrived at, which, whilst they attracted by their novelty, were fixed upon the mind by the ingenuity and genius of their author.

Not that Abelard had set himself consciously in opposition to the Church: on the contrary, he desired to be numbered among the humblest of her children. His bitter, and almost womanly lamentations at Soissons, his terror of being con-

demned, the tone of his writings, whenever he refers to the authority of the Church, prove that error was not so much seated in his will, as lodged in his understanding.* In fact, his will seemed full of deep humility; but his intellect seemed to have been strangely possessed by the demon of pride. His reason, even in its saddest moments—with the exception of his last days—had never been brought thoroughly to the foot of the Cross.

In point of fact, Abelard was the leader of the Liberal school of his day. His treatise, called *Sic et non*, gives a very fair insight into the workings of his mind, and the dangers of his method. It is an extraordinary advance towards the errors of days that were then to come. He founds science, as others did more clumsily hundreds of years later, in doubt. He balances the most fundamental truths of religion against the deadliest errors, without so much as hinting, or feeling any anxiety to say, which side the balance strikes. The *Sic et non* was a terrible armoury—containing weapons of all shapes and sizes, for attacking or defending matters which should ever be guarded with jealousy against the approach of danger; or which should be so securely established, that attack would only evince their solidity and strength the more.

Discussion, and the free use of the faculties, chains of reasoning, startling proofs—this was

* We may, perhaps, say of Abelard what ancient writers are fond of saying of Erigena :—

"Potuit errare, hæreticus esse noluit."

Abelard's passion. Truth was indispensable for this practice; so Abelard loved truth. Error was necessary for eliciting truth; so Abelard introduced error. Thus he throws the profound mystery of the Trinity into the balance; with its contradiction of error on the other side, "*Quod in Trinitate non sunt dicendi plures æterni; et contra:*"—a most dangerous method of dealing with the fundamental mysteries of religion.

Yet it must not be forgotten that if Abelard did not sufficiently respect the supernatural instincts of Faith, he effected a considerable advance in the order and method of theological science. His logical gifts created a habit of mind in him which, when not forced beyond its legitimate sphere, tended to clear that vast horizon beyond which are spread out the bright spaces and solemn heights of supernatural religion. And the order and succession of his ideas were not without their influence on the Lombard, and on S. Thomas. It was Abelard who first, in his "Introduction to Theology," brought out with exactness the distinction between arguments of authority and arguments of reason. The *loci theologici* owe to him the *probatur ratione*, —an expression which would hardly sound safe had it not been adopted by the Angel of the Schools. Then his readiness to secure truth, wherever he might find it, whether in the hands of Christian or Pagan, was not without its influence on theologians. To him the *loci* are indebted for arguments

drawn from Pagan philosophy and history, which he was the first to use in a systematic way, in support of supernatural religion.

But, though all this be true, it cannot be denied that, from the day on which Abelard rebelled against Anselm, two distinct schools, the orthodox, and the rationalistic, sprang into being. The school of reverence and tradition on the one hand, and the school of brilliant, searching reason on the other.

On one side there was Gilbert de la Porrée and Abelard, two terrible dialecticians, surpassing all their contemporaries in their dexterity in debate. Abelard, vehement, rash, and never counting costs, but boldly advancing no matter what opinion, and stoutly defending it; Gilbert, cool, cautious, and taciturn, who supported Abelard indeed, but taking good care not to commit himself—so subtle was his mind—till he had safely secured his longed-for Bishopric. These two had one thing in common—an unflagging opposition to S. Bernard. He was the instrument of the condemnation of them both; one at Sens, the other at Rheims.

The spirit of Abelard insensibly pervaded his school. There is nothing so catching, or so difficult to get rid of, as a spirit of criticism—of irreverence for the past, its forms and methods, and contempt for safe, able, holy, but not brilliant or quick men. For example: Otto of Freisingen, though first a monk, and then a Bishop, speaks slightingly of S. Bernard. Peter Berenger speaks in a most unguarded way about the monks of Chartreuse. John

of Salisbury is for ever indulging his overweening love of finding fault, and does not let the Pope himself escape ; * and though a warm friend of the heroic Thomas à Becket, he must needs sit in judgment upon him. Arnold of Brescia, who seems to have possessed the full spirit of his master, violently abused the clergy, and declared that he had found in Scripture that they had no right to possess property, and by his passionate love of religious independence joined to a confused notion of political liberty, sowed the seeds, without knowing it, of future revolutions.

On the other side there was Robert Pulleyn, the first English Cardinal, a great theologian, a cautious writer, remarkable for his power of lucid classification, who followed the Scriptures and the Fathers closely, and was so highly esteemed by S. Bernard that he kept him in Paris as a check upon the rising rationalism of the day. Then there was Hugh and Richard of S. Victor, Hugh of Amiens, Robert Folioth the Englishman, Peter of Poitiers his disciple, and Alan de Insulis, all of whom in their place and turn opposed the rationalizing school. Then, again, there was Joscelin, the philosopher of nature, afterwards Bishop of Soissons, Hugh Metel, and Walter de Mortagne, who, when John of Salisbury was a student, lectured in the theological schools of Paris.

* His "Polycraticus," which he wrote when Secretary to Theobald of Canterbury, evinces the independence of his thought.

These opposing schools did not exist, as may be imagined, without lively contests. The one party pushing forward tradition, and opposing the innovating and irreverent spirit of the rationalistic school; the other party, compassionating the dulness of its opponent, and developing every day in clearer outline the principles of its actual popularity and future condemnation. The motto of the one school was, "*Nisi credideritis non intelligetis;*" * the motto of the other, "*Qui credit cito levis est corde ,et minorabitur.*" †

But now we must hurry on to see what was the ultimate fate of the rationalizing spirit that acquired so great a prestige through the brilliancy of Abelard.

* Is., *cap. VII.*, 9. † *Eccli., cap. XIX.*, 4.

CHAPTER X.

AUTHORITY AND REVERENCE.
S. BERNARD.

HAD it not been for a monk poring over the Canticle of Canticles in his cell at Signy, possibly the meeting, I am about to relate, between S. Bernard and Abelard would never have taken place. This monk's name was William, called of S. Thierry, from an Abbey near Rheims. He had been governing Abbot, but wishing to dedicate himself wholly to contemplation, he resigned his position, and retired to Signy to end his days in peace. As a theologian he was highly esteemed for his subtlety and penetration, and for his extensive knowledge of the Fathers, whose doctrines he loved to expound, though he shrank instinctively from controversy. S. Bernard entertained so high an opinion of his judgment, that he was accustomed to send him his manuscripts for revision.* He was essentially of the monastic

* "Ut quid Libellus meus oculos ejus formidaret, cui se videndum animus quoque meus totus, si posset expanderet?" (*Epist.* 86.) The learned Maurist Benedictines looked upon him as surpassing all of his day in his application to the Fathers. (*See Hist. Litt. de la France, T. IX., Disc. prélim., p.* 206.)

school: and his tractates on contemplation and Divine love breathe with all the sweetness, and flow with all the unction of his master, whilst a force runs through them that testifies to his intimate acquaintance with patristic theology. His heart was warm with the calm fire that comes of constant meditation, and silent prayer; and his mind, framed in the school of mystic awe, shrank almost with effeminacy from the jarring contentions of the schools. He seems to have shared S. Bernard's feeling, that there was a very slight shade between a heretic and a dialectician.

Such a character, it is clear, would feel little sympathy with the overbearing and contentious Abelard.* By a mere chance, while penning his Commentary on the Canticles, he laid his hand upon Abelard's "Christian Theology." He read it; and was horrified. He put his writings on one side, and determined, first, to stir up the Bishop of Chartres and S. Bernard against the book; and, then, using the *ipsissima verba* of the Fathers, to refute it. His energy was not without its effect. He called his book "An Argument of the Catholic Fathers against the Dogmata of

* He begins his *De contemplando Deo* quite in the spirit of S. Bernard, thus:—"In lacu miseriæ; et in luto fæcis jam pene putrefactus, et in limo profundi infixus, in quo non est substantia, et de profundis dolorum meorum ad te clamo, Domine; Domine exaudi vocem meam. Siquidem in ultionem formæ tuæ (quam me tibi conformaveras, Creator bone, creans me ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam) quam neglexi et perdidi, in hujus miseriæ formam, qua miser sum, deformasti me, et cum iniquitate deprimente in limo peccati infixus sum inferius. Posuisti super me manum justi et occulti judicii tui præmentem super me, ne resurgam."—How different a spirit from that of Abelard! (Martène, *Ampliss, Coll., T. II., p.* 334.)

Peter Abelard;" he suppressed his own name, declaring that it was not he, but the Catholic Fathers of the Church that spoke; and he dedicated the work to Hugh.*

In his letter to Bishop Godfrey, of Chartres, and S. Bernard, he speaks of the gravity of the occasion, of how the ancient Faith, consecrated by the blood of Christ, propagated by the blood of martyrs, and defended by the Doctors of the Church, was being corrupted; and how none seemed left to lift up their voices against its destruction. How the intensity of the feeling that prompted him to speak almost caused his heart to break. How important the subject-matter under discussion was, no less than the Trinity, the person of the Mediator, the Holy Ghost, Grace, the Sacraments, and man's common Redemption. Then, he refers to the spread of Abelard's teaching: how it passed the seas; was borne over the Alps; and how new dogmas and strange opinions about the Faith were carried round the provinces, and from kingdom to kingdom, were praised extravagantly, and were reported to have force of authority even in the Curia of Rome itself. He shows what a deep hold the rationalizing principles of Abelard must have had on that generation; for he calls opposition to him the cause of God and of the Latin Church;

* These are his words: "Contra ipsum (Abælardum) ergo quod scripsi, quia de fontibus SS. Patrum hausi, melius est, si ita vobis placuerit, ut suppresso nomine meo, inter anonyma relinquatur." *(Epist. ad Fratres de Monte Dei.)*

and laments that nearly all the champions of the Faith are dead, and that the domestic enemy should constitute himself sole teacher in the ecclesiastical republic, and foist into the Sacred Scriptures his own theories and inventions; and make himself the censor and improver of Faith, and not its disciple and imitator, *emendator non imitator*. William then draws thirteen propositions out of Abelard's works worthy of censure, and after urging Godfrey to take the matter up, refers to the "monstrous" title and dogmas of the *Sic et non*.*

William sent this letter to S. Bernard during Lent. The Saint, at all times rigorous with himself, but at this season more rigorous than ever, having read the letter, returned a short and courteous reply, praising the writer's zeal, and saying that, when the penitential season had expired, he would meet him, and talk the matter over. It was not because S. Bernard was indifferent to the gravity of the question, or because he did not wish to purge error out of the Church, that he delayed bringing Abelard to condemnation. Delay rather leads to the presumption that he fully appreciated the case. He knew that light and direction come from heaven alone, and are gained by prayer; he knew that silence and

* See S. Bern., *Opp.*, *Epist.* 326. (Migne, *Vol. I.*, *p.* 532.)
For full information on this point, see Tosti's *Storia di Abelardo e dei Suoi Tempi*, *Lib. IV.*, *p.* 207.

mortification cleanse the heart, and make the judgment upright.

His character was full of rigid force. With austere severity he trod the creature under foot, and spurned the world, whilst he governed both, as never monk before had governed either. He founded Clairvaux "in the heart of a savage forest, the haunt of robbers," of which, at this period, he was Abbot, and had been—it may be said—the founder of the Citeaux reform. His mind was possessed with the consuming love of God, the measure of which love, as he characteristically said, was to love without measure.* And, while the fire burnt calmly and brightly as it flamed freely heavenwards, when it met an obstacle on earth, it became a devouring furnace. His habits of personal austerity were terrific. The beech-leaves and cockle-bread—without salt at times—on which he regaled his monks, were horrible to look at, still more horrible to eat.

It is related that when he accompanied Innocent II. through France and Germany, they visited Cluny and Clairvaux. The monks of the former monastery sent out sixty gaily-caparisoned horses to meet the Pontiff; the monks of the latter issued forth themselves to meet him. And he and his court were so touched on seeing those emaciated forms advancing towards them, miserably clad, chaunting plaintive psalms, with their eyes on the

* *De diligendo Deo, cap. I., p.* 974.

ground, and preceded by a wooden cross, that they could not prevent their emotion bursting into tears. These men lived according to the principles of S. Bernard, which, hard indeed to flesh and blood, have been the instruments, first for converting, and then for ruling the world.

When the Lenten fast had expired, S. Bernard turned from his penances and contemplations to consider William of S. Thierry's letter. The more he pondered Abelard's errors, the more his mind appreciated their gravity. The independence of his dogmatic spirit, the rationalism of his method, and, more than all, the extraordinary manner in which his doctrines had spread far and wide, in towns and villages, in obscure hamlets, even to the mansions of the ignorant nobility, nay, beyond the Alps and across the seas, and were defended with energy by men in high position, brought a cloud across the brow of Bernard. He had watched the current of events for some time past. Thousands had come to Paris—and to the Paraclete, when Abelard could not leave even the Lord's Prayer alone—and had departed, some to Germany, some to France, some to England, and many, worst of all, to Rome, filled with the rash spirit of their master, and ready, come what would, stoutly to defend him. Bishops on the steps of the Papal throne—Cardinals clothed with the prestige of the Sacred College, possessing the influence of elective Princes of the Church—when young had been his disciples, and were now in possession of his books.

They had rested under the mighty shadow of his soaring method and his personal sway—and had tasted the forbidden fruit.*

S. Bernard saw two things :first that he must act ; and, next, that he would be bound to act with caution. He determined, according to the spirit of the Gospel, to endeavour, privately, to persuade Abelard to modify his teaching, and to convince his followers of the danger of indulging in a spirit of criticism, and in an irreverent handling of holy mysteries. He had an interview. It was marked by courtesy on both sides—by promises from Abelard ; but nothing came of it.

S. Bernard was now roused. He fiercely attacked Abelard. He had his adversary's writings wrested out of the hands of his disciples. A noisy and angry contest was begun in earnest. All who were envious of the great logician, and those who belonged to the school of authority, sided with S. Bernard. Those—and they were thousands—who prized the new liberty which their chief had introduced them to—whose curiosity tempted them to argue when they should acquiesce, those who did not go quite their master's length, and those who went far beyond it—looked upon Abelard as their natural spokesman. His honour was their honour. Those grand principles of progress, criticism, and

* A few selections from the *Argumenta Capitum* of the *Sic et non*, will show the spirit of Abelard : "Quod fides sit de non apparentibus *tantum, et non.* Quod sit credendum *Deum* solum, et contra. Quod non sit Deus singularis ; et contra. Quod non sit *Deus* substantia ; et contra. Quod divinæ personæ ab invicem *differant* : et contra. Quod in Trinitate *aliter* sit *unus* cum altero, et non. Quod Deus Pater sit causa Filii ; et contra. Quod sit Filius sine principio ; et contra. Quod Deus non genuit se ; et contra." (Vid. Tosti's *Abelardo*, *p.* 312.)

intellectual mastery, which he had awakened in their consciousness, were not to be expunged, if they could prevent it, by the fierce fanaticism of a few gloomy mystics. Fearlessly would they defend the ground inch by inch, return argument for argument, and offer insult for insult. So that, whilst a clamour of reprobation was hurled against the rationalistic dogmatism of Abelard—who was denounced as a necromancer, a sorcerer, and a personal friend of the devil—the opposite party rejoined by scurrility, nicknames, and lampoons, and with expressions of supreme contempt for the opinions of their assailants. Abelard himself, led on by his disciples, and by Arnold of Brescia, who had just been driven out of Rome by the Pope, treated S. Bernard and his companions with his characteristic disdain, looked upon them as half fools, half knaves, who misstated facts, were blinded by ignorance, and did not know what they were talking about.

He wrote a scathing satire, full of that arrogance which he habitually dealt out to his opponents, against "one ignorant of dialectics,"—that is, against S. Bernard. He compared his accusers to the fox in the fable. He called them blind leaders of the blind, and said that they hated logic because they could not understand it. He said it was useless to argue with such folks; and he would, therefore, appeal to such Fathers as S. Augustine, to prove the necessity of dialectics. He then attempted to show that miracles had come to an end; that reason is more powerful than miracles,

which he declared to be continually mixed up with the deceits and practices of the Devil.*

Meanwhile, S. Bernard was not idle. He was well aware of the popularity of Abelard. But what he dreaded most was the bias of those Bishops and Cardinals who had been his disciples, and were now in Rome. The temper of the rationalist, and the violence of his supporters, opened the Saint's eyes wider than ever to the danger threatening the Church. He wrote to the Cardinals of the Roman Curia, and drew a terrific picture of the universality and deadly effects of the growing heresy. He declared that Abelard left nothing to faith, and arrogated everything to reason, despised what he could not understand, and would never condescend so low as to believe. He refers to his teaching on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and to other novelties equally startling to the ears of Catholics,† and compares

* The verdict of history is not so severe, naturally, as the condemnation passed by those who were actually in contention with Abelard. Mabillon, for instance, says :—"Nolumus Abælardum hæreticum : sufficit pro Bernardi causa, eum fuisse in quibusdam errantem ; quod Abælardus non diffitetur." (S. Bern., *Op. præf.*) Natalis Alexander, "Non est censendus hæreticus : numquam errores suos pertinaciter propugnavit." (*Hist. Eccl., T. XIV., Disser. VII. Art. II., p.* 74, *ed.* 1788.)

† Abelard compares the doctrine of the Trinity to a syllogistic argument, in which the major, the minor, and the conclusion, being three propositions, make one syllogism.

S. Bernard thus wrote to Pope Innocent regarding Abelard :—"Habemus in Francia novum de veteri magistro theologum, qui ab ineunte ætate sua in arte dialectica lusit, et nunc in Scripturis Sacris insanit. Olim damnata et sopita dogmata, tam sua videlicet quam aliena, suscitare conatus, insuper et nova addit. Qui dum omnium quæ sunt in cælo sursum, et quæ in terra deorsum, nihil præter solum nescio quid scire dignatur, ponit in cælum os suum, et scrutatur alta Dei, rediensque ad nos refert verba ineffabilia, quæ non licet homini loqui. Et dum paratus est de omnibus reddere rationem, etiam quæ sunt supra rationem, et contra rationem præsumit, et contra fidem. Quid enim magis contra rationem quam ratione rationem conari transcendere? Et quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle quicquid non possit ratione attingere? (*Bernardi Abbat. ad Innoc., Ep. CXC., p.* 357. Also *Tract. de Error. Abæl., cap. I., p.* 1055. Migne.)

Abelard, in his letter to the Pope, to a serpent, to Satan, and to a dragon. He accuses him of inventing new dogmas, for the sake of imposing on posterity; and of boasting that he had taught science to the Ecclesiastics, the Cardinals, and the Court of Rome. In his circular-letter to the Bishops and Cardinals, he speaks with pathos on the sorrows of the mystic Spouse, and boldly points out to them their duty. He makes use of very strong language concerning Abelard. He calls him a persecutor of the Faith, an enemy of the Cross, a monk without, a heretic within, a religious without rule, a prelate without solicitude, an Abbot without discipline, a gossiper with women, a reproducer of the most detestable heresies about the most sacred dogmas, and a seven-headed hydra. "He transmits," says the Saint, "by his writings, the contagion of his poison to the future, and glories in having infected Rome." *

Nothing could be conceived more damaging to the reputation of Abelard than this terrible letter. Not only the serious nature of the charges, but the character of the Saint would make it tell with crushing effect.†

When Abelard had heard of the course pursued by S. Bernard he was deeply affected. It was useless for him to disguise from himself the

* Epis., *CCCXXXI.*, *p.* 536; *CCCXXXII.*, *p.* 537.

† That S. Bernard was actuated by charitable feelings is evident from the following passage from a letter, written by him to Guy of Chatel, a disciple of Abelard:—"I should do you an injury if I were to suppose that you so loved any man as to love his errors with himself. Whoever thus loves anyone, does not know yet how he ought to love. Such love is earthly, animal, diabolical—equally hurtful to the person loving, and to him who is loved." (*Epis.*, *CXCII.*, *p.* 358.)

influence of his accuser. He would have much preferred, surrounded by his scholars, to have met these accusations in a public place. A spring of triumph would well up in his heart when he imagined himself skilfully putting his bright weapon through some powerful adversary. He went at once to the Archbishop of Sens. He explained his case, and implored him to call a Council, pledging to appear on the appointed day and answer all accusations. By this means, the world would learn his innocence, and his fame would no longer hang doubtfully in the balance. The Archbishop consented to Abelard's request; and a Provincial Council was summoned for the Octave day of Pentecost, 1140.

The schools were thrown into a state of great excitement when this issue was announced. The two greatest intellects of the age, the famous dialectician, and the constant apostle of authority, were to meet face to face in a great struggle of momentous interest to humanity. Reason, that highest natural gift of God to man, the crown of his noblest creation—was it to bow down before the stern voice of dogma? was it to kneel and adore the utterances of Faith? or was it to stand erect, and without shrinking, to question that voice, and sift those utterances, receive what it approved, reject what it condemned? Such questions as these, men must have felt even then, belonged not to one epoch, but to the course of human history; —for they are questions in which the past and

the present bear upon the future, and affect the intellectual destinies of men. The conflict, which appeared to be simply a contest between two able men, would, in reality, divide the world. Abelard was the spokesman of thousands, from whose midst he would, as it were, advance, and proclaim the creed of human reason. S. Bernard, though in appearance an emaciated mystic from the solitude of a cell, would represent as many more, who saw beyond the range of human vision, and judged the highest natural gifts of God from the elevation of a life of Faith. No wonder that the schools were filled with the anxiety of an indescribable emotion, when thinking of the coming event, on the Octave of Pentecost.

Abelard, now, had no misgivings. He felt confident in his powers of debate, and told his disciples that God would show which side was to be victorious.

But S. Bernard was greatly troubled when the Archbishop informed him of the meeting of the Council. Though a better theologian than his opponent, he felt that he would be overmatched by his adroitness in the use of logic; and he feared to endanger the cause of truth by risking a public contest. He wrote to the Archbishop and said, that it did not become a servant of God to litigate, but to be patient with all men; that Abelard from youth had been engaging in intellectual combats, whereas he was quite inexperienced in them; that it was useless, and below the dignity of the Faith,

to make it the subject-matter of dispute ; that the writings themselves of Abelard, without discussion, were enough to condemn him ; and that, after all, it was the duty of Bishops, not of a monk and an Abbot, to give judgment on matters concerning dogma.

When S. Bernard's friends learnt how the Saint shrunk, they pressed round him eagerly, and represented to him the paramount importance, for the interests of the Church, that he should boldly grapple with the enemy. After much pressure, and many entreaties, the Saint yielded. With tears gathering to his eyes—tears, he said, which he was unable to suppress—he consented to make the dangerous venture. When his time approached, he set out, with a heavy heart, for Sens, without having made the slightest preparation to meet his adversary. As if convinced that, humanly speaking, in a mere trial of logical dexterity, he would be worsted, he turned his mind to a higher power than human artfulness, and continued saying over and over the words :—" Take no thought how or what to speak, for it shall be given you in that hour ;"* and " The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me." † Abelard put his trust in reason. Bernard found his stay in God alone.

The Archbishop had selected a day for the Council, which would, of itself, attract a vast

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* Matt., X., 19. † Ps., CXVII., 6.

multitude into the Episcopal City. The Cathedral of the Province of Paris was famous for the richness of its treasures, and for a valuable collection of the relics of the saints. On the Octave day of Pentecost, it was the practice of the clergy, with great ceremonial, in presence of a large concourse of Bishops and priests, and before a vast congregation, to expose the relics for public adoration. This year, had the case of Abelard never been heard of, the assembly would have been greater than usual. Louis VII., who, though an indifferent statesman, was certainly an ardent worshipper at the shrines of the martyrs, had signified his intention to be present at the ceremony. His presence with his lords, soldiers, and attendants would have filled the city. How great, then, would be the throng, when—added to the stream of worshippers who came to pray before the great altar of the Cathedral—another stream, larger and noisier, of doctors, clerks, and students, of Archdeacons, and Priors and Abbots, of barons, and knights, and men at arms, swelled the general flood ?

It would have been worth while to have looked on that vast Cathedral, as gradually it seemed to attract half the city within its walls ; or to have watched that gorgeous pageant slowly entering the great doorway, out of the light of day, into the gloom of that mighty nave, towards tapers that made misty halos round the shrines of the saints—humble priest in dalmatic or cope, broidered with silver and green and fleur-de-lis,

and learned doctors with cap and ring, and stately Abbots in simple attire ; next the pious King with his regal crown and his velvet robes, and his gala lords ; then Bishops and Archbishops two and two, with vestments woven with lions and dragons, and gaudy with blossoms and pearls, and massive with gold and with gems, with dazzling mitre, and solemn crosier, and sparkling cross, and measured step, passing slowly in—then the clouding incense, and the bursting song, and the clangour of arms, and the breathless stillness, as all bow down—from king to peasant—before priceless caskets holding the bodies of the saints.*

And, in the midst of this great function, doubtless many minds were distracted with the thought, "How different this from the coming meeting in S. Stephen's! Bernard will be there, Abelard will be there, so will the Bishops, so will the King—how will it end?"

Preparations had already been made for the sitting of the Council. Crowds began to press round the great door of S. Stephen's. Soon Bishops and Barons, and high dignitaries began to assemble, and were arranged in their various orders. There was the King on his throne. Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, legate of the Holy See, famed for the equity and moderation of his judgment, presided.

* It might appear that this description is hardly to the point. It is given to bring before the mind, once during these volumes, the fact of the influence of gorgeous ceremonials during the thirteenth century. For the costumes of the period, and the style of vestments used on these occasions —such as enter into the description above—see Fr. Bock's learned *Geschichte der Liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, B. II. Bonn,* 1866.

On either side were ranged the Archbishops, and Bishops, who were to consult, to give judgment, to define. There sat Archbishop Henry, a man of noble birth, but of a secular and independent spirit, who was held in suspicion by the Court of Rome. Then came his suffragans: Hugh, Bishop of Auxerre, a contrast in every way to his Metropolitan, an austere and venerable man, who, seven-and-twenty years before, abandoning the world, had followed S. Bernard—with whose eyes he still continued to see, and with whose ears he still continued to hear—into the solitude of Citeaux; Elias, Bishop of Orleans, who, eight years later, according to report, was disgraced by a Council similar to the one at which he was now assisting; Otto, Bishop of Troyes, his companion in misfortune; and Manasses II., Bishop of Meaux, of whom history is silent. Then, on the other hand, there was Sampson, Archbishop of Rheims, who was hated by the King, protected by St. Bernard, and finally deprived of his pallium by the Pope. He brought with him three suffragans: Alvise, Bishop of Arras, Suger's brother, once Abbot of Auchin, and a man of considerable energy and ability; Godfrey, Bishop of Châlons, who, while Abbot of S. Metard, had treated Abelard with the tenderness of a friend, when, beside himself with shame and despair, he had been committed to that solitude by the Council of Soissons; and Joscelin, Bishop of Soissons, once master of Grosvin, the implacable enemy of Abelard, himself his rival in

dialectics, and a companion of S. Bernard in his mission into Aquitaine. Besides these, many Abbots, religious, masters in theology, and learned men, of whom history does not hand down the names, were summoned to attend. Knights, and Barons, who could neither read nor write, but who could make good use of their eyes and ears, petitioned to be present. Amongst them was Theobald, Count Palatine of Champagne, famous for his princely charities, and the Count of Nevers, a pattern of Christian piety, who, a few years later, exchanged the gay tunic and mantle of a man of pleasure for the rough sack and shaven head of a Carthusian. Besides these, crowds of itinerant lecturers and intellectual quacks, with hundreds of famished students from Paris, and people from the neighbourhood, mustered strongly in the body of the Church.

It can be imagined how all eyes turned on S. Bernard, as he advanced, in the white wool of Citeaux, to take his place in the assembly. A searching scrutiny might have detected, in the mild majesty of the careworn face, lines of suffering and marks of tears. There was something sadly awful in that noble forehead, in the classic turn of those sensitive lips, in the glance of those piercing eyes, and in the movement of that slight frame wasted with long vigil, with terrific penance, with a burning love of the House of God, and with the ceaseless friction of a laborious life. This was he, who, when a child, had seen Jesus, had been visited by angels,

had multiplied bread, and had lifted the dead to life.

And now Abelard, with his black Benedictine robe contrasting ominously with the white wool of the Cistercian, was making his way up the church. Many at the lower end of the nave were personally known to him. Amongst others, Gilbert de la Porrée, his old friend, a man of powerful mind, and a thorough-going rationalist. In passing him, Abelard whispered in his ear these prophetic words of Horace :—

"Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet." *

Abelard was not alone. He was preceded by his famous disciple, Arnold of Brescia, who, with all his crimes, was generous enough to stand by his master in the hour of need; and around him buzzed, as usual, a swarm of his gay disciples, who were looking forward with intense delight to the issue of the day—to the victory, which they took for granted their master would achieve over the malignant assailants of his orthodoxy, the implacable enemies of his fame.

But there were other faces that wore expressions very different from delight. The people of Sens had been taught from childhood to detest heresy. And eyes which gazed with awe on the saintly Cistercian, fired up with indignation, as they fixed themselves on the terrible enemy of the Church. Those who would eagerly press forward to kiss the hem of Bernard's garment, shrank from Abelard, as from a curse. Though in his sixtieth

* *Ep. I.*, 18, 84, *ed. Delphin.*

year, with a frame worn by the ceaseless chafing of a restless and turbulent spirit, though bearing in his bosom the embers of a passion that had been his bane—still, the manly beauty of that countenance was not entirely effaced, and there was something in the elastic independence of his carriage which spoke of that self-control, which is learnt in the face of great assemblies, and is perfected by practice and success. It was not so much the grace of God, as an inward consciousness of power, the pride of life, and the strength of fame.

A man of far less keen sensibilities than Abelard would have perceived, at a glance, that the current had set dead against him. That the people should loathe him, was to be expected. They had never been carried away by his triumphs in Paris. They had lived in a cathedral town; and had learnt to look upon a teacher of unsound doctrine with unmixed dislike. And, as to the Bishops, some had been his rivals, not to say his enemies: others had taught almost the reverse of his system on the great question of the day. The Legate was constitutionally prudent; and nothing is so trying to a prudent man as the unregulated vagaries of genius. Others, again, shocked by Abelard's unchristian spirit, would feel little compassion for his misfortunes. All, probably, would experience some satisfaction in breaking his influence, putting an end to his agitations, and in reducing him to silence.

As he advanced up the church, and fixed his

eyes upon the King, and carried them along the line of mitres, they were distracted by a movement amongst the Fathers. It was S. Bernard. He was making his way into the midst of the assembly. He held a scroll in his hand. It contained the heresies gathered out of Abelard's Theology. He came forward, and with his clear voice, deliberately read them out in order. He then fastened his calm eyes on his antagonist, and with a tone of authority informed him, in the name of the Council, that he might choose out of three courses :—to defend the propositions ; to amend them ; or to deny they were his. There was a moment's pause. In an instant all eyes were turned on Abelard, and the pulses of that assembly quickened whilst waiting, though for a moment, for the first sounds of that well-known voice, which had rung out the issues of many a victory in the arena of intellectual strife.

Abelard spoke : " I will not answer the Cistercian," he exclaimed—" I appeal from the Council to the See of Rome."

The assembly was speechless with astonishment. The Bishops looked at each other in blank surprise. And men had hardly recovered from the shock, when they were conscious that Abelard had turned his back upon King, Legates, and Bishops, and, followed by his wondering disciples, had left the church.

The rest of Abelard's history, as far as we are concerned, is soon told. The Council condemned

his doctrines, but since he had appealed from it to Rome, his person was left to the judgment of the Holy See. Peter the Venerable—whose gentle heart could not bear to see anyone in misfortune, and who loved Abelard very tenderly, perhaps on account of his great gifts and generous nature —consoled him as well as he was able, and persuaded him to retire into a monastery, away from strife, and to end his days in peace. Whether it was the sharp trial he had gone through in opposing a Saint, or the soothing influence of his venerable and loving friend, or the light of grace, working as it could work, in his fierce restless mind, or all these together, which is most probable—whatever was the cause—Abelard's pride was broken; his heart sought for rest; he saw he had done wrong—that reason becomes a brutal power when it strives against Divine faith, and that, though man's intelligence is a glorious thing, its glory is only preserved under the shadow of the Cross, and in obedience to the teachings of the Crucified. He made his reconciliation with S. Bernard. Reason submits, and bows down, and strikes its breast, and cries out *peccavi*, before the calm, stern majesty of authority; and Abelard, having shown to the world how brilliant can be the aberrations of the human mind, proves at the same time how worthless they can be, and how the most gifted of men, at last, has to make his submission to a power greater than any creature's —to the voice and command of Truth speaking

with authority. S. Bernard, in his serene, yet severe meekness, receiving the broken and repentant Prince of Dialecticians, and, then, lifting him up in love and hopefulness, is but a picture of the ultimate issue of all fair contests between the spirit of rationalism and irreverence, when it has the hardihood to cross weapons with the spirit of reverence and authority.

Abelard not only made his peace with the grave Cistercian, but also with the Pope. And it was not without great self-humiliation that he confessed to those against whom, before, he had so contemptuously and proudly spoken, that he had set greater store, in his past days of vanity, on being "a second Aristotle," than on being a follower of Jesus Christ.

Nor was Abelard the man to be converted by halves. Spirits like his, when they enter into any career, throw themselves into it with ardour—with an *élan* and an impetuosity which belong to high and noble natures. Having dismissed all vain, rebellious thoughts, he gave himself up wholly to commune with the unseen world—to live to God, and to prepare to meet Him. Peter the Venerable was deeply touched on seeing this once proud philosopher, a man who had been so run after and courted, give himself up, like a little child, to the practices of monastic life, desiring to be forgotten by all, save by Christ, and His Blessed Mother. Speaking of how humble he was, and how poor, Peter says, that there never was greater

nakedness in S. Martin, or more humility in S. Germanus, than in him.

Yes : it is a strange, and, I may say, an awful change—looking upon it through the distance even of so many years—which the whole being of a man undergoes, when the bonds of pride and self-sufficiency, and the blindness produced by mere human talent, are all swept away ; and just, good, beautiful, in a word, *Divine* authority assumes their place, and gives to the soul that freedom and elasticity with which Christ has made man free. The very furniture of the little cell in which Abelard prayed, and penanced himself, speaks of the power of Christian truth. All he had was a poor crucifix, a wooden candlestick, a hard pallet, a rough table, and one chair. His library, not Aristotle and Plato, not human reason —though in its place it is bright and good,—but the Scriptures, and some treatises of the Fathers. His very expression, his gait, his bearing, the subjects uppermost in his mind, and on his lips, were the reverse of what they had been before. His manner was that of the lowest and most obscure brother in the community. When charged with the duty of giving instructions, what were the topics on which he loved to dwell ? Ever on these two points : on Divine humility ; and on the nothingness of human things.

Thus he lived, fixed in the contemplation of the unseen, and here he found peace of soul. After a long search, he came upon the priceless pearl,

which so many seek after with feverish hearts, but never find. But he found it, though at the eleventh hour, and he kept it too.

He had not long to wait for the realization of his dreams. Attacked with a cutaneous disorder, the Abbot, by the advice of physicians, sent him for change of air to the Priory of S. Marcellus, near Châlons-sur-Saone, which was only four leagues from Cluny. But the keenness of the air, though it appeared for a time to brace him up, in reality aggravated his complaint. He was seized with fever, and he felt the final change coming over him. He prepared with gentle meekness, and humble courage for the great transition, and died on the twenty-first of April, 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Peter the Venerable, in the epitaph which he wrote for him, after describing the multiplicity of his knowledge, and his genius, adds :—

> "Sed tunc magis omnia vicit
> Cum Cluniacensem monachum moremque professus,
> Ad Christi veram transivit Philosophiam." *

Such was the end of the most brilliant rationalist that the world has ever seen. Man is little more

* It runs thus :—

> "Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus Hesperiarum
> Noster Aristoteles, Logicis quicumque fuerunt
> Aut par, aut melior, studiorum cognitus Orbi
> Princeps, ingenio varius, subtilis et acer.
> Omnia vi superans rationis, et arte loquendi
> Abælardus erat : sed tunc magis omnia vicit
> Cum Cluniacensem monachum moremque professus,
> Ad Christi veram transivit Philosophiam.
> In qua longæve bene complens ultima vitæ,
> Philosophis quandoque bonis se connumerandum
> Spem dedit, undenas Maio revocante calendas."

(Abæl. *Opp.*, *p.* 103. Migne.)

after all, than a child crying to God for light; and he finds his true satisfaction in practices of humility and self-denial. The Platonic element in the mind of Abelard, his connection with monasticism from the first, and his unwillingness obstinately to stand against authority, brought him, after a stormy voyage, safe to port.*

In fact, the same old error becomes, at different times, incarnate in various forms, and has to be fought with almost the same weapons. If there are Abelards and rationalism on the one side, there are always to be found S. Bernards and monasticism on the other.

* The similarity between Socrates and Abelard is very striking. Both were founders of schools. The former, of the Attic philosophy; the latter, of the conceptualistic and rationalistic philosophy. Abelard made lecturing on truth the business of his life; Socrates was a sophist by profession. The companions of Socrates could find no one with whom they could compare him; Abelard surpassed all his contemporaries in the gifts they admired most. Socrates was renowned for captivating all who approached him, by his extraordinary powers; personal fascination is one of the most singular features in the character of Abelard. Socrates loved intellectual combat, and was famed for the simplicity and directness of his method; Abelard was never happy save when breaking a lance with some opponent, and simplicity was the special charm (as has been already remarked) which drew those crowds of scholars round his chair. Both men were remarkable for dialectical adroitness, and for a certain vein of humour which ran through their expositions. Both men had ardent friends; both men had deadly enemies. If Aristophanes saw in Socrates an enemy to tradition, and a corrupter of the mind of youth through his method of universal doubt, S. Bernard saw in Abelard an enemy who was doing a like injury with respect to the dogmatic teaching of the Church. And here I drop the comparison, which might be pursued still further were it necessary.

CHAPTER XI.

MONASTIC THEOLOGY.
S. VICTOR'S.

PART I.

The contest of William of Champeaux and Abelard, the energy of the ascetic Saint Bernard, and the quiet and steady orthodoxy of Anselm of Laon, naturally carry the mind from individuals to schools. Did William of Champeaux leave his mark? Did the brilliant rationalism of Abelard die with his death? What became of the learned and despised Anselm of Laon? Did these men, in a word, form schools, and were their principles embodied in systems, which held their own, and fought their way in a later age?

The answer to these questions finds its simplest and best solution in the history of the institute established by William of Champeaux, when, abandoning his Professor's chair, he dedicated himself to God in religious life, and founded the celebrated school of S. Victor. Around this school, rationalism and pantheism floated. This

was the stronghold too of monastic theology. Here Hugh, and Richard, and Adam were educated ; and here the famous Lombard prepared the way for the Angel of the Schools. To treat, then, of the school of William of Champeaux, will be to carry the reader down in a straight line to the teaching of S. Thomas.

The school of S. Victor, from a mean beginning, grew speedily to importance, and was singularly favoured by Popes, Kings, and Bishops. William of Champeaux, who had buried himself in its seclusion after his contest with Abelard, and who, with five companions, had taken the habit of Saint Augustine, became Prior ; but on being made Bishop, left his hermitage, to do battle with the world. Gilduin, a Parisian—one of the few Parisians who distinguished themselves in the middle ages —William's favourite disciple, was first Abbot.* Gilduin had acquired so high a fame for sanctity, that Louis VI. selected him for his director. From this period, S. Victor's made rapid advances in prosperity. The King, with princely magnificence, enriched the Canons with large grants of lands, and prebends. He declared that he thus freed them from anxiety in order that they might, without solicitude, dedicate their minds entirely to study, and their hearts entirely to praying for him and France. Pascal II. confirmed their foundation. The King lavished more

* S. Victor's was raised to an Abbey in 1113, by Louis VI., the same year in which William became Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne.

favours. Henry had a son, who became a religious, and imitated his father's generosity. Theobald, Archdeacon of Paris (1133), left them some valuable volumes. The Bishop of Paris offered them stalls in his Cathedral, and, what they no doubt equally appreciated, allowed them the run of a portion of the river for fishing, and a mill situated on its banks, to grind their corn; whilst the Dean and Chapter of Paris presented them with a serviceable farm. Obizon, the Royal Physician, gave them his books, and joined the Order. Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, the Deacon James, the Canons John Lombard, and Francis d'Ast, added greatly to the Library, not counting the later gifts of Adam, Peter of Poitiers, Gervase, and Cardinal Halgrin (1236). Bishop Stephen left them his Library,* Queen Blanche presented a magnificent Bible, and the King, not satisfied with all he had done for them when living, bequeathed two thousand livres, to be distributed amongst forty of their Abbeys, at his death. In return, the Canons offered Mass daily for his Majesty, feasted a beggar daily in his name, and, on the recurrence of his anniversary, clothed one poor man from head to foot, and regaled an hundred of his fortunate companions on bread and meat, and wine.

* Stephen de Senlis, sixty-seventh Bishop of Paris, left his dignity and joined the convent, and was buried in the choir. His epitaph makes mention of his books :—

"Hic jacet inter oves Stephanus, qui Parisiensis
Extitit Ecclesiæ pastor, et hujus ovis.
Hanc inopem, parvamque, novamque, pius pater auxit,
Extulit, ornavit rebus, honore, libris."

In 1790, the library of S. Victor had 34,000 volumes, and 1,800 MSS.

In 1138, S. Victor formed a considerable congregation. The reputation of the Canons Regular, for sanctity and learning, spread with rapidity. Innocent II. praised them to the skies, and bishops were glad to entice into their jurisdiction men, who, instead of using their influence to undermine authority, had been known to sacrifice their lives in its defence. On the death of Gilduin the Canons possessed as many as forty-four houses, and are said to have given seven Cardinals, two Archbishops, six Bishops, besides fifty-four Abbots to the Church.*

Their rule was an imitation of S. Benedict's. They lived on legumes, were never permitted to touch meat, seldom saw fish, and were never allowed to ask for it. They rose at midnight, and walked to the church, preceded by a blazing torch. Contemplation, and manual labour, occupied their time. The more skilful were set to copy books, which they did with reverence, and regarded it as an honourable service. They remembered how Holy Fulgentius, and Dunstan, and Anselm, and Alcuin, and Lanfranc had plied the pen, and collated texts before them, and how the glory of Charlemagne himself would not have been so bright had he not, with his own royal hand, written out the Holy Gospel. Strictest silence was observed in the Scriptorium, which, to be removed from all distrac-

* Elle fut si féconde, et il en sortit tant de rejettons, que, s'étant étendus sur la montagne voisine, ils formèrent ce que, dans le siècle suivant, on appella l'Université. (Le Beuf, *p.* 66.)

tion, was situated out of the monastery, but within the Enclosure. The Superior, and the librarian who directed the work in detail, were alone permitted to enter here. The writers were carefully chosen by the Abbot himself, and no one was suffered to walk about the room, whilst the rest were transcribing. It was thus, under strict rule, that holy men, who had abandoned the world without, with skilful, unwearying industry, in peaceful stillness, in course of time, formed valuable libraries, such as those of York, Bec, S. Gall, Corby, Rheims, and Fontenelle.*

The Canons were excessively generous to the poor; and needy students—boys who had travelled to Paris from the provinces, or perhaps from far-distant countries, and who had little knowledge of the city, no experience and scanty means—were hospitably received, lodged, fed, and taught by them.† James de Vitry compares S. Victor's to the Pool of Probatica, by bathing in whose healing waters, the blind, the halt, and the withered, regained sight, and soundness, and strength. We

* A library could soon be made by diligent transcribers, at least, if it be true that Maurus Lapi copied a thousand volumes in less than fifty years, and another monk in Austria wrote so many that they were almost too heavy for a waggon and six horses. At S. Victor's they kept paid copyists also, whose labours did much towards enriching the library. They were supported out of the funds of the monastery. How beautiful are the words that were used in the solemn benediction of the Scriptorium of monasteries: "Benedicere digneris Domine, hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum et omnes habitantes in eo."

† In the thirteenth century they let poor scholars have books to study—a thing not heard of at S. Germain-des-Prés and S. Geneviève. In the necrology, it is written more than once—*e.g.*, "Gervasii . . . qui dedit nobis libros glosatos . . . hos omnes libros dedit ad usum claustralium et *pauperum scholarium*." (Franklin, *v. I.*, *p.* 153.)

read of the Prior of our own S. Alban's thanking the Prior of S. Victor's, for his kindness to his little brother; and of a certain Roman nobleman thanking the good Canons, for their courtesy to Master Hugh.

It was through the influence of S. Bernard, who delighted in this convent, who was its founder's dear familiar friend, and who imparted to it a portion of his mystic spirit, that Peter Lombard, who afterwards exercised so wide an influence, came to S. Victor's to be educated.

Not only the needy, but the rich and noble, loved to bide under the same roof with these laborious men. Men of all nations joined the Canons Regular. Many bishops resigned their Sees to join the convent. We read of our own countrymen becoming Canons—of Englishmen being elected Priors, and even Abbots.* When William of Champeaux opened the school, one of his first pupils was a young noble of the Counts of

* John of Toulouse mentions the names of some of the principal men:—"William de Champeaux; Gilduin; Thomas, deuxième prieur; André, Adam et Hugues de Saint-Victor; Etienne, Maurice et Eudes de Sully; Adenulfe d'Anagni; Bernard, archidiacre; Obizon; Yves et Pierre de Saint-Victor; Hugues, cardinal et légat en Angleterre (1184); Thierry, évêque d'Amara en Norvége; Arnoul de Lisieux; Alexis, neveu d'Alexandre III. et cardinal; Estienne de Bourges; Henri, archevêque d'Ydrunte en Norvége; Geoffroy de Poissy, évêque de Meaux; Etienne D'Orléans, évêque de Tournay; Pierre Comestor; Pierre de Poitiers; Achard, Garin, Absalon, Jean, Guillaume de Saint Lô, Pierre Le Duc, abbés de Saint-Victor; Eudes, premier abbé de Sainte-Geneviève; Leonius; Robert de Flamesbure; Godefroy et Richard, sous-prieurs de Saint-Victor; Jean Bouin, Parisien; Girard de Grandvillé, doyen de Beauvais; Pierre de Condé aumônier de Philippe le Bel; Jean de Montholon; le président Lemaistre; Jean Pastoureau, président de la Cour des comptes; Pierre des Boues, chanoine de Troyes, &c." (See Franklin, *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris, Tom. I., p.* 158.)

Blankemberg, named Reinard, who had been sent from Saxony to Paris, to study under this celebrated man. Reinard soon distinguished himself by his piety and parts, and became one of his master's favourite disciples. Having finished his course with credit, he returned to Saxony, and was raised to the Episcopate as Bishop of Halberstadt. Almost his first act was to invite the Canons to his diocese, hoping that their example would tend to restore discipline, and that their holiness and learning would help the cause of piety and truth. They settled at Hamerleve, and dedicated this Convent to S. Pancratius. From the charter of its foundation, it is evident that a large concourse of scholars flocked to their schools, and that it soon became the centre of considerable intellectual activity in Saxony. Naturally enough, the Bishop recommended his favourite place of education to his brother. He asked the father of little Hugh, his nephew, to send the boy to be brought up by the Canons. He consented ; and it is evident on reading Hugh's "*Didascalia*," with what interest the little lad took to his books, and how his ingenuity, his sagacity, and his lively fantasy, gave tokens of that future greatness with which he afterwards surprised the world. Here it was that, in his leisure moments, he loved to take out his instrument, and charm his ear with sweet harmonies, exciting the curiosity of his mind, at the same time that it soothed the senses. Here

it was that he passed whole nights in watching and wondering at the stars.* So attached did he become to his professors, and so pronounced was his bent for monastic life, that, in spite of the displeasure of his parents, he determined to dedicate his soul to God, and embraced the rule of S. Augustine. But political and religious disturbances, under Henry IV., obliged him to abandon the home of his adoption. His uncle, the Bishop, advised him to go to Paris, where he himself had spent so many pleasant and profitable days, and to drink in from the fountain-head the precious streams of piety and knowledge. Hugh was delighted, and he persuaded his great-uncle, the Archdeacon of Halberstadt, though very far advanced in years, to accompany him on his journey. They travelled through Saxony, Flanders, and Lorraine, where they were received with the respect suited to their position ; and finally arrived at Paris, and entered the peaceful seclusion of S. Victor Martyr. Gilduin was Abbot, and he received the venerable priest, and the tender youth,

* See how full of sweetness and unction is the *Erudit. Didascal., Lib. VII., vol. II., p.* 811, 834. For example, *cap. IV., De earumdem [creaturarum] pulchritudine,* "Quamvis multis ac variis modis creaturarum pulchritudo perfecta sit, quatuor tamen præcipue sunt, in quibus earumdem decor consistit. Hoc est in situ, in motu, in specie, in qualitate. Quæ quidem quis investigare sufficeret, mirabilem in eis sapientiæ Dei lucem inveniret. Et hoc utinam ego tam possem subtiliter perspicere, tam competenter enarrare, quam possum ardenter diligere. Delectat enim me quia valde dulce et jucundum est de his rebus frequenter agere, ubi simul et ratione eruditur sensus, et suavitate delectatur animus, et æmulatione excitatur affectus, ita ut cum Psalmista stupeamus, et admirantes clamemus : *Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! Omnia in sapientia fecisti (Psal. CIII.)* ; et alibi : *Delectasti me in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo. Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! nimis profundæ factæ sunt cogitationes tuæ. Vir insipiens non cognoscet, et stultus non intelliget hæc.*" *(Psal. XCI., p.* 814.)

with that benevolence and courtesy which finds a natural home in the school of perfect charity.

The memory of Reinard was still fresh amongst the Canons; and they counted it an honour to number amongst their brethren one of the noble family of Blankemberg. They were still more gratified, when they discovered in this gentle boy, a maturity of mind, a sweetness of disposition, a courtesy of manner, and an unmistakable promise of distinction, which, some day, might bring honour to the Order. Though a delicate child, he possessed that which is often allied with a fragile constitution —a robustness of mind, and an aptitude for speculation, which, in one so young, was excessively remarkable. He began his studies without delay; and when he had completed them, he took the place of his professor, Thomas, who had succeeded William of Champeaux in the direction of the studies of the monastery.*

This is about all that is known of the life of Hugh of S. Victor's. He died at the early age of forty-four. Whoever would wish to know how he occupied himself, during the time of his hidden life, might open his celebrated treatise, "*De Sacra-*

* See how wide and Christian a view he takes of the temper a student should aim at, in his *Lib. Tert. Erudit. Didasc., cap. VII., VIII., p.* 770—771; *cap. XI., XII., and especially cap. XIV., De Humilitate, p.* 772—775. Take, as an example, the short chapter XIII., *De Disciplina:* "Sapiens, quidam cum de modo et forma discendi interrogaretur: Mens, respondit, humilis, studium quærendi, vita quieta, scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena: hæc reserare solent nonnulla obscura legendi." Audierat puto quod dictum est: "mores ornant scientiam," et ideo præceptis legendi, præcepta quoque vivendi adjungit, ut et modum vitæ suæ et studii rationem lector agnoscat. Illaudabilis est scientia, quam vita maculat impudica. Et idcirco summopere cavendum est ei qui quærit scientiam, ut non negligat disciplinam." (*p.* 773.)

mentis," in which, with an unusual power of logical sequence, he establishes and develops, in the speculative order, the truths of Revelation. His writings, not only with regard to their contents, but with regard to their conception and their style, stand in the first rank amongst the noblest and most beautiful creations of the mediæval mind.* But of his influence presently. His death was a counterpart to his life, and since it has been related by an eye witness, and manifests the practical workings of his own theory in his own heart, I shall make no apology for introducing it.

Brother Osbert the Infirmarian, who attended Hugh in his last illness, thus writes to his friend Brother John :—

"I will not speak to you of the sincere, entire, and perfect confession which he made to the Lord Abbot, and to me; nor of the abundant tears which he shed, nor of the great contrition of his heart, nor of the frequent acts of thanksgiving which he made to the Lord Jesus Christ for his present

* Hugo's Schriften gehören, sowohl was den Inhalt, als auch was die Form und den Styl betrifft, zu dem Schönsten und Herrlichsten, was der christliche Geist des Mittelalters hervorgebracht hat. Das Geist—und Gemüthvolle, was in denselben liegt, lässt sich nicht leicht wiedergeben; man muss diese Schriften selbst lesen, um den vollen Genuss davon zu haben." (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* von Dr. Albert Stöckl, *Erster Band*, § 89, *p.* 305.) How beautifully he speaks of the use of travel for the study of Truth :—"It is a great beginning of virtue for the mind to commence by degrees to leave these visible and transitory things, that afterwards it may also relinquish them. He is as yet delicate to whom his country is sweet. He is brave to whom every soil is his country. He is perfect, to whom the whole world is a place of exile. The first fixes his love upon the world, the second scatters it, the last extinguishes it. I have been an exile from a boy, and I know with what grief the mind sometimes deserts the narrow space of a poor cottage : with what liberty afterwards it may despise marble courts and golden roofs." (*Erudit. Didasc. Lib. III., cap. XX., p.* 778. *De Exilio, p.* 778.)

malady, letting this cry of praise often escape from his heart, 'Blessed be the Lord my God in eternity!' I will tell you at once what he did and said in the last moments of his life.

"The day before he died, I went to him in the morning, and asked him how he felt: 'Well, he answered, in soul and body.' He added, 'Are we alone?' I answered, Yes. 'Have you said Holy Mass?' Yes. 'Come and breathe on my face in the form of a cross, that I may receive the Holy Ghost.' I did as he desired. At once rejoiced and strengthened, I believe by the Holy Spirit, he said with transport, 'Now I am at peace, now I walk in truth and purity, now I am established on the rock, and nothing can ever shake me now; now were the whole world offered to me, with all its pleasures, it would not have my esteem were it to be my only recompense; for the sake of it, I will not offend my God. Now I recognize the mercy of God in my regard. Of all the graces which God has given me during the whole course of my life up to this day, none could be more mild, more sweet, more agreeable to me than the one he deigns to bestow upon me at this moment. Blessed be the Lord my God in eternity!'"

"After these words, he humbly asked for absolution of all the faults which he had committed against God. I gave it him, and left him to repose, according to his wish. I went away from his bed."

"The following night, about cock-crow, his condition became more serious; his strength began to fail

him. I hastened to him. His first word was about his soul. When the brothers who were present had given him absolution, I suggested to him the thought of receiving Extreme Unction : he asked for it with joy. He himself gave orders that whatever was necessary should be prepared at once. When all was ready, it began to get light. The brethren being assembled, surrounded him according to the custom, reciting psalms and prayers. Then I asked him if he would like me to anoint him, or if he would prefer to wait for the Lord Abbot, who was then absent : he had been sent for, and would come at once to the sick man. He answered : 'Do what you ought to do, for you are all around me.' A great many religious, monks, Canons regular, priests, and other ecclesiastics, had come, and even several laymen were present."

"After having administered Extreme Unction I asked him if he wished to receive the Body of our Lord : they had not brought it because he had communicated two days before. 'My God!' he cried, with a show of indignation, 'you ask me if I wish to receive my Lord! Run to the church, and bring to me the Body of my Master quickly!' When I had executed his orders, I approached his bed, and holding the Sacred Bread of Eternal Life in my hands, I said to him, adore, and acknowledge the body of your Lord. Then rising as much as he could, and stretching out both his hands towards the Blessed Sacrament,

he said, 'I adore Thee, O my Lord, and I receive Thee as my salvation.' After he had consumed the Sacred Host, he asked for a crucifix which was near him, and taking it into his hands, he formed on himself the sign of the Cross, and having devoutly embraced it, he rested the feet of the crucifix upon his lips, and kept it like that a long time, as if he would gather into his mouth the blood that ran down from the wounds of the Saviour. He fastened himself on it like a child to the breast of its mother, and sucked it while shedding torrents of tears."

"There was a moment's silence, after which I recalled to his mind this verse of the Holy Scriptures, 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.' He thought I asked him a question—that I asked him the explanation of the verse. He answered, 'The Lord Jesus, when about to leave this world, said to His Father, *Into Thy hands I commend my spirit;* and His Father received it.' And you, I replied, who are also on the point of going out of this world, you ought to pray God to receive your soul. At this word he gathered up his strength for an instant, then heaving a sigh which all could hear, he pronounced these words: 'Lord I commend into Thy hands, and into Thy power, the spirit which Thou hast given me, and which I received from Thee.' He spoke, and then held his peace. His last hour having approached, and not being able to talk, he collected himself together again, and regaining his powers,

began to speak, but his voice being almost gone, it could not be heard. I asked him what he said? He answered in a clear tone 'I have obtained it!' I said, What have you obtained? He was no more. This was the 11th of February, 1138.*

Such was the death of him whom Trithemius calls another Augustine, the most celebrated doctor of his time, a man deeply versed in Sacred Scripture, and without his equal amongst the ancients in philosophy, not less venerable for the purity of his life than for his erudition. Some go so far as to say that Hugh had the gift of miracles. His epitaph contains a concise appreciation of his merits :—

Conditus hic tumulo Doctor celeberrimus Hugo
Quem brevis eximium continet urna virum.
Dogmate præcipuus nullique secundus amore
Claruit ingenio, moribus, ore, stylo.

It is very evident, from what has been said, that the school of which Hugh of S. Victor's forms the central figure, had very little in common with that of Abelard and his disciples. Both were powers of immense strength, drawing to themselves men of rare ability, and dividing the world of thought sharply into two distinct divisions. Anselm and Roscelin, Bernard and Abelard, were as wide asunder as the poles.

* Stephen of Bourbon is quoted by some writers as giving a story about Hugh of S. Victor's, which is brought forward as a proof of the slender knowledge of Greek there was in his day. As it bears also upon the character of Hugh, it will be well to narrate it. Hugh appeared, it is alleged, after his death, to a pious person, and said that he was condemned to the sufferings of purgatory *propter zenedoxiam (sic)*. The pious person did not understand him, and after having looked, found that the word meant "vain glory."

The excessive horror of William of S. Thierry, when he turned from his pious contemplation of the mystic Spouse, to the rationalizing theology of Abelard; the passionate vehemence of S. Bernard—who was celebrated for his self-control—whenever he makes mention of Abelard's name; must be attributed to a deeper cause than the fretting of human prejudice and passion.* It points to the energizing life within the human spirit, which was touched, as it were, by a rude hand, on the centre-quick, and which instantly responded by springing forward with a spasm.

The fact is there have ever been in the world two schools. Before Plato was born there were Platonists, and before Aristotle saw the light there were Aristotelians, who detested the principles of Platonism. They began with the first brothers of the human family—and Cain, standing over the body of his bleeding brother, is but a figure of the moral action of opposing schools. Plato's name would have been buried in forgetfulness, and so would Aristotle's, had there not been in humanity a deep-seated sympathy, on the one hand, with the contemplation of expanding truth; and on the other, with the exercise of the activity of the intelligence upon truth. To gaze steadily and fixedly on an object, and take it in—to become one with it by contemplation, has a profound effect upon the soul. If the object be pure

* See *Vita*, Auctore Alano, *cap. V.*, *n.* 17.

and elevating, the soul, through its influence, will be purer and more noble than before.* The sense of the elevation of the object, charms and subdues. To look upon an object in order to analyze its parts, to compare, and divide, to balance, and weigh it, and to pass it through a process of sifting or manipulation, possesses also its special charm; but it is the charm, not of subjection, but of mastery; not of repose, but of activity. Some minds—according to the mould in which they are cast—have more natural sympathy with the first, others, with the second method. Each is good within its sphere, both are pernicious when they outstep their sphere. Both are necessary for the perfection of the human mind. For man has a will to love, and an intelligence to know. He can fix himself on the object in faith; or probe and analyze it with his reason.† Plato, represents rest; Aristotle, inquisi-

* "J'entends maintenant la communication intérieure d'un esprit supérieur à nous, qui nous parle, que nous entendons en dedans, qui vivifie et féconde notre esprit sans se confondre avec lui; car nous sentons, que les bonnes pensées, le bon mouvement ne sortent pas de nous-mêmes." (Maine de Biran, *Œuvr, p.* 410.)

See how Plato expresses himself on the "Divine sense" which is in man: *Timæus*, 98—99, *p.* 247. (Ex recensione C. E. Ch. Schneideri, Vol. I.) Again: "L'homme qui, par l'amour de la vérité, travaille sourtout à développer en lui le sens de l'immatériel et du divin, celui-là, necessairement atteindra l'immortalité autant que la nature humaine en est capable; et puisqu'il n'a cultivé en lui que le divin et qu'il a nourri dans son âme l'esprit divin qui y réside, il doit aller à la souveraine félicité." (See Gratry, *De la connaissance de Dieu, T. I., p.* 93.)

† "Platon dans l'histoire de l'esprit humain, représente l'idéalisme, et par conséquent la synthèse; il s'adresse surtout aux âmes douées de cette merveilleuse puissance d'intuition qu'on appelle aussi enthousiasme. . . . . Aristote, au contraire, représente le sensualisme, et par conséquent l'analyse. Son œuvre est à la portée de tous les esprits laborieux; et, comme tous les jours il en naît de pareils, elle a pu se conserver par leurs soins, et se transmettre comme un héritage entre des mains connues." (Ozanam: *Œuvres, T. VI., Ed.* 2, *partie, III., cap. II., p.* 282.)

tiveness. The tendency of rest, is to take for granted, to possess : the tendency of inquisitiveness, is to divide, and prove : the former is synthetical, the latter is analytical. *Quies*, is monastic : inquisitiveness, is dialectical : the excess of *quies* leads to the pantheism of Erigena, David of Dinanto, and his followers; the excess of dialectics points to rationalism, such as that of Gilbert de la Porrée, Abelard, and Arnold of Brescia.*

It is of the monastic side of nature of which I am now about to speak. It is the most beautiful, and the most Catholic side. It is the side of the mind of Jesus—it is the philosophy of the Sacred Heart, and of the Divine intelligence. God contemplates. He does not reason. He that "believes" shall be saved. He does not say, he that *reasons* shall be saved. This is the philosophy of the first ages of the Church : it is engraved in the mind of the Fathers, who drank from the spring of truth at the very source. They, in a remarkable manner, developed the monastic side of the mind of Christianity. They left the contentious side to the Pagan, and the Apostate. If they did descend to the arena, it was with reluctance, and only when serious danger was threatened to the Church. They loved, and

* "If after more than five hundred years," says Thomassinus, "our most celebrated Doctors refer their philosophic education to the school of Aristotle, it must be remembered that all the Fathers refer theirs to the school of Plato." (*Praef., I. II., n. X.*) Thomassinus quotes Baronius, somewhere as saying : - "Academia Platonis, Ecclesiæ velut vestibulum." Then the baneful influence of Aristotle on Artemon and Theodotus was a warning to the Fathers against "Aristotelic subtilty."

quoted, and sympathized with Plato, because in his contemplative system, the eye of the mind, without disturbance, could calmly gaze upon the vast fields of truth, and fix itself upon its solemn ranges, and its glittering heights; and because it more perfectly than any other system, brought before the Catholic consciousness, the Divine plan of man's salvation.* They loved to rest, and bask in the light of the great gift of revelation. They did not feel pleased at being intruded on, with impertinent definition, and analysis. †

Now, Aristotle was all activity. The Fathers looked coldly on him. In the hands of skilful assailers he had viciously struck at them, and at that which they loved dearer than themselves: he was the Pagan's friend. They could not get over his teaching the eternity of the world, and the destruction of the soul: and many of them remembered what havoc he had committed in the Arian strife, in the person of Eunomius, who may be considered as the precursor of the extreme nominalistic school of the middle ages. Werner

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* See Mosheim: *De turbata per Platonicos recentiores Ecclesia: Helmstädt*, 1732. Compare Werner, *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der Christlichen Theologie, Fünfter Band.* (*Elftes Buch*, § 794, *p.* 33.)

† "The piety of Platonism, its abstractedness from the visible world, its elevation of moral sentiments, recommended it forcibly to the imagination and the feelings of the contemplative theologian. It appeared eminently, in contrast with other systems, a knowledge of Divine things; a knowledge which led the mind to 'acquaint itself with God, and be at peace.' The Aristotelic philosopher was regarded as a profane intruder, bringing the noisy jargon of the world into the sanctuary, where every thought and feeling should be hushed in holy contemplation." (Hampden's *Bampton Lectures, Ed. III., Lect. II., p.* 62.)

makes mention of twenty of the Fathers who speak with disparagement of Aristotle.*

The Fathers, in their cast of mind, were essentially monastic : indeed, the monastic system has been a traditionary one in the Church from the earliest ages, and rests upon two fundamental facts, studied by all deeply thinking minds, viz. : first, that Christ—who taught a Divine philosophy, as well as a Divine theology—has never said "Blessed are they that see and then believe," but "Blessed are they who have not seen ;" and, again, "Love is the fulfilment of the law." Man's primary scope is, not to know, but to love : not to see, but to believe. Belief, and love, these are the two master-passions of all monastic minds —looking up with confidence, crying out "My Lord and my God," and then, with all the passion of the soul, embracing the sovereign Good.

But, it may be asked, why call the synthetical principle monastic ? The answer is simple ; for the same reason by which the analytical principle is called scholastic. The analytical principle is

* Justinus : *Dial. cum Trip. C.* 2. Hermias, Irenæus : *Adv. hæres. II*, 19. Tertullian: *Præscript. hæres. C.* 7 ; *adv. Hermog. C.* 1. Clemens Alexandrinus : *Cohort. ad gent. Strom. V.* Origenes : *Contr. Cels. libb. I., II.* Eusebius : *Præpr. Evang. XV.*, 1. 3—7, 9 ; *Hist. Eccl. V.*, 27 ; *VII.* 26. Lactantius : *Contr. gentil. I.*, 6 ; *II.*, 11. Athanasius : *Adv. Maced. dial.* 2. Basilius : *Contr. Eunom., I. n.* 5 *et* 9. Gregor. Nyss. : *Contr. Eunom. orat.* 6 *et* 11 ; *praef. catech. orat.* Gregor. Nazianz. : *orat.*, 26—28 ; *orat. ad conc. Constantinop.* Epiphanius : *Adv. Hæres. II.*, 69 ; de Aëtianis : *III. in indiculo, et C.* 76. Theodor. Antioch. : *De Incarnatione.* Faustinus : *Contr. Arianos C.* 2. Chrysostomus : *Homil.* 3 *in Rom.* 1. ; *in Psal.* 115 ; *hom.* 24 *in Joann.* Hieronymus : *Contr. Pelag. I ; Ep.* 62 ; *contr. Helvid. X., in Nahum, C.* 3, *v.* 13 ; *contr. Luciferianos.* Ambrosius : *Offic. I.*, 13 ; *De Fide I.*, 5. Augustinus : *Confess. VIII.*, 2 ; *contr. Julian. I.*, 4 ; *II.*, 10 ; *III.*, 2 ; *V.*, 14 : *VI.*, 18—20. Cyrillus Alexandrinus : *contr. Eunom. assertio. II. ; contr. Julianum IV.* Eneas ; *in Dial. Theoph.* (*Vol. I., p.* 46.)

called scholastic, because the scholastics were the first to reduce the method of analysis to system: S. Anselm is called the first of the school-men, because he is said to have been the first to bring the canons of logic to bear upon the mysteries of religion. Now, monks were the first who, in the middle ages—as well as long before—reduced the methods of synthesis to something like a system. As men reasoned before they possessed syllogistic laws, so men also worshipped before the canons of the mystic life were scientifically understood.* The solitaries of China and of India, the Chaldean and Egyptian, sought after a higher goodness and truth than they found within themselves, they sought caves and mournful solitudes, that they might, undisturbed, commune with the Great Spirit in the skies. Or, look at the Eastern monks—those terrific men, those wrestlers with Satan and the flesh—battling in the wilderness, with their great synthetic minds, who lived, and suffered, and adored, and died!

In the West, of which I am now speaking, S. Benedict was the first and only legislator of monasticism.† He saw the immense force of the

* "Diligere Deum super omnia," says S. Thomas "est quiddam connaturale homini." (*Sum.: Theolog.: I, II., q. CIX., art.* 3.) "Rationalem naturam a Deo factam esse justam ut illo fruendo beata esset, dubitari non debet. . . . Ad hoc itaque factam esse rationalem naturam certum est, ut summum bonum super omnia amaret et eligeret, non propter aliud, sed propter ipsum; si enim propter aliud, non ipsum, sed aliud amat. . . . . Quapropter rationalis natura justa est facta, ut summo bono, id est Deo, fruendo beata esset; homo ergo, qui rationalis natura est, factus est justus ad hoc, ut Deo fruendo beatus esset."(*Cur Deus homo, Lib. I., cap. I., p.* 401.)

† He is called in a Papal privilege of the eighth century: "Patrem omnium monachorum, monasticum legislatorem, quem Deus omnibus per totum orbem monasteriis præfecit."

religious life of the East, such as it was. He reorganized it, putting it on a more practical, and more perfect footing. The Easterns buried themselves in solitude, there to remain, and converse with God; S. Benedict had humanity in view: he hurries to the rugged fastness, to live to God, and having lived to God, to come forth, and subdue the world, through the synthetic influence of the Cross.* His system is written in what, *par excellence*, is called "The Holy Rule:" a rule which S. Gregory, S. Thomas, S. Antoninus, and S. Hildegard, declare to have been immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost. Its whole scope demonstrates that S. Benedict held that "love" was power. He left "knowledge," and trod it under foot; for, though but a child, the eyes of his "faith" had been opened.† He found love in the mountain cave. Of mere human, or mental activity, he makes little account. Light comes from without, not from within. Love is not the offspring of analysing, and dividing, and arguing, but it is the child of contemplation, and peace.‡ How is this love acquired? The Holy Rule lays down the method. Love is acquired by

* His spirit is shown by his love of the Fathers and of the Scripture, of which his rule is but an expansion. "For him who is going to perfection," says the Rule, "there are the lessons of the Holy Fathers, which lead to the very summit. For what page, what passage of the Old or New Testament, coming as it does with Divine authority, is not the very exactest rule of life?" (*Chap. LXXIII.*)

† Despectis literarum studiis . . relictis domo rebusque paternis . . . despexit jam quasi aridum mundum cum flore. (S. Greg., *Dialog. II.*)

‡ "Whatever makes the mind gravitate towards the creature, is inconsistent with monastic simplicity." (Dr. Newman, *Atlantis I.*, *p.* 44.)

two things, viz., by contemplation, and by purity of heart.* He who has a pure heart, and contemplates truth, loves truth. The contemplation will be clear in proportion as the heart is pure; and the heart will be pure as the spirit is humble. The two grand principles on which that Rule—which has given its colour to every other—is founded, are the contemplation of love, and the practice of humility. But what is the object of contemplation? The object is Christ. Christ seems incarnate in this Rule. The Abbot holds the place of Christ; the community are to look upon him as Christ, and obey him as Christ. Christ is adored in the poor; Christ is seen in the sick; Christ is served in the guests. The monk is to "deny himself to himself, and to follow Christ." The community is all one in Christ; and the Holy Legislator insists that nothing is to be placed before the love of Christ. In fact, it may with truth be said here: *Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* † As a man, after looking on the sun,

* See how terrified S. Benedict was at temptation: "Exutus indumento, nudum se in illis spinarum aculeis et urticarum incendiis projecit, ibique diu volutatus, totus ex iis vulneratus exiit. Ex quo tempore, sicut ipse postea perhibebat, ita in eo est tentatio voluptatis edomita, ut tale aliquid in se minime sentiret." (S Greg., *Dialog. II.*)

† Ad te ergo nunc meus sermo dirigitur, quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluntatibus Domino *Christo* vero Regi militaturus, obedientiæ fortissima atque præclara arma assumis. (*Prolog.* 2.)

In *Christi* doctrina . . . perseveremus (*id.*)

Omnes in *Christo* unum sumus. (*Cap. II.*, 16.)

Nihil amori *Christi* præponere. (*Cap. IV.*, 21.) *Christo* Nihil præponant. (*Cap. LXXII.*, 11.) Abnegare semetipsum sibi ut sequatur *Christum*. (*Cap. IV.*, 10.) Non timore gehennæ, sed amore *Christi* (humilis regulam servat). (*Cap. VII.*, 89.) Passionibus *Christi* per patientiam participemus. (*Prolog.* 26.) Hanc Regulam adjuvante *Christo* perfice. (*Cap. LXXIII.*, 9.) Again: Abbas vices *Christi* agere creditur—vocatur Dominus honore et *amore Christi*. *Christus* in hospitibus adoretur qui et suscipitur. In pauperibus *Christus* magis suscipitur. Sicut revera *Christo* ita infirmis serviatur. (Vide Reg. *passim.*)

appears to see suns floating everywhere, so the monk, from the contemplation of Christ in faith, and through self-annihilation, sees his Lord in all his creatures. It was in order that the monk should have this vivid appreciation of the Saviour of the World, that the Holy Father dedicates so very large a portion of his Rule to a treatise on humility; for he knew that purity of heart alone is gained by humility; and that it is the pure of heart exclusively, who look upon the face of their Christ.*

Now, it is self-evident that, in proportion as the spirit contemplates Christ, and the heart is pure, the will elicits perfect acts of love. Again, in the relation of man to his Maker, there is always a disproportion, which becomes more evident as he advances in love and purity of heart. In the same degree as the creature knows what the Creator is, he realizes his own position as a creature. S. Gregory expresses it thus, when he tells us how it was that S. Benedict saw the whole world, as it were, in one solar ray of light: *Quia animæ videnti Creatorem angusta est omnis creatura.* † What then do we call the result in the mind of the realization of

* "Ecce ego et tu," writes the Benedictine S. Ælred to a friend: "et spero quod tertius inter nos Christus sit." Think too of S. Gertrude.

† "Omnis etiam mundus, velut sub uno solis radio collectus, ante oculos adductus est . . . . Quia animæ videnti Creatorem angusta est omnis creatura." (*Dial., II.*, 34.) In the tower in which S. Benedict lived at Monte Cassino, there is this inscription:—"Universum mundum divini solis radio detectum *inspexit semel et despexit.*" S. Bonaventure says of the vision, "Mundus non fuit coangustatus in uno radio solis, sed ejus animus dilatatus, quia vidit omnia in illo cujus magnitudine omnis creatura angusta est." *De Luminaribus, Serm.* 20. (*See Les Moines D'Occident. Tome Deuxième, p.* 67. 1860.)

this disproportion? Surely, Reverence.* The love man has for God is an adoring love. Love, reverence, adoration, purity—these are the four pillars of the grand monastic system. Those who were real monks were thoroughly possessed by these gifts. They created the atmosphere in which they lived, and consequently in which they thought. They formed the character of the man, and the temper of his mind; and monks could no more think independently of their influence, than we can think outside the grooves of space and time. If this were the case, it stands to reason that this temper would greatly influence those occupations which most preoccupied the monastic mind. But, of all occupations of monasticism, none has been more engrossing than the study of revealed truth. In a word, the synthetical method of monasticism would greatly influence the monk's manner of handling theology and philosophy.† His whole treatment of divine things, and human too, and especially his system—which does not

* "Religio habet duplices actus, quosdam quidem proprios et immediatos, quos elicit, per quos homo ordinatur ad solum Deum, sicut sacrificare et orare et alia hujusmodi; alios autem actus habet, quos producit mediantibus virtutibus, quibus imperat, ordinans eos ad divinam reverentiam." (S. Thom. *Sum. II., II. q. LXXXI., art. I.)*

† How profoundly S. Augustine felt the influence of the monastic principle! How marvellously *Truth* drew him to Christ! "Ramum viridem ostendis ovi et trahit illam. Nuces puero demonstrantur, et trahitur. Si ergo ista, quæ inter delicias et voluptates terrenas revelantur amantibus, trahunt; quoniam verum est: 'Trahit sua quemque voluptas' . . non *necessitas*, sed voluptas, non *obligatio*, sed delectatio: quanto fortius nos dicere debemus, trahi hominem ad Christum, qui delectatur veritate, delectatur beatitudine, delectatur justitia, delectatur sempiterna vita, quod totum Christus est?" (*Tract. XXVI., in Joan.* Cf. Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums; Die Dogmen des Christenthums, Erster Vortrag, Grund-und Aufriss, p.* 1—74; *Beweis des Christenthums, X, XI, XII., Vortrag.*)

depend upon individual perfection—would speak loudly of love, and reverence, and adoration. He would prefer, if he could help it, not to analyze, not to discuss, rather to push forward in knowledge, that his love might be the stronger; ever looking to the advancement of his spirit in perfection; and counting methods which do not, at least indirectly, tend to this, as so much loss of labour. His treatment would not be dry, stiff, formal, logical, but rather from time to time filled with the unction of overflowing love and thankfulness, running where the spirit led, and ever making Christ the one living centre round which all things should revolve.*

The most extraordinary feature of this method is that it is extremely practical. Monks have ruled the world. They may not have become first among theologians and philosophers, through their monasticism. But it was through monasticism that they have given to Christendom the most distinguished Popes, statesmen, and apostles. Their systematic commerce with the unseen gave them force, and light, and direction; gave them courage, independence, liberty; made them, in the highest sense, men of the world, because they were in no sense worldly men.

Now, monasticism found its principal school at S. Victor's. The synthetical system was here

* A monk of Tegernsee writes thus, in the tenth century (in his commentary on S. Paul, 1 Cor., I. 20), and expresses the monastic thought: "Stultem fecit Deus sapientiam mundi hujus postquam exsiccavit fluvios Ethan; præ dulcedine enim decem chordarum. . . . pæne oblitus sum totidem categorarum Aristotelis."

brought gradually to bear upon the teachings of theology. Hugh of S. Victor's was its able exponent. But the school was not founded by him. He improved upon what went before him. William of Champeaux founded S. Victor's, as has been seen. Now, William was the scholar of Anselm of Laon, that hero of positive theology. Anselm of Laon was the pupil of S. Anselm the monk—which accounts for his shrinking from contentions, and for the scandal he took at Abelard, when he had heard of his treatment of the Sacred Scriptures. The professor of Laon lived in the monastic system, and imbued his pupils with it.

But William of Champeaux had another power bearing upon his mind and character. He was the familiar friend of the first who drew the broad outlines of the monastic system of theology in the middle ages—that is, of Saint Bernard.* It is not surprising that, being under the influence of such a man, though so much his junior, William of Champeaux should have brought S. Benedict's spirit into S. Victor's.† Now Hugh, as a young

* William was also a great friend of S. Stephen.

† I freely admit that S. Bernard and William had their differences, but that does not destroy the fact of the influence of the Saint. Abbé Michaud appears to me to make too much of their discrepancy in character. (See *Guillaume de Champeaux, cap. III., p.* 440—463.) He sums up, however, thus: "Tandis que Saint Bernard, tout en vivant dans son intelligence, vivait par son cœur, Guillaume de Champeaux, au contraire, tout en vivant dans son cœur, vivait par son intelligence; là c'était surtout l'ardeur, ici surtout la prudence; là on se complaisait dans les élans enthousiastes, ici l'on s'en défiait pour ne se complaire que dans les mouvements réfléchis. Bernard accablait tout d'abord ses ennemis, quels qu'ils fussent, Abélard, Henri de Cluny ou Pierre le Vénérable; Guillaume n'a pas laissé dans l'histoire une seule parole d'amertume contre Abélard, malgré les discussions qui se sont élevées entre eux. En un mot, si Bernard et Guillaume se chérissaient, ce n'était pas parce qu'ils se ressemblaient, mais parce qu'ils se complétaient. Quand l'amitié était en eux deux ils n'étaient qu'un; mais lorsque la pensée reprenait le premier rang, d'un ils redevenaient deux." (*p.* 463.)

man, was thrown into the midst of this strong synthetical influence. He became absorbed by it. His friendship for S. Bernard, with whom he passed much of his time, shows of what spirit he was. His death-bed points to that love and adoration, and reverence, and purity of heart, of which his theology is full.

But I must touch upon S. Anselm, and S. Bernard, in their relations to monasticism, before I enter into the spirit and teaching of Hugh and his followers at S. Victor's.

S. Anselm, from his tender childhood, manifested a taste for monastic life. Before he was fifteen, he had made up his mind that the monastic was the most perfect state. He prayed that sickness might come upon him, thinking that thus an obstacle would be removed to his joining a religious order.* When quite a child, he had a dream, which points in the same direction. His home appears to have been situated in the midst of magnificent scenery, and "Anselm, while yet a child, dreamed that on the summit of one of those mountains, which taught the youthful dreamer to look from nature up to nature's God, he saw enthroned the King of Kings. It was the time of harvest, and he saw the reapers in the valley neglecting their work. He determined to complain of them to his Lord and their Lord. As he approached the throne of glory,

* His beautiful nature is shown in this prayer :—

"Take from me, O Lord," he cries, "if it be Thy will, my substance ; take from me the members of my body, my hands, my feet, my eyes, only leave me a heart, with which I may be able to love Thee ! "

he heard a still, small voice asking in sweet accents the young child's name. Unintimidated, Anselm approached his Heavenly Father, and narrated every remembered incident of his short life. He received a piece of pure white bread, and departed, strengthened and refreshed." *

His mind was essentially synthetical. His talents were of the rarest class. Being pupil of the clear, logical Lanfranc, he learnt how to join to the reverential and unctuous temper of the monastic school, the keen, penetrating activity of the genuine scholastic. He combined, in their highest forms, the analytical power of Aristotle, with the synthetical ability of Plato. The noblest gifts of contemplation, and the most accurate mental action, directed reverently on truth, are seldom found so happily combined in one intelligence.

Though the writings of S. Anselm are severely logical, and speak of the special training he must have received under his master, still there is that about his style which speaks of the influence of the cloister.† The intense veneration which he manifests for revelation does not proceed from the action of the reason so much as from the influences of monastic life. A merely logical mind would have made the common and rational distinction between faith and reason, and there have left the matter. But S. Anselm speaks of the "presumption" of

* Hook, *Vol. II., cap. III., p.* 171.
† *De Fid. Trinit., cap. II., p.* 263—5.

pretending to reason, before faith has fully mastered, and held the object-matter of discussion.* He does not reason, that he may believe; but he believes, and then begins to reason. His grasp, and conviction of truth, is one thing; his analyzing, and bringing reason to establish it, is quite another. His conviction rests in the Scriptures, and in the light of faith. Reason, cannot be true reason, which contradicts Scripture and revelation.† He maintains, moreover, that to acquire knowledge, a man must gain purity of heart, by virtue and self-restraint.‡ To fix the eye on God, and to

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* Rectus ordo exigit, ut profunda Christianæ fidei credamus, priusquam ea *præsumamus* ratione discutere. (*Cur Deus homo, L. I., cap. II., p.* 361.) Neque enim quæro intelligere, ut credam, sed credo, ut intelligam. Nam et hoc credo, quia nisi credidero, non intelligam. (Prosl.,*cap. I., p.* 227. *See also De Fide Trinitatis, L. I., cap. II, p.* 263, *cap. IV., p.* 272. *Monol. præf. Cur Deus Homo, L. I., cap. II., p.* 362. *See also, Medit. I.*, § 2, *p.* 711.)

Christianus per fidem debet ad intellectum proficere, non per intellectum ad fidem accedere aut, si intelligere non valet, a fide recedere; sed cum ad intellectum valet pertingere, delectatur, cum vero nequit quod capere non potest, veneratur. *Epis. XLI.* (*Opp. pars III. Lib. II. p.* 1193).

He sent his *Monologue* all the way to England, to Lanfranc, to criticise and amend it. (*Epist. LXIII. Opp. pars III. Lib. I., p.* 1134.)

† "Sic itaque Sacra Scriptura omnis veritatis, quam ratio colligit, auctoritatem continet, cum illam aut aperte affirmat, aut nullatenus negat." (*De Concord. Præsc. Dei cum Lib. Arb., cap. VI., p.* 528.) "Certus enim sum, si quid dico, quod sacræ Scripturæ absque dubio contradicat, quia falsum est, nec illud tenere volo, si cognovero." (*Cur Deus Homo, Lib. I., cap. XVIII., p.* 338.)

‡ *De Fid. Trinit., Lib. I., cap. II., p.* 263. "For to the humble," says John of Salisbury, "God gives illuminating grace, enabling them to understand truth, and they despise not the person of the teacher, nor the doctrine, unless opposed to religion; and without this, all capacity of genius, tenacity of memory, and diligence of study, will only serve to lead men into greater error, as the swift horse sooner carries his rider from the way. (*De Nugis Curialium, Lib. VII., cap. XIII., p.* 666. "A good reader, or student, ought to be humble." (Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I., cap.* 28.) "Learn as if you were to live for ever: live as if you were to die to-morrow."—Alan de Insulis. "Mundus Deus, mundo corde conspicitur."—S. Jerome. "The sixth operation of the Holy Spirit, which is intelligence, relates to the clean of heart, who, with a purified eye, can behold what the eye hath not seen."—S. Augustine. (*See Mores Catholici*, which has much on the same point—*Vol. II., cap. IV., p.* 553.)

look upon Him, the eye must be clean and bright.

The great theological master-piece of the Saint was his Tractate on the Trinity. Here, following S. Augustine, and holding by the Fathers of the Church, he safely scales those dizzy heights which lead up to the hidden mystery of the Triune God. The marvellous synthetical power which he shows here, is only equalled by the clear analysis by which he detects and draws out the various relations of God to the creature, and the various relations in the Blessed Trinity.* His *Monologue* treats this matter speculatively. In his answer to Roscelin, and in his argument with the Greeks, he deals with it on its positive side.† He was the first, in the middle ages, to treat the subject of the Blessed Trinity with scientific precision, and his labours on this subject have served as the point of departure for every treatise on the question written since his time. ‡

* *Monolog., cap. I., p.* 144; *cap. II., p.* 146; *cap. III., p.* 147; *cap. IV., p.* 148. Comp. *De Fid. Trinit., cap. IV., p.* 272—276.

† *De Fide Trinit., p.* 259; *De Process. Spirit. Sanct., p.* 286—326.

‡ Abbot William of Hirschau, who drew, it seems, greatly from the experiences of Constantine the Carthaginian (born 1026, died in 1091), was the first to formularize a syllogistic proof of the existence of God. Though in 1078, he was in correspondence with S. Anselm, he does not appear to have been acquainted with his philosophical labours while engaged in his own. He throws his proof into the form of a dilemma. "Per quotidianam vero dispositionem idem [quod Deus existit] sic probatur: ea quæ disponuntur, sapienter disponuntur, ergo aliqua sapientia . . . . sed sapientia illa vel divina vel angelica vel humana: humana . . . . motum et vitam conferre non potest: angelica vero sapientia quomodo ipsos angelos disponeret? Divina ergo sapientia est, quæ hoc agit, sed omnis sapientia alicujus est sapientia: est igitur, cujus est illa sapientia, sed nec est homo nec angelus, Deus ergo est." (See Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik, Zweiter Band, XIII., p.* 84.)

But the fame of S. Anselm principally attaches itself to the attempt he made—the boldest perhaps ever made by Christian theologian or philosopher—to discover a new proof of the existence of God.

He had penned the *Monologue* at the request of some of his brethren. As he pondered over what he had written in that admirable treatise, the thought came across his mind, that it would be a useful thing, if he could construct a proof of God's existence, which should simplify the methods then generally in use. After he had meditated on this point for some time, he seemed to have discovered what he was looking for. He declared that he had hit upon an argument to prove God's existence—an argument which was so strong, he said, as to render all other proofs superfluous.* He thought he had succeeded in bridging over the yawning chasm between the fact of thought, and the fact of being.†

* The most enlightened of the early scholastics saw the call, clearly, to establish faith on scientific grounds; for example:—"Rationabili necessitate intelligam, esse oportere omnia," says S. Anselm in another place, "quæ nobis fides Catholica de Christo credere præcipit." (*Cur Deus homo, L. I., cap. XXV., p.* 400.) Hugh of S. Victor's says: "Quod tenemus ex fide ratione apprehendere et demonstrativæ certitudinis attestatione firmare." (See Liebner, *Hugo von S. Victor und die theologischen Richtungen seiner Zeit*, 1832, § 64, *p.* 173.) He says elsewhere that there are "tres gradus promotionis fidei, quibus fides crescens ad perfectum contendit: primus per pietatem eligere, secundus per rationem approbare, tertius per veritatem apprehendere." Hence, three classes—viz., "in primis sola pietas facit electionem, in secundis ratio adjungit approbationem, in tertiis puritas intelligentiæ apprehendit certitudinem." (*De Sacramentis L. I. Pars X., cap. IV., p.* 332—333.)

† "Postquam opusculum quoddam (Monologium), veluti exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei, in persona alicujus tacite secum ratiocinando quæ nesciat investigantis edidi; considerans illud esse multorum concatenatione contextum argumentorum, cæpi mecum quærere, si forte posset inveniri unum argumentum, quod nullo alio ad se probandum, quam se solo indigeret: et solum ad astruendum, quia Deus vere est, et quia est summum bonum nullo alio indigens, et quo omnia indigent ut sint et bene sint, et quæcunque credimus de divina substantia, sufficeret." (*Proœmium ad Proslog. p.* 223.)

This proof, whatever its logical merits, is essentially Platonic, synthetical, monastic. The intensity of contemplation, the fixing of the gaze of the intellectual eye on the one great Object of human thought, seems to have brought that presence so near upon him, that he could not but imagine it *to be*, when he had the faculty to *think it*, with such vividness. An obscure man, Gaunilo, whose name would never have been heard of, had it not been for the immortality of the Saint, assailed the newly-discovered proof of Anselm.* Whether or no the Saint's reply would satisfy the cautious philosophers of the present day, who verify proof more carefully than did the ancients, this is not the place to discuss.† Even if his proof be not strictly according to the requirements of the present age, none will deny him his due place as a great metaphysician, a bold, ingenious thinker, who possessed a grasp, an elasticity, and a dryness of intellectual light rare amongst the most gifted of philosophers.‡

The nobility of his mind and temper is evident in all his views: especially when he writes on freedom, on purity, on truth and goodness, and on the rectitude of the human will. His gift of seeing analogies was very striking, and his keenness in severing an intellectual knot is evident, from the masterly manner in which he exposes the fallacies

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* *Lib. pro Insipiente.* † *Lib. Apol. cont. Gaunil.*

‡ S. Thomas, *Contr. Gent. I., cap. XI., Sum. Pars I., q.* 2, *ar.* 1, *ad.* 2.

of Fredegisus and Erigena. Though written at different times, and in answer to special calls, a unity runs through all his works. They find their crown in his splendid treatise on the Incarnation. Who knows that it was not the glory of Christ that he was aiming at, in drawing all his thoughts on that one point, in which rests the mystery of man's redemption? Though he was emphatically the precursor of the great voluminous scholastics of the thirteenth century; still Christ, and purity, and reverence, and love, and the odour of monastic life, claim him as a son of the Benedictine spirit.*

* He did not forget that, without Christ, all knowledge of vice and virtue, of their origin and advance, is unavailing. "Christ," says Eadmer, "was never absent from his lips." (See Möhler's life of S. Anselm, *p.* 12.) Prantl, with quite another end in view, shows how the monastic spirit jars with dialectical contentions. He speaks of the Lombard's "älterer Zeitgenosse Bernhard von Clairvaux," who "sich offen als Feind der Dialektik bekennt," of Hugh of S. Victor's, who "eine feindselige Gesinnung gegen die Dialektik hegte," and "scheint er selbst die allgemein zugängliche Litteratur der Logik verschmäht zu haben." (*Logik*, *XIV.*, *p.* 110—111.) Prantl also has an exceedingly low opinion of S. Anselm as a logician. "Wie wenig durchgebildet aber die Auffassung der Logik überhaupt bei Anselmus gewesen sei, erhellt am deutlichsten aus der Schrift, welche den Titel 'Dialogus de grammatico' führt." (*Ibid.*, *XIII.*, *p.* 89.) Monasticism and realism has ever, naturally, shrunk from logic-chopping, which wears out the mind without putting anything into it, and throws a man upon himself, the most miserable of beings, instead of carrying him out of self, into God.

CHAPTER XII.

MONASTIC THEOLOGY.
ST. VICTOR'S.

PART II.

If S. Anselm was essentially the forerunner of the scholastic, S. Bernard was the great founder of the monastic method. Anselm was a contemplative, but he was pre-eminently scholastic. Bernard was scholastic, but he was pre-eminently contemplative. Anselm laid the great lines of theological science, Bernard drew the first great sketches, with a few master-strokes, of the monastic system of theology.* Anselm actively employs his reasoning faculties, and his keen powers of discrimination and of analysis; S. Bernard comparatively lets these rest, and occupies himself

* "Der erste Vertreter der mystischen Richtung ist Bernard von Clairvaux. Er ist der eigentliche Schöpfer der mittelalterlichen Mystik. Wahr ist es, dass der Ruhm dieses grossen Mannes vorzugsweise auf dem Gebiete des Lebens erwachsen ist. Aber obgleich er auf diesem Gebiete nach allen Seiten hin thätig war, und in alle kirchlichen und politischen Ereignisse der damaligen Zeit eingriff: fand er doch noch Musse genug, wissenschaftliche und mystisch-contemplative Untersuchungen in Rede und Schrift auszuführen. Und so legte er den Grund zum Emporblühen der mittelalterlichen Mystik, indem er dei Grundzüge derselben entwarf und deren Elemente darlegte." (Stöckl, *Erster Band, VI.*, § 86, *p.* 293—294.)

with the thought of the Supreme Good, and only makes distinctions when he is obliged. Anselm rejoices, and freely flies with swift wing, in the high region of pure metaphysics; Bernard dwells with weak, struggling humanity, and is only in his element when he is treating on the love of God to man, the methods of man's salvation, and the scheme for attaining bliss. Anselm overshadows the Benedictine element by the rationalistic; Bernard, the rationalistic by the Benedictine. The method of the former would make theologians, the method of the latter would make men.

The tendency of S. Bernard's mind is evident from the subject-matter of his most important works. His treatise on grace, and free will; his book on contemplation, "*De Consideratione;*" his writings on the love of God: and, then, his tract on the degrees of humility, all point to the one object which possessed his mind. Love and faith, purity and humility, these make up all the strivings and aspirations of S. Bernard's life.* His profound remarks upon sin, and its relations to human freedom; his views of human freedom itself—though taken from Saint Augustine—are tokens of the bent of his mystic mind.† His views on the

* When a youth, one Christmas Eve, after he had been long meditating on the mystery of the Incarnation, he beheld our Saviour in a dream, as if still in his human infancy, and the sight so charmed him that he thenceforth could think of nothing but how to serve God in the best way he might.

He wrote eighty-six sermons on the Canticle of Canticles, and then the work was unfinished. (*See Opp. vol. II., p.* 786—1198.)

† De Gratia et libero arbitrio, *cap. VII., n.* 21—22., *p.* 1013—4. *Cap. VIII., n.* 24, *p.* 1014. Also, *Sermo LXXXI. in Cantica—De convenientia et similitudine animæ cum Verbo secundum identitatem essentiæ, et vitæ immortalitatem, et arbitrii libertatem, n.* 7, *p.* 1174.

working, and the place of grace in the human soul, and the fulfilment of the human destiny in another world—of which the soul seems to get momentary glimpses when raised in ecstasy in this—all point to the ceaseless eye he keeps upon building up, not so much a theory, as *man*, in the love of God, and in humility of heart. In fact, his treatise on grace, and the human will, is simply a preparation for his treatise upon the love of God. Here Bernard is evidently in his element. The cause of our loving God, is God himself: the measure of love, to love without measure.* The very voice of nature within man, loudly calls upon him to love God. † Love is not mercenary. Love is the reward of love. ‡ Love is not attained at once. There are four steps to perfect love. It begins with self; next, man loves God selfishly; then he loves Him unselfishly—for His own sake; and lastly, he loves —not God alone, for His own sake; but he loves himself, and all other things for the love of God. That is the highest perfection of Divine love. But the fullest perfection of this form is only then experienced, when the soul, for the moment, is carried by mystical rapture as it were, beyond itself. §

But love cannot be treated without touching on its counterpart—humility. What purity of heart

* "Vultis ergo a me audire, quare et quomodo diligendus sit Deus? Et ego: Causa diligendi Deum, Deus est; modus, sine modo diligere." (*De diligendo Deo, cap. I., p.* 974.)

† *Ibid., cap. II.,* 6, *p.* 976.

‡ *Ibid., cap. VII.,* 17, *p.* 984.

§ *Ibid., cap. VIII.,* 23, *p.* 977; *cap. X.,* 27, *p.* 990; *cap. XV.,* 39, *p.* 998.

was to S. Anselm, that humility was to S. Bernard. These great pure-minded thinkers laid the principal stress on that which seems to be almost entirely disregarded at this day. It was as evident to them that the soul could not contemplate truth if its eye—the heart—were not clean, as it is to us that we cannot see when our eyes are shut. They saw distinctly what we forget, or ignore, viz. : the intimate connection, more intimate than that of body and soul, between the intellectual and moral faculties—between the intelligence and will.

Humility is the virtue, says the Saint, by which a man looks meanly upon himself, through a perfectly accurate appreciation of himself.* This is the way to knowledge. † There are twelve degrees, ‡ before man arrives at the full blaze

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* Humilitatis vero talis potest esse definitio : Humilitas est virtus, qua homo verissima sui agnitione sibi ipsi vilescit. *(De Gradibus Humilitatis, cap. I., 2, p.* 942.)

† "Clamat igitur errantibus, et viam ignorantibus, *Ego sum via* : dubitantibus et non credentibus, *Ego sum veritas :* jam ascendentibus, sed lassescentibus, *Ego sum vita.* Satis, ut reor, ostensum est ex proposito capitulo Evangelii, cognitionem veritatis fructum esse humilitatis." *(Ibid., cap. I.,* 1, *p.* 942.) See also that beautiful chapter *(VI.)* headed "Tertius gradus veritatis mundare oculum cordis ad contemplanda cœlestia et divina." It ends thus, "ab omni ergo labe infirmitate, ignorantia studiove contracta, flendo, justitiam esuriendo, operibus misericordiæ insistendo, mundatur oculus cordis, cui se in sui puritate veritas videndam promittit : *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.* (*Matth., v.* 8.) Cum sint itaque tres gradus seu status veritatis, ad primum ascendimus per laborem humilitatis, ad secundum per affectum compassionis, ad tertium per excessum contemplationis. In primo veritas reperitur severa ; in secundo, pia : in tertio, pura. Ad primum ratio ducit, qua nos discutimus ; ad secundum affectus perducit, quo aliis miseremur ; ad tertium puritas, rapit, qua ad invisibilia sublevamur." (19, *p.* 952.)

‡ "Hanc itaque legem, qua reditur ad veritatem, Beatus Benedictus per duodecim gradus disponit. . . Illud quoque quod in scala illa, quæ in typo humilitatis Jacob monstrata est, Dominus desuper innixus apparuit (*Gen., XXVIII.,* 12, 13), quid nobis aliud innuit, nisi quod in culmine humilitatis constituitur cognitio veritatis?" (*Cap. II.,* 3, *p.* 943.)

of enlightening truth. But he declares that humility is not enough. In order to possess the highest form of knowledge, love must be added to humility.* When man has arrived at the higher form of life, through love and humility, then he begins to enter into the mystic region. The first step here, is consideration, which is an intense application of the mind, acting discursively upon some given truth. The next is contemplation, which, passing beyond the discursive action of the reason, rests fixed intently on the object. The effect of contemplation is to produce admiration and wonder; so much so, that, being overcome by the power of the majesty before it, the spirit is lifted, as it were, out of itself, and for the time is plunged in the ocean of illimitable truth.† As a drop of water falling into wine seems to become wine, taking its taste and colour; as the red-hot iron takes the properties of, and becomes fire; as the air penetrated with light seems to become an illumination, and no longer air; so, in the other world, will the soul be carried away in God.‡

* "Bona tamen via humilitatis, qua veritas inquiritur, charitas acquiritur, generationes sapientiæ participantur. Denique sicut finis legis Christus, sic perfectio humilitatis, cognitio veritatis. Christus cum venit attulit gratiam: veritas quibus innotuerit, dat charitatem. Innotescit autem humilibus ergo dat gratiam." (*Cap. II.*, 5, *p.* 944.)

† (*See De Considerationc, cap. XIII.*, 27, 28, 29, *p.* 804; *also, cap. XIV., p.* 805—807.)

‡ "O amor sanctus et castus! O dulcis et suavis affectio! O pura defæcata intentio voluntatis! eo certe defæcatior et purior, quo in ea de proprio nil jam admistum relinquitur: eo suavior et dulcior, quo totum divinum est quod sentitur. Sic deificari est. Quomodo stilla aquæ modica, multo infusa vino, &c." (*De Diligendo Deo, cap. X.*, 28, *p.* 991; *see also cap. XI.*, 30—32, *p.* 993—994.)

This prayer was that of S. Joseph Cupertino when in ecstasy:—"Fiat Domine cor meum immaculatum, ut non confundar!" (Görres., *Die Christliche Mystik, B. II., p.* 257.)

For the creature thus possessed of God, marvellously forgets itself, and, altogether leaving self, wholly goes to God, and, from henceforth adhering to Him, becomes one spirit with Him. The difference between the doctrine of Erigena and S. Bernard is this—that the system of the former tends to annihilate the individuality of the creature; whereas the system of the latter, though he makes this union as intimate as is possible, asserts the individuality of the creature in its most perfect unity with God.

Such is a very brief sketch of the outline drawn by S. Bernard of the synthetical school of theology; of which he may be said to be the founder. Love of God, and humility—treading self under foot to reach up to Him, this, S. Bernard taught: this, S. Bernard did. The golden stream of the monastic theology of the Church, sprung from him, as from a fountain whose hidden springs lay deep in the mystic teaching of that Holy Rule which he loved and practised, not merely in the mechanical performance of certain duties, but in the full scope, and free spirit of its deepest meaning. *

Now Hugh of S. Victor's, called Didascalus, during the quiet years he spent in his convent, summed up, and advanced the labours of Anselm and Bernard, in a remarkable degree. His powers of speculation, though less strong than S. Anselm's,

* He resembled his great master Stephen Harding in his intensely monastic spirit, and in his power over men. Stephen was brought up by S. Benedict's rule from his boyhood.

were greater than S. Bernard's; and his contemplative spirit, though, perhaps, less soaring than S. Bernard's, was of a stronger wing than S. Anselm's: and his clearness, method, and breadth, took in the excellencies of both. From him, built upon S. Anselm, we may say, the scholastic method takes its spring: from him, built upon S. Bernard, the monastic method of theology concentrates into a systematic form. The analytical and synthetical methods here manifest themselves in larger, more extended, and more complete results. Hugh was the first theologian of the middle ages to form into a scientific whole the teachings of the Church. What S. Anselm did for the Trinity, he extended to the revelation of religious truth. He laid the foundation-stones of speculative, and positive theology, and carried up the fabric of mysticism from the point where S. Bernard left it, to that stage on which Richard, his disciple, raised a broad and lasting platform for all future speculations.

His work, "*De Sacramentis*,"* alone, would have rendered him famous. It is a worthy monument, not so much on account of its originality, as on account of its completeness. And for order, logic, lucidity of expression, and definition; for clear, fluent, easy, diction; for elevation of thought, and happy facility of antithesis: for honesty, and sim-

* *De Sacramentis Christianæ Fidei.* (Migne, *vol. I., p.* 174—618.) In two books: the first carries the student from the beginning of the world to the Incarnation: the second, from the Incarnation to the end and consummation of all things. The first book is divided into twelve parts, the second into eighteen.

plicity of purpose : it surpasses all the writers of his century. His grasp of abstract truth, and his power of analyzing it when grasped, give his writings the double merit of breadth and accuracy. And the intense purity of his heart, and the monastic temper of his whole intelligence, throw an indescribable charm over everything that comes from his pen, lifting up the mind by a species of illumination, and warning the heart, as if by the living voice of a simple, loving, man of God.

Though the treatise "*De Sacramentis*" has to do with the speculative side of theology, Hugh never seems to lose sight of the fact that the great end of love, and of religion, is the possession of the Supreme Good.* He is never carried away by a passion for mere science, because his heart is beforehand so fully possessed by the love of God. His treatment of the relations of faith and knowledge, points to the one idea of contemplation. When he speaks of the three eyes, that of the flesh, that of the reason, and that of contemplation, he is but preparing the way to demonstrate the necessity of grace after the sin of Adam, for repairing the blindness of man.† Sin, he says, utterly blinded the eye of contemplation,

* His mind seems filled with this thought of his : "Idcirco ascende dum potes quantum potest, nunquam nimis potes ubi nunquam potes totum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, ut ex illo totum tuum impleatur, etiamsi a tuo totum illius non capiatur. Totum replet te, et superabundat in se. Si vas non deficit, oleum sufficit. Cor tuum vas est, amor illius oleum est. Quamdiu vas habes, ille oleum infundere non cessat, et postea cum tu amplius vas non habes, ille adhuc amplius oleum habet." (*De Sacramentis, Lib. II., pars XIII., cap. IX., p.* 535. *See also, cap. VI., p.* 528. *VII., p.* 531—534.)

† *De Sacramentis, Lib. I., Pars X., cap., II., p.* 329.

damaged the eye of reason, and alone leaves the eye of the flesh with its original powers.* Faith takes the place of the vision which belonged to sinless men. With S. Bernard he makes humility the foundation of knowledge.† He lays great stress upon purity of heart.‡ "*Hæc sunt sola,*" he says, "*quæ quærere debent homines, veritas et bonitas.*"§ Wisdom he says "is life, and love of wisdom is the happiness of life.‖ Truth does not come, willingly, without goodness.¶ In another place, he says, of necessity, while the mind is corrupted within, the intelligence is deceived in the judgment of things without.** Again, reason, before sin, comprehended more easily, and perfectly, what now with great difficulty, and less perfectly, and from a distance, it can see; many things, also, it knew then, which now it does not know. His whole feeling is summed up in the words "*Ubi caritas est, ibi claritas est.*" †† In his treatment of most of the general questions of theology, such as the Trinity, the attributes of God, the Creation, predestination, evil, and the rest,

*"Postquam tenebræ peccati in animam intraverunt, oculus quidem contemplationis extinctus est, ut nihil videret, oculus autem rationis lippus factus est, ut dubie videret. Solus ille oculus (carnis), qui extinctus non est in sua claritate permansit." (*Ibid., p.* 329; *see also Pars VI., cap. XIII., p.* 271.)

† *Didasc., Lib. I., De Studio Legendi, cap. II., p.* 741. "*Anima:* Oculus cuncta videt, seipsum non videt, et eo lumine, quo reliqua cernimus, ipsam, sed qua positum est lumen, faciem nostram non videmus." "*Homo:* Oculus tuus nihil bene videt, si seipsum non videat." (*Soliloq., De Arrha Animæ, p.* 953—954.)

‡ *De Arca Morali, Lib. III., cap. VII., p.* 654.

§ *De Tribus Diebus, cap. XXI., XXII.*

‖ *De Sacramentis, Lib. II., Pars XIV., cap. IX., p.* 570.

¶ *Ibid., Lib. II., Pars XIV., cap. IX., p.* 574.

** "Unde necesse est, ut dum mens interius corrupta prave afficitur, intellectus quoque in judicio eorum quæ foris sunt, decipiatur." (*De Sap. Animæ Christi, Præf., p.* 847.)

†† *De Sac., L. II., Pars XIII., cap. XI., p.* 339—345.

Hugh keeps mostly to the beaten track. When he comes, however, to speak of the relations between the soul and body of man, he takes a decided, and original view. He compares the body to an appendage, rather than to something which goes to make the perfect man. The soul is the man, he makes out, in the true acceptation of the word.* He applies the same theory to our Lord: and declares, that Christ, when his soul was separated from his body, did not cease to be a true and real man, because it is the soul that makes the man and not the body.† The reason he puts forward why the Almighty has united the soul and body of man, is, to say the least of it, ingenious. Because, seeing that God could unite in harmony such very different elements, man would not think it impossible for Him to exalt so humble a creature to His glory; and, seeing the pleasure men enjoy, from the fact of the spirit dwelling in a corruptible body, he could imagine what an intense joy would result, from the union of the Divinity with the soul in life everlasting.‡ Of Hugh's treatise on meditation, I need not here

* *De Sacrament. Lib. II., Pars. I., cap. XI., p.* 406, *sqq.*; also *p.* 407—910.

† *Ibid, I.* 399, 410—11. But S. Thomas saw the flaw. (*Sum Theolog., p. III., qu.* 50, *art. IX.*) Abelard, *Exposit. Symb. Apostol.*; Robert Pulleyn, *Sent. II., cap. X.*; Peter of Poitiers, *Sent. IX., cap. XXI.*; and Robert of Melun, and others, seem to have been of Hugh's opinion.

The latter says, "Compositio illa (animæ cum corpore) non fuit partium, sed unio quædam naturarum diversarum." Hugh's expression is, "Est namque anima persona, sicut Angelus." Abelard says, "Persona quasi per se una dicitur." (Compare Werner, *vol. I., p.* 355.)

‡ *De Sacrament. Lib. I., Pars. VI. cap. I., p.* 263; also *De Vanitate Mundi, Lib. III., p.* 721—740.

dwell; he developed, and more fully analyzed the work of S. Bernard; and what has to be said upon contemplation will come better when touching on Richard, his disciple.

The great treatise on positive theology, which has generally been attributed to the learned Hildebert of Lavardin, Archbishop of Tours, modern criticism has shown to be manifestly the work of Hugh.* The similarity which exists between the *De Sacramentis*, and the *Tractatus Theologicus*, points to an identity of authorship; and the fact of parts of it being absolutely, word for word, the same, renders the consequence conclusive.† It must have been written not much later than 1130. Here is an attempt to consolidate the entire teaching of theology—somewhat as Hugh, in his "*Eruditio Didascalica*," endeavoured to form an encyclopædia of knowledge, and to point out the object and position of its various branches. His smaller writings, such as his "*De Arca Noe Mystica*," "*De Arca Noe Morali*," "*De Arrha Animæ*," and his "*De Vanitate Mundi*," are merely developments of various points in his larger works, and refer chiefly to the practices of contemplation. Hugh was acquainted with Erigena's writings, and with those of Denis the Areopagite, but he was too deeply grounded in reverence, and positive teaching—though his mind

* See Liebner, *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken: Jarg. IV., B. I., p.* 254, seq.

† See Stöckl, *Gesch. der Philos. des Mittelalters, B. I., p.* 391. Also Ritter, *vol. III., p.* 476.

was essentially Platonic—to be led into the pantheistical tendencies of the one, or the Neoplatonism of the other. Like most of those whose minds had a greater bias towards the monastic, than towards the scholastic system of theology, he was excessively keen in perceiving unsoundness, and he had an instinct, which men who love God tenderly often possess, of scenting errors, and detecting them at a distance. It was that spirit of holy fear, and Divine love, running through the hearts and intelligences of these men, which kept them within the true revelation of God, and that gave them clear eyes to see where danger, through the rashness of others, was being threatened to the Church.*

But not only did Hugh introduce a more systematic teaching of truth; he did something, perhaps, more valuable still. He introduced into the schools the principle of working for an end, in the pursuit of knowledge. He taught that the perfection of man, and his faculties, was to be aimed at, so that he might, by seeing and embracing truth, and exercising himself upon it, fit himself all the more, one day, to possess it in its fulness.

* "Duo sunt motus cordis, quibus anima rationalis ad omne, quod facit, agendum impellitur. Unus est timor, alter amor." (*De Sacramentis, Lib. II., Pars XIII., cap. II., p.* 527.)

"I mistici ordinati nello studio della loro scienza furono sempre ed a buon diritto stimati quasi censori degli scholastici esagerati e disordinati. Certo il temperamento alla ragione, che può assai di leggieri (come è intervenuto) sbrigliarsi ed imbaldanzire nel ministero analitico della teologia scolastica, verrà sempre dalla parte mistica della scienza teologica . . essa e altresì scienza correttrice della scolastica: e San Bernardo ben chiaramante il dètte a videre, allorchè con le armi della mistica circò di vincere le esagerazioni e gli errori dell'audacissimo Abelardo." (Capecelatro, *Storia di S. Caterina da Siena, p.* 270.)

When it is remembered what distinguished men were educated by Hugh, one cannot but rejoice at his having raised the tone of studies, and having spoken against the superficial arrogance of professors, who pretended to be strong in every science, when, in reality, they had not taken the pains thoroughly to be masters of one. Stephen of Tournay, the celebrated canonist, was his disciple; so was Obizon, the physician; and Achard, the Englishman, a theologian, a philosopher, and a literary man; Adam, also an Englishman, celebrated most as a grammarian, but also distinguished as a subtle philosopher, and an able rhetorician; then Arnulf, the poet; Walter, the vehement enemy of everything in the shape of heresy; and Richard, the most able and brilliant of all the children of S. Victor's; and, finally, the celebrated Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences. I could not finish better than by quoting a passage from a letter of Hugh to a friend, which manifests the whole bent of his mind: "I love, indeed, your condition, but I love still more to contemplate Him: because what I love in your condition, is only lovely to me from its leading me to contemplate Him." Such was Hugh of S. Victor's: "a man of vast capacity, quick intelligence, tenacious memory, eloquent tongue, graceful speech, and persuasive manner; effective in work, gracious in conversation, the most gentle and humane of men."

Richard of S. Victor's, a Scotchman, like many

other students of this epoch—for instance: Achard, Adam, John of Salisbury, and Robert of Melun—came to Paris, attracted by the fame of the schools. He entered at S. Victor's, and was professed under the first Abbot, Gilduin. After Gilduin's death he became Sub-Prior; and the Abbot, who was an Englishman, and a most dissipated liver, almost ruined the community, and gave Richard considerable anxiety. Richard was Hugh's favourite disciple. He succeeded his master as Prior, taught in the monastery, and died in 1173.

Richard was to Hugh, what the flower is to the bud. By the force of his genius, combined with deep humility and ardent love, he was enabled to complete the fabric of the monastic system, upon which men, every bit as able, had worked before him. It would almost seem that, as far as the mystic spirit, and a vivid appreciation of the various actions of the supernatural life are concerned, Richard was superior to his predecessors.* His logical readiness, and resource, if not his philosophic temper, were quite equal to—nay, may I not

* "Seine allgemeinen Grundsätze, besonders so weit sie im mystischen Gebiete sich bewegen, weichen von denen Hugo's im Ganzen nicht ab. Nur hat er das mystisch-contemplative Moment auf der Grundlage der von Hugo hierüber aufgestellten Grundsätze weiter und eingehender behandelt und ausgeführt als Hugo. In ihm beginnen bereits die in Hugo's Lehre niedergelegten Keime sich auszubreiten und zu entwickeln. Seine Schriften bewegen sich zum grössten Theile auf dem Gebiete der Mystik, und es ist nicht zu läugnen, dass in denselben eine tiefe Kenntniss des innern mystisch-contemplativen Lebens, wie solches durch das christliche Prinzip bedingt und gebildet wird, sich kundgibt. Die Allogorien, welche für Richard so zu sagen den Rahmen bilden, in welche er das Bild des christlich-mystischen Lebens einfügt, sind zwar zum grossen Theil bei Hugo schon angedeutet; aber Richard hat sie dennoch in einer Weise ausgeführt, dass sie bei ihm wieder als in einem gewissen Grade originell erscheinen." (Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philos. des Mittelalt., Erster Band, III.*, § 105, *p.* 356.)

even say, surpassed—S. Anselm's? His keen intelligence, which saw the real divisions of truth, and separated it according to its natural grain, squaring it out into great blocks on which to rest some towering superstructure, was equally at home in the dry, and unornamented forms of abstract reasoning, as in the allegorical and mystic methods of contemplative life. His treatise on the Blessed Trinity surpasses, if I may venture to say it, that of the great S. Anselm.* There is a certain careful measuring of evidence; a series of distinctions at the outset; and a weighing of the different elements of proof, which point to a man of strong masculine mind, not easily carried away by an over-wrought fancy. He wishes not merely to give probable, but *necessary* arguments, to prove the truth of the faith that is in us.† He does not, like Hugh, give a *resumé* of the circle of human knowledge, but, what he does treat of, he handles like a master. Of his speculative powers regarding the Trinity, of his proofs of the existence of God, of His eternity, His immensity, His beatitude, His personality, His glory, the reader must consult the book itself. What is particularly aimed at here, is to give an outline of his mystic teaching regarding the methods of contemplation, not merely because he brought to its fulness that, which S.

* *Desuper Divina Trinitate Theologicum opus.* It was printed in 1510 by H. Estienne. In Migne, it is called, simply, *De Trinitate, Libri Sex.*

† *Lib. I., cap. IV., p.* 892.

Bernard and Hugh had laboured at before him, but because to appreciate the moral, and ecstatic life of S. Thomas of Aquin, some knowledge of the relations of the mind with contemplation, and spiritual intuition, is requisite.

What possibly led this extraordinary man so deeply into the mystic life, and gave him so great a power in analyzing man's various faculties, was his overpowering self-distrust, his supreme conviction that light comes from God alone, and that science, and all its pride, is odious, in comparison with seeking purity, and love. His first principles regarding knowledge are identical with those of the holy men who went before him. Faith comes first: "If we do not believe, we cannot understand: knowledge must enter by faith; it must not indeed rest in the entrance, for it should *always* hasten on to interior and profound things, and, by earnest study and diligence, seek to advance daily in the understanding of those things which we hold by faith: these are the best riches—these are the eternal delights."* Again: "The first study of a manly mind ought to be how to govern its affections, and the second, how to command its thoughts."† Then he manifests his diffidence: "But it is better," he says, "to leave this point to be explained by erudite minds, than on such a matter to presume anything rashly beyond our

* *De Trinitate, Lib. I., cap. III., p.* 892.
† *De Eruditione Hominis Interioris, Lib. I., cap. II., p.* 1234.

strength."* He felt that "it was a great height of science perfectly to know oneself."†

Such was the temper in which men in Catholic ages set about the work of developing the human mind. Such was their holy awe, their fear of themselves, their trust in Him, Who alone can send down His light. "*Noli putare*," these great men seem to warn us, "*teipsum esse Lucem.*"

Before treating of Richard's theory of contemplation, a word must be said of his view of the human soul. He starts with the assumption that the soul is a simple substance, which gives life and sensibility to the body.‡ He divides the spiritual portion into spirit and soul, according to the more or less elevated attributes belonging to each. Every reasonable man possesses two gifts—one of reason, by which he knows; another of affection, with which he loves. Reason points to truth; affection to virtue. The affections have sensuality as their help; reason possesses the imagination.§ Without these two active influences, the soul would be powerless. Considered in their relation to the object, our faculties are threefold. The imagination, the reason,

* *Benjamin Major, Lib. IV., cap. X., p.* 146.

† "Magna altitudo scientiæ seipsum perfecte cognovisse. Mons magnus et altus, plena cognitio rationalis spiritus. Omnium mundanarum scientiarum cacumina mons iste transcendit, omnem philosophiam, omnem mundi scientiam ab alto despicit. Quid tale Aristoteles, quid tale Plato invenit, quid tanta philosophorum turba, tale invenire potuit?" *(De Præp. Animi ad Contemp.: Benjamin Minor, cap. LXXV. De Supereminentia Spiritualium Theoriarum, p.* 54.)

‡ *De Contemplatione, Lib. III., cap. XX., p.* 124.

§ *De Præp. ad Contemp., cap. III., p.* 3. *De Exterminatione Mali, Tract. III., cap. XVIII., p.* 1113.

and the intelligence. The reason stands between the imagination and the intelligence.* The office of the imagination is to seize, and hold, sensible impressions; the reason is the instrument of discursive thought, by which we advance, by way of premisses and conclusion, towards the truth.† The intelligence is a still higher power which, as the senses seize, by immediate apprehension, their proper objects, grasps, in an immediate manner, its proper object. The intelligence is pure, inasmuch as it excludes the imagination; and simple, inasmuch as it excludes processes of reasoning.‡

Now, to these three powers of the soul, correspond three methods of knowledge: thought, meditation, and contemplation—*cogitatio*, *meditatio*, and *contemplatio*. Thought, comes from the imagination; meditation, from the reason; and contemplation, from the intelligence. Thought wanders about here and there, without direction, slowly, as at will; meditation, with great labour of the soul, strives, by hard and difficult ways, towards the given end; contemplation is carried, with freedom and great facility, wherever the power bears it, to its proper object. Contemplation is seeing truth pure and naked,

* *De Contemp., Lib. III., cap. VII., p.* 117.
† *Ibid., Lib. III., cap. IX., p.* 118.
‡ "Simplicem intelligentiam dico quæ est sine officio rationis, puram vero quæ est sine occursione imaginationis." *(Benjamin Major, Lib. I., cap. LX., p.* 74.*)*

without any cloud or shade standing in the way.*

Richard's view on human liberty, as it is ingenious and original, should not be omitted. We do not say that the choice of man is free because he can do good or evil, but because he is at liberty not to consent to good or to evil. A man's freedom does not lie in his being able to do evil, nor does it lie either in his being able to do good. The former is a weakness of the will; the latter is the result of its strength. But the freedom of the will consists in this, that its consent can neither be forced nor impeded. Nothing, of all the gifts of God is more noble, or more sublime, than free-will. As freedom is essential to the mind, it cannot be destroyed or diminished.† By sin, man did not lose his freedom, but he lost the power of his free-will towards good. The slavery the Scripture talks of, is the weakness of the will

* "Cogitatio per devia quæque lento pede, sine respectu perventionis, passim huc illucque vagatur—meditatio per ardua sæpe et aspera ad directionis finem cum magna animi industria nititur. Contemplatio libero volatu quocunque eam fert impetus mira agilitate circumfertur. Cogitatio serpit, meditatio incedit et ut multum currit. Contemplatio autem omnia circumvolat, et cum voluerit se in summis librat. Cogitatio est sine labore et fructu. In meditatione est labor cum fructu. Contemplatio permanet sine labore cum fructu" . . . "Specialiter tamen et proprie contemplatio dicitur, quæ de sublimibus habetur, ubi animus pura intelligentia utitur. Semper autem contemplatio est in rebus, vel per sui naturam manifestis, vel per studium familiariter notis, vel ex divina revelatione perspicuis." *(Ibid., cap. III., p.* 60—61; *Cf., cap. IX., p.* 74. *Lib. V., cap. XIV., p.* 184—187.*)*

† "Totus infernus, totus mundus, totus denique militiæ cœlestis exercitus in unum concurrat, in hoc unum conjuret, unus ex libero arbitrio consensus in qualicunque re invito extorqueri non valet." *De Statu Interioris Hominis (cap. III., p.* 1119.*)*. "Non autem arbitrium hominis idcirco liberum dicimus, quia promptum habeat bonum vel malum facere, sed quia liberum habet bono vel malo non consentire. Posse quidem facere malum, est infirmitatis; posse facere bonum, est potestatis, neutrum autem libertatis. Libertatis vero est quod consensus ejus extorqueri vel cohiberi non potest." *(Ibid., cap. XIII., p.* 1126.*)* "Quomodo ergo arbitrium hominis vere (imo summe) liberum non est, quod sua libertate nulla vi, nulla potestate privari potest." *(Ibid., Tract. I., cap. XXIII., p.* 1132; *Cf., Tract. I., cap. XIII., p.* 1125—1126.*)*

towards good, and its inclination to evil. Without grace, we can neither know truth, nor love virtue.* This is the general psychological basis on which Richard builds his mystical system.

The foundation of the contemplative life consists first, in the practice of virtue. The heart must be pure, if a man wishes to see God.† It is the old method of monasticism, which runs through the hearts and minds of the learned saints of God. Richard compares the reason and the will to the two wives of Jacob—Rachel and Leah. Jacob, first, had seven sons and seven daughters by Leah; and then, Rachel had a son. So, it is only after the fructifying influence of the Holy Spirit has acted on the will, that it can be elevated to a more perfect knowledge. Now, virtue consists in the well-ordered and moderated affection of the soul—well-ordered, when it is directed to its proper object; moderated, when it is just as much as it should be, nor more nor less. There are seven sources of virtue, as Leah had seven children, viz.: hope and fear, joy and sorrow, hatred and love, and shame.‡

* "Nam sine co-operante gratia omnino non sufficimus vel ad cognitionem veritatis, vel ad amorem virtutis." *(Ben. Maj. Lib. III., cap. XXIV., p.* 133; *Cf., Lib. IV., cap. VI., p.* 139.*)*

† "Scimus autem quia cordis intima nihil adeo purgat, mentisque munditiam nihil adeo reparat; nihil sic ambiguitatis nebulas detergit, cordisque serenitatem nil melius, nil citius adducit, quam vera animi contritio, quam profunda et intima animæ compunctio. Sed quid ait Scriptura? *Beati,* inquit, *mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V.)* Studeat ergo cordis munditiæ, qui cupit Deum videre, qui in divinorum contemplationem festinat assurgere" *(Ben. Maj., Lib. IV., p.* 139.*)*

‡ "Filii Jacob, ex Lia, ut diximus, nihil aliud sunt quam ordinati affectus. Qui quidem si inordinati sunt, ejus utique filii dici non possunt. Septenaria itaque Liæ proles, septem sunt virtutes." . . . . "Principales ergo affectus septem sunt qui ab una animi affectione alternatim surgunt Spes videlicet et timor, gaudium et dolor, odium, amor et pudor." *(Ben. Minor., cap. VII., p.* 6.*)*

The second foundation-stone of the mystic life is self-knowledge. In fact, love and humility, according to the monastic principles of the "Holy Rule," are the two bases of the whole fabric of the spiritual life. The soul is as a mirror, in which the picture of God's glory and beauty loves most to reflect itself; and in which, in a particular way, we can see and know Him. The soul was created to the likeness of God; and if His mark is seen in nature, how much more in that spirit, which was created after the image of Himself. Hence, if man would wish to contemplate God, he must purify and cleanse this mirror, by his efforts after virtue, and moral perfection. When he has well cleaned and brightened it, if he look with care into it, by degrees, the Divine light will begin to dawn upon him, and the vast ray of an unaccustomed vision will appear before his eyes.* But, it is only through self—through a knowledge of self, that man can mount up to God. Without this knowledge, it is impossible. A soul which is not well exercised, and fully instructed, in a knowledge of itself, is not lifted up to the knowledge of God. The eye of the heart in vain looks up to see God, when it is not even fit to look upon

* How splendid are not these words!—"Tergat ergo speculum suum, mundet spiritum suum, quisquis sitit videre Deum suum!" . . . "Exterso autem speculo et diu diligenter inspecto, incipit ei quædam divini luminis claritas interlucere, et immensus quidam insolitæ visionis radius, oculis ejus apparere. Hoc lumen oculos ejus irradiaverat, qui dicebat: *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine, dedisti lætitiam in corde meo (Psal. IV.).* Ex hujus igitur luminis visione quam admiratur in se, mirum in modum accenditur animus, et animatur ad videndum lumen, quod est supra se." *(Ben. Minor, cap. LXXII., p.* 51—52.)

itself. Let a man first learn to know his own invisible things, before he presume to be able to apprehend the unseen things of God. "If thou art not able to know thyself, with what face dost thou presume to apprehend those things which are above thee?" *

God is the proper object of contemplation: but the soul can also fix itself upon other objects. According to the subject-matter, there are six steps of contemplation.† The first is in, and according to, the imagination *(in imaginatione et secundum imaginationem)*. This looks upon the beauty and variety of creation, and thus is drawn to wonder at, and honour the wisdom and goodness of God. The second is in the imagination, and according to reason *(in imaginatione et secundum rationem)*. This marvels at and considers the causes of the world of sense, "according to reason," because the conclusions of reason are necessary for proceeding from cause to effect. The third is in reason, and according to imagination *(in ratione et secundum imaginationem)*. Here we conclude from the facts of sensible nature to the world of ideas, which are brought before the intelligence. "In reason," because the reason

* "Animus, qui in sui cognitione diu exercitatus pleneque eruditus non est, ad Dei cognitionem non sustollitur. Frustra cordis oculum erigit ad videndum Deum, qui nondum idoneus est ad videndum seipsum. Prius discat homo cognoscere invisibilia sua, quam præsumat posse apprehendere invisibilia divina. Si non potes cognoscere te qua fronte præsumis apprehendere ea quæ sunt supra te?" *(De Præp. ad Contempl. Cf. cap. LXXV., p.* 54. *see, also, cap. LXXXV., p.* 60—61. Also, *De Exterminatione Mali, tract. I., cap. V., p.* 1076, *cap. VI., p.* 1077.)

† *See De Contempl. Lib. I., cap. III., p.* 60. *Also, De Præp. ad Contempl., cap. LXXXVI., p.* 61—62.

alone can move from sensation to the world of ideas; "according to imagination," because that faculty provides matter for the operation of reason. The fourth is in reason, and according to reason *(in ratione et secundum rationem)*. At this step, the mind is fixed on the unseen world of spirits, their nature and attributes. It is done "in reason, and according to reason," because the imagination is now dropped, and the spiritual element, alone, is the object of thought. The fifth step is above reason, but not beside reason *(supra rationem, non præter rationem)*. It rests immediately in God, inasmuch as He can be known by our reason. To this step belong those truths which we know by reason, but cannot comprehend. They are *supra*, because we cannot grasp them; they are not *præter*, whilst they can be an object of the reason. The sixth, and highest step of contemplation is above reason, and beside reason *(supra rationem et præter rationem)*. Its object is the impenetrable mysteries of God, which transcend all reason. Its object is both *supra* and *præter rationem*, because the human reason of itself can neither comprehend nor arrive at it.*

* "Sex autem sunt contemplationum genera a se et inter se omnino divisa. Primum itaque est in imaginatione et secundum solam imaginationem Secundum est in imaginatione secundum rationem. Tertium est in ratione secundum imaginationem. Quartum est in ratione et secundum rationem Quintum est supra, sed non præter rationem. Sextum supra rationem, et videtur esse præter rationem. Duo itaque sunt in imaginatione, duo in ratione, duo in intelligentia" . . . "Sextum contemplationis genus dictum est, quod in his versatur quæ sunt supra rationem, et videntur esse præter, seu etiam contra rationem. In hac utique suprema omniumque dignissima contemplationum specula tunc animus veraciter exultat atque tripudiat, quando illa ex divini luminis irradiatione cognoscit atque considerat quibus omnis humana ratio reclamat." *(Benj. Major, L. I., cap. VI., p. 70—72.)*

There is something supernatural in all these steps of contemplation: for if a man would raise himself up in contemplation, he must do so through the illumination of grace. No mortal can look upon the mysteries of God, unless he be lifted up by God Himself to the vision: all the more, since sin has wrought a thick veil over the eyes of men, which can only be removed by the action of the grace of God.*

Contemplation is also distinguished, according to its intensity, into three grades. The first is enlargement *(dilatatio)*, when the vision of the soul is wider and stronger; the second is elevation *(sublevatio)*, when, through the influence of Divine light, the soul is carried beyond its natural capability, still without being lifted out of the general conditions of its empirical knowledge. The third is alienation *(alienatio)* by ecstasy, in which, through the action of Divine grace, the soul is placed in such a position, that all thought of present things, all consciousness of empirical knowledge, vanishes, and the soul is wholly absorbed in the vision of things Divine. The first grade results from the operation of the soul itself; the second, from the action of human activity and grace, combined; the third, is solely dependent on Divine grace.†

* "Sed in ultimis istis duobus [generibus contemplationum] totum pendet ex gratia et omnino longinqua sunt, et valde remota ab omni humana industria, nisi in quantum unusquisque cœlitus accipit, et angelicæ sibi similitudinis habitum divinitus superducit. *(Benj. Major, Lib. I., cap. XII., p.* 78; *Cf. Ibid., Lib. III., cap. II., p.* 110.)

† "Primus surgit ex humana industria, tertius ex sola gratia divina, medius autem ex utriusque permistione, humanæ videlicet industriæ et gratiæ divinæ. *(Benj. Major, Lib. V., cap. II., p.* 170; *Cf., cap. III., p.* 171., *cap. V., p.* 174.)

Ecstasy can spring from three causes: from the influence of great devotion, from wonder, and from exultation. But the gift alone comes from the free grace of God, though man can, and should, dispose himself for its reception, by virtue and pure-hearted ness. As the bride decks herself out for the worthy reception of the bridegroom, so should the soul of man ornament itself, and purify itself, for the reception of so high a grace. But all this is a mere preparation; it can never bring about of itself the ecstatic state. It is for man to spread out the wings of ecstasy, but it is for God to set them in motion. A man, however, can lead himself towards that perfection—so that the entrance into the ecstatic state very greatly depends upon his own will; but even this dependence is conditioned by the grace of God, which is powerful in those who, in morality of life, have advanced to high perfection.*

The ecstasy of the spirit can take place in each stage of contemplation. It oftenest takes place in the two highest stages. And, then, without any veils of creatures, not *per speculum in ænigmate*, but in its pure simplicity, the soul gazes upon Truth. Into this vision the spirit wholly ascends, and the motions of the lower faculties are quieted.

* "Ad hoc siquidem nobis datur hujuscemodi gratia, ad hoc, inquam, infunditur æternorum intelligentia, ut sciamus quid indefessi debeamus per studium quærere, vel per desiderium suspirare. Alioquin frustra in nobis divinæ cognitionis abundantia crescit, nisi divinæ in nobis dilectionis flammam augescat." (*Ben. Major, Lib. IV., cap. X., p.* 145.) "Deberes sane sicuti dilecti tui columba in foraminibus petræ, in cavernis maceriæ suspensis alis, colloque protenso foras prospicere, et unici tui adventum cum columbino quodam cantu et gemitu quærere et expectare." (*Ibid., cap. XIII., p.* 150.. *See also cap. XXIII., p.* 166—167; *Lib. V., cap. XV., p.* 187.)

The spirit, as it were, soars above itself, above the memory of external things, and the sense of the body, and is rapt in the contemplation of supernal truth. When, in this rapture, the mind is carried away in the contemplation of Divine things above itself, man becomes forgetful, not only of those things which are outside of himself, but of those things which are within him. He becomes wholly self-forgetting. Consciousness of self ceases, the multitude of thoughts exist no longer before the mind, and the discursive powers of the reason are subdued under the might of contemplation. The natural light of reason is absorbed by the higher light of contemplation, as Rachel died in the birth of Benjamin. Her life was sacrificed to render his life possible; for Benjamin is nothing else but contemplation in the ecstatic condition. "*Quid est enim Rachelis interitus, nisi rationis defectus?*" *

Since man, in the state of ecstasy, is forgetful of all but the object of contemplation, it follows that this is a condition of the highest rest and contentment. And as the state of rapture depends upon the grace of God, so, in the ecstatic state, man can advance his love of God, and unite himself with Him, ever more and more intimately.†

* "In tanta namque quotidiani conatus anxietate, in hujusmodi doloris immensitate, et Benjamin nascitur, et Rachel moritur, quia cum mens hominis supra seipsam rapitur, omnes humanæ ratiocinationis, angustias supergreditur. Ad illud enim quod supra se elevata, et in extasi rapta, de divinitatis lumine conspicit, omnis humana ratio succumbit. Quid est enim Rachelis interitus, nisi rationis defectus?" *(Benj. Minor, cap. LXXIII., p.* 52. *Cf., Benj. Major, Lib. IV., cap. XXII., p.* 164; *cap. XXIII., p.* 166. *Benj., Minor, cap. LXXXII., p.* 58.*)*

† *(De Exterminatione Mali, cap. XVIII.; De Quiete Contemplationis, p.* 1113—1116; *De Contemplat., Lib. IV., cap. X., p.* 143.*)*

But in these high regions of the spirit, Satanic deception can easily come in. And, therefore, just as Christ had two witnesses of his transfiguration—Moses and Elias, so should the soul, in these realms of contemplation, be accompanied by a test of truth—Holy Scripture. Richard held in suspicion all truth which was not confirmed by the authority of the Sacred Books.*

Such is the outline of the scientific attempt made by Richard of S. Victor's, to systematize the facts of the contemplative life. He is far from teaching that the mystic method of gaining knowledge is the *via ordinaria*. He teaches the reverse. It is essentially a supernatural state, the result of free grace, and the earnest practice of the soul in the perfection of a moral life. Thus, he escaped the error of confusing the two orders, and the accusation which has, with justice, been brought against Scotus Erigena, of tending, at least in a dangerous way, to pantheistical idealism. As long as discursive methods of the reason, by premiss and conclusion, are held fast as the *via ordinaria* to the knowledge of God, and the mystic method of vision is looked upon as extraordinary, and purely supernatural, there will be no danger of falling into the extremes, which, for want of a positive

* "Sed si jam te existimas ascendisse ad cor altum, et apprehendisse montem illum excelsum et magnum, si jam te credis Christum videre transfiguratum, quidquid in illo videas, quidquid ab illo audias non ei facile credas, nisi occurrant ei Moyses et Elias. Scimus quia in ore duorum vel trium stat omne testimonium. Suspecta est mihi omnis veritas quam non confirmat Scripturarum auctoritas, nec Christum in sua clarificatione recipio, si non assistant ei Moyses et Elias." *(Benj. Minor, cap. LXXXI., p.* 57.)

theology, the mystics of heathendom and heresy seem never to have been able to escape.

The work of S. Bernard, Hugh, and Richard of S. Victor's, for this portion of Church-science, may be considered fundamental. What the saint and the theologian began ;—the saint, through the experiences of his own spotless soul ; the theologian, through holy meditation, and the application of science,—that Richard's powerful fantasy, clear logical head, and holy reverence, which kept him steady in the dizzy heights, completed. The Fathers of the Church had emancipated pure scientific speculation out of the hands of the heathen, and our scholastics had perfected their work ; but on the science of contemplation—contemplation which has resulted in such marvellous influences on the world—nothing had ever been done in the same way. True, S. Augustine had indicated the direction, but there is no attempt in his writings at forming a scientific treatment on the mystic life. Denis the Areopagite, though deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and possessing very extraordinary gifts for the work, was too much tainted with Neoplatonism—which had such an attraction for Erigena—to create any real confidence in his theories. So it must be considered that Hugh, and Richard of S. Victor's, laid the broad foundations of their wondrous science—the science of the saints—upon which succeeding speculators built. In the works of S. Theresa, and, particularly, of the standard mystic theologian

of the Church, S. John of the Cross, the influence of these two great and pure thinkers is evident in every page.

If the moral character of S. Thomas of Aquin cannot be fully explained without a slight knowledge of the contemplative system of the monastic theology, it is equally certain that, without a brief notice of Peter the Lombard—the friend of S. Bernard, and the pupil of Hugh of S. Victor's—it would be impossible to indicate, in an intelligible manner, the position of our Saint in the theological world.

Peter was born of obscure parents in Novara, in Lombardy. Through the generosity of a friend, he was sent to commence his studies at Bologna. Thence, he betook himself to Paris; and having obtained commendatory letters from S. Bernard, was received into the Convent of S. Victor's; here, after having filled his mind with knowledge, he occupied, with great credit and industry, a chair of theology, and only left his monastery when elevated to the dignity of Bishop of Paris (1159)—a dignity he did not long enjoy, dying, as some affirm, in 1160, as others maintain, in 1164.*

It was in the twelfth century, that the minds of men, in a particular way, seem to have craved after unity—moral, political, and theological. The great collectors of law, and its arrangers, and the cele-

* His love of Scripture is evident from the books which composed his library—for he left Notre Dame all his books (May 3, 1160), which consisted only of commented extracts from the Holy Bible, with the exception of an exemplar of the Sentences, and a *Decretum* of Gratian.

brated work of Ivo of Chartres, materially helped to open men's minds to the advantage of some kind of systematizing in the multitudinous confusion of a thousand points of belief. Possibly, the energetic efforts of such Popes as Gregory VII., in breathing a more harmonious unity into ecclesiastical government, and the bracing up of the moral order—making men feel, more sensibly than before, the hand of supreme authority—may have opened their eyes to the advantage of possessing, in the realm of speculation, something analogous to the Pontifical system of ecclesiastical government. In fact, William of Champeaux, the founder of the Lombard's school, had the idea in his mind of something of the kind. He composed a book of Sentences, just as Anselm of Laon, and Hugh did after him. And Abelard, in his *Sic et non*, while instituting a most dangerous procedure, manifested the want of a summary of authoritative teaching. It is said the Pope Eugenius, for this end, caused the works of S. John Damascene to be translated. But, in point of fact, the "*De Sacramentis*" of Hugh of S. Victor's, is the first important step in this direction. But here there is wanting the weight of authority from the Fathers. Robert Pulleyn, or White, and Robert of Melun (1153),* that keen dialectician, preceded the Lombard in their attempts at a synthetical treatment of belief; whilst Hugh of Rouen, and Peter of Poitiers followed him—the

* "Iste in responsionibus perspicax, brevis et commodus." (*Metalogicus, Lib. II., cap. X., p.* 867.)

latter, having the privilege of repeating all his master's blunders, without improving upon his style. The clear verdict of scholars, and posterity, has been in favour of the Lombard. His four Books of the Sentences held, far away, the first rank amongst the classics of the schools.

It may be asked how is it that the Sentences of the Lombard so far surpass all similar works of the same period ?—for the other works of Peter, save that on the Psalms,* had little popularity ; and even the Sentences have been violently attacked for something more than inaccuracies. Walter of S. Victor's absolutely designates him as one of the four labyrinths of France, and ranks him with Abelard, Gilbert, and Hugh of Poitiers. Abbot Joachim accused him of turning the Trinity into a quaternity ; but the Abbot was condemned for his pains in the Council of Lateran. Still in 1300, the theologians of Paris determined to cease teaching sixteen of Peter's propositions ; and hence, at the margin of some editions of his Sentences, we read the words, "*Hic Magister communiter non tenetur.*"†

Still, in spite of all this, the four books held their position. Commentaries without end have been written, and made upon them, of which the most celebrated are those of Scotus, Thomas, and Bonaventure. It is related that, in England alone, as many as one hundred and sixty-four men busied themselves upon the text. The fact is, this one

* Petri Lombardi *Commentarius in Psalmos Davidicos. (Patrol., Tom., CXCI., p.* 62—1296.)

† How active his opponents were in getting his work into ill-repute can be seen in Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte, Fünfter Band, Zweite Abtheilung,* 544—546.

work of the Lombard filled a void, and satisfied a craving. Men were looking for some point from which they could get a sure and clear *coup-d'œil* of theologic teaching. They wished to see the truths of religion thrown into organic form. Peter satisfied them. He presented them with a work which, though not very artistic in arrangement, was essentially the expression, not so much of the notions of the individual mind, as of the objective truths of religion. It was based upon the monastic principle, and stood on S. Augustine; it used the weightiest words of the weightiest Fathers in the weightiest manner, and manifested a mind, not restlessly seeking after truth, but possessed of it: and calmly, and systematically, without swerving to the right or left, communicating it to others. Then, with all this, there was a tone about the whole, which unmistakably spoke of S. Victor's—which spoke of peace and rest; of the loving mind, and the nobleness of Hugh; of the monastic sublimity, and sweet mysticism of Richard—all of which could not help acting, especially in days of great mental friction and excitement, with a soothing influence on the mind. To get to Peter's book, after the contentious excitements of logical disputation, which were so rife in the schools, would have been like getting to port after an angry storm at sea.

Besides, there are two other reasons for the popularity of the Sentences. The one is, that this work expressly embodies the reaction which must have taken place against the dangerous rationalistic teachings of such as Abelard. It has been seen

what an influence his speculations exerted : how he carried with him, in the exaltation of the moment, all the students of Paris : how he scorned the teachings of those who did not go his own lengths : how, in fact, he managed to lead the mind of the rising generation on, to the perilous, exposed highway of independent thought. It was in the nature of things that a reaction had to come. It was merely a question of time. Enthusiasm, even in the cause of truth, generally results in something less enthusiastic than a calm. When enthusiasm is created by error, decked in the guise of truth, by bright visions and imaginings, which, in the nature of the case, must melt away, then the reaction is as inevitable as the cause is unsound. It came. It is represented by the monastic school of S. Victor's.

William of Champeaux did not establish a school at St. Victor's, after all he had seen and gone through, without grave reasons ; nor was it without a cause that he took the holy habit of religion, and dedicated his life to the practices, not of liberty, but of subjection. Hugh and Richard more than hint at the object of their fears. The tenor of their lives, the whole method of their teaching, are in complete antagonism to the temper of the terrible rationalistic school. The Lombard gives it a very unmistakable blow in the opening sentence of his Prologue. Then the condemnation of Abelard, at Sens, and Soissons—Abelard, who filled so large a space in the public eye, must have exerted an immense influence on thinking minds. It made them cling

all the more closely to the methods, and teachings of tradition ; it made them more ready patiently to interrogate antiquity, and feel glad to harmonize its varied voice ; it taught them that love, humility, a fear of self-assertion, were elements which acted powerfully upon the efforts of learned men, and that, however gifted, original, brilliant, or profound, a man may be, his own authority, and his private views are not sufficiently stable a foundation upon which to build the edifice of Catholic faith. Now, the Lombard's book is essentially traditional. It hits out straight at the method of the *Sic et non*. It leaves the ebb and flow, and eddying of mere human ingenuity, and raises a superstructure on the solid basis of the teaching of the Fathers. When they appear to disagree—taking what he believes to be the teaching of the Church—the Lombard endeavours to make evident, that, though there might be an apparent divergence, in reality, there is a harmony. He freely used the labours of those who went before him : there are traces of Richard, and continual appearances of Hugh of S. Victor's in his volumes. Even Abelard himself is prized, and used as an element in the general structure of theology.*

* "Pierre Lombard," . . . "a toujours été regardé, et ne cessera de l'être, comme le chef et le modèle de l'École. Il mérite effectivement ce double titre, soit par l'excellence de sa méthode, la meilleure, pour ne pas dire la seule, à laquelle on puisse s'attacher, soit par la justesse et la sagacité de son esprit, qui se manifestent dans presque toutes ses décisions ; soit par l'étendue et le choix de son érudition, dont on voit des traits frappants dans ce nombre prodigieux de passages de l'Ecriture et des Pères, qu'il emploie pour l'ordinaire avec goût et discernement dans ses livres ; soit enfin par la netteté de son style, qui, à quelques endroits près, est le mieux assorti au genre des matières qu'il traite." (*Vid. Patrol., Tom. CXCI., notitia* § *IV., p.* 25.)

On such a work as this, men could securely rest.

Then, secondly, it was in a singular manner adapted to the schools. Its system, naturally enough, serving as an antidote to the rationalizing methods of more brilliant theologians, was the very thing to fix in the minds of the rising generation. Its clearness, brevity, fulness, the opening it offered to the various hues of theologic thought, made it a most eligible text-book of theology. It served as a pier that runs into the sea—to break the force of the rationalizing tide—at the same time that it carried men further than before into the depths and distances of Christian speculation. Surely a man, in these days, who could succeed in forming a text-book of theology, to do for us, what the Lombard did for his generation, would be deserving of every honour and esteem.*

Men did not overlook his movements. They called him, emphatically, the Master of the Sentences. Then he was raised to the Episcopate: and, to show its sense of the weighty services he rendered to theological science, the University of Paris celebrated his anniversary every year, as its founder, in the church of S. Marcellus, where his bones reposed.

Peter the Lombard may be said, as a theologian, to have grown out of the antagonism between

* Charles V. founded two professorships at Louvain, one for interpreting the Scriptures, the other for interpreting the "Book of the Sentences." (*See Præf. ad. Pet. Lomb. Sent. Louv.*, 1553.) This shows for how long a period the Lombard was looked upon with reverence in the schools.

Abelard and William of Champeaux. The contest of truth with error, of true methods with false—in the Church, at least—has ever issued in some advance upon the past, in enlarging the horizon of truth, and in consolidating and clarifying men's apprehension of the revelation of the Church of God.

Dante beautifully touches on the gentle humility of the Lombard, when he says :—

> " L' altro ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro,
> Quel Pietro fu che con la poverella,
> Offerse a Santa Chiesa il suo tesoro." *

The same shines forth in his prologue to " The Sentences :"—†

" Desiring," he says, " with the poor widow, to cast something out of our poverty into the treasury of the Lord, we have presumed beyond our strength, moved by the zeal of the house of God, to oppose our faith to the errors of carnal and animal men." ‡

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* Dante, *Parad., Cant. X.*, 105—108.

† Peter held a principle pregnant with truth, and thus beautifully expressed by John of Salisbury :—

" Quisquis ergo viam philosophandi ingreditur, ad ostium gratiæ ejus humiliter pulset, in cujus manu liber omnium sciendorum est, quem solus aperit Agnus, qui occisus est, ut ad viam sapientiæ et veræ felicitatis servum reduceret aberrantem. Frustra quis sibi de capacitate ingenii, de memoriæ tenacitate, de assiduitate studii, de linguæ volubilitate blanditur." *(Polycrat, L. VII., cap. XIII., p.* 668.*)*

‡ The original manuscript was given, most probably by the author, to the Library of Notre Dame. In the list of books of the year 1271, these words occur : " Item originale Sententiarum magistri Petri Lumbardi, in quodam libro cooperto de corio vitulino, jam quasi depilato, cum clavis rotundis de cupro in asseribus." *(Magnum Pastorale Ecclesiæ Parisiensis, Lib. XX.)*

" On garde le livre de Pierre Lombard en original dans la bibliothèque du Chapitre de Notre Dame. Il est couvert d'une peau de veau usée arrêtée avec des clous de cuivre á tête ronde enforcés dans la couverture." *Eloge Historique de l'Université de Paris, Discours Prononcé aux Ecoles de Médecine le XI., Octobre.*, 1770.—Quoted by Franklin. *(Hist. Gen. de Paris, vol. I., p.* 17.*)*

The general plan of the Sentences is this:—The author divides his work into four grand divisions, following S. Augustine's distinction between *res fruendæ et utendæ.* The exclusive object of fruition, is God, or the Blessed Trinity—of this the first book treats. All things out of God are objects equally of fruition and use, such as men, angels, &c.—or they are exclusively objects of use, as the things of the visible world. Power, virtue, and the rest, ever belong to objects of use—of use, not for their own sakes, but as means towards God. These objects are treated of in the second and third books—the second, being about angels, the visible creation, man before and after the fall, and about the relations of freedom to grace and sin; the third, about the Incarnation, the renovation of the human race, the life of Christian virtue founded upon it, and the visible signs by which men receive the grace of God; and finally, the most important points on the last things, are treated in the fourth book. Every book falls into a certain number of distinctions. The first contains forty-eight; the second, forty-four; the third, forty; and the fourth, fifty. The method is as follows: the author states a theological proposition, and then quotes evidence from Holy Scripture: next he learns from the Fathers in what sense this or that proposition is to be understood: if the Fathers differ, he seeks to combine them—so that their views may bear upon the point in hand. This comparing, and combining, and

selecting evidence on theological questions, brought the practices of speculation and critical reasoning into play.* One of the fundamental ideas of the whole work is the saying of S. Augustine that "in every creature the likeness of the Trinity is expressed." †

Such is a rough sketch of the most celebrated treatise on theology that appeared during the earlier portion of the scholastic period. Such was the fruit produced by the monastic tree of the school of S. Victor's. Such is the groundwork, scientifically, perhaps, of inferior value, but as a body of positive teaching, of priceless worth, upon which later theologians built; or from which they started as a centre, and carried out, each in his own way, some more logical or severer method of theology.‡

But it is time, and more than time, to hurry on to other influences, which cannot be omitted in a treatment of the intellectual movements connected with S. Thomas, without doing an essential injury to the merits of the Saint, and to the requirements of the present subject.

* Peter wrote also a commentary on the Psalter, which, for a long time, had equal popularity with "The Sentences." There are innumerable manuscripts of it, bearing the title of "Catena," "Magna Glossa," &c.

† See Werner, *vol. I., p.* 307.

‡ "Bekanntlich hatte dieser Petrus aus Novarra, Professor der Theologie und dann Bischof zu Paris, mit seinem Werke der Sentenzen einem grossen Zeit-bedürfnisse abgeholfen. Er hatte ein Buch geliefert, in dem die ganze Glaubens-und Sittenlehre der Kirche kurz zusammengefasst, mit Stellen der Schrift und der Väter begründet ist und in dem die möglichen Widersprüche herausgestellt und gehoben werden. Das Buch gewann solchen Beifall, dass es bald allgemein als Vorlesebuch benützt wurde. Die grössten Theologen legten es ihren Vorträgen zu Grunde, gaben und schrieben dazu Erweiterungen und Erklärungen." (Sighart's *Albertus Magnus, kap. IX., p.* 66.)

Not only the great thinkers of the West brought their theories and philosophies to bear upon the doctrines of the Church, but the East too, with her fervid imagination, and her dreamy mysticism, with her grotesque pantheism, and strange incarnations, played a conspicuous part in the warfare of European thought, and would, in all probability, have swayed the minds of more than one generation, had it not been for the genius and influence of Thomas of Aquino.

CHAPTER XIII.

EASTERN INFLUENCES. ARABIANS AND JEWS.

THE Mahommedan world seems to have fulfilled the providential order of its existence, when it handed over to Christendom, what it had inherited from the Greeks. An intercommunion of mind must have existed between the Western Christians and the Saracens, for they were mixed together along the whole length of Southern Europe, along the coasts of the Mediterranean, in Spain, and Southern Italy, and, since the Crusades, in the East itself. A sense of scientific education was first awakened in the Moslem by the Abbassides, who, being deprived by the Ommiades of their inheritance, had fled into Persia and Mesopotamia, and had there studied under philosophers banished by Justinian, and celebrated doctors of Nestorian belief. A brief sketch of the position of learning in the East and in Spain, must here be given, since the Western world owes so much to Arabian and Spanish philosophy.

When the Abbassides came into power again, Almansor, by the help of astrology, selected the seat of a new capital, after having been driven out of Hashemiah by an insurrection.* The position he chose, certainly, if it did not prove a supernatural direction, was evidence of an excellent taste. In a short time, that great centre of learning, which was the seat of imperial luxury for nearly five centuries, "the City of Peace," rose like magic from the earth. Through the city flowed a broad and deep river. Gardens, and villages, and date-trees, and a teeming country, caught the eye of those looking out beyond the circumference of the town. The population may be estimated when it is said that eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women, attended the funeral of "Saint" Hanbal. The ostentatious and gorgeous displays of the Caliphs has been proverbial. For example, Moklades (917), when holding his court in encampment, called together one hundred and sixty thousand men. His officers were dressed in splendid apparel, glittering all over with gems and gold. There were seven thousand eunuchs; the palace was hung with thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred being silk embroidered with gold; and the floors were covered with twenty-two thousand carpets. To add to this display, he brought out an hundred

* "After the extinction of the dynasty of the Ommiadæ, who trod in the footsteps of Mahomet, the accession of the family of the Abbassidæ, or Hashemidæ, to the Caliphate (which happened in the one hundred and twenty-seventh year of the Hegira, or the seven hundred and forty-ninth of the Christian era), proved the dawning of philosophy in Arabia." (Enfield's, *Brucker, vol. II., B. V., cap. I., p.* 228.)

lions, each one being accompanied by its separate attendant. As a specimen of "plate," may be mentioned a tree of gold and silver, with eighteen larger branches, whilst the smaller ones were covered with innumerable gold and silver birds, all singing by machinery. Then there were illuminations of the city with waxen torches. Golden balls were shot about the town, and five hundred tons of sugar were consumed at a single banquet. Mahadi spent £2,775,000 on a single pilgrimage.

Bagdad was not only the capital of Eastern excess, but it was also the centre, in Mahommedan Asia, of literature and science. The Saracens, in the course of one century, were lifted from darkness to cultivated enlightenment. If Omar (641) burnt the Alexandrian Library, the house of Abbas became great patrons of books (750). Almanasor brought in, with George, the Greek physician, the light of science. Haroun-al-Raschid, something like our Charlemagne, was always accompanied, when he travelled, by one hundred learned men; he insisted on schools being attached to every mosque, and was passionately fond of poetry and music. Almamoun was still more successful in his efforts to civilize his people. * He was ever

* "Wenn schon unter seinen Vorgängern Uebersetzungen der griechischen Aerzte und Philosophen gefertigt worden sein sollen: so wurden doch erst von der Zeit Al-Mamum's an und durch seine Bemühungen, sowie später durch die Begünstigungen einiger seiner Nachfolger, wie des Al-Motazem und des Al-Motawakel, die Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen häufiger und zuverlässiger. Die Mittelspersonen bei diesen Arbeiten waren Syrer, welche schon seit dem fünften Jahrhundert Uebersetzungen griechischer Werke besassen und jetzt theils aus dem Griechischen in das Syrische, theils auch unmittelbar aus dem Griechischen in das Arabische übersetzten." (Wenrich, quoted by Stöckl; *see Geschichte, Zweit. B. Erst. Abt., p.* 14.)

surrounded by grave doctors from Persia, Greece, and Chaldea. Bagdad became the resort of poets, philosophers, and mathematicians. He had agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, who had nothing to do but collect books. Hundreds of camels might be seen, at times, winding their way into the city, loaded with Greek, Hebrew, and Persian literature. Almamoun offered Leo, the mathematician, one hundred pounds weight of solid gold, to lecture in his schools. The college, founded (1233) by Caliph Mostansor, became the first in the Moslem world. Nor was Bagdad the only seat of learning: Damascus, Aleppo, Balkh, Ispahan, Samarcand, were famous centres of science. At Cairo, there were one hundred thousand manuscripts, magnificently bound. Even private *literati* possessed fabulous collections. A private doctor is said to have refused an invitation from the Sovereign of Bokhara, because it would take four hundred camels to bring his books.*

Spain, naturally, partook of this spirit of Eastern learning. Cordova, Seville, Granada, rivalled each other in the magnificence of their academies,

* "The example of the Sovereign was sometimes followed by Viziers and Governors. Achmed Ibn Tolun, Viceroy of Egypt, distributed every month, among the most distinguished ecclesiastics in that country, 1,000 dinars of gold (£462 10s.); and sent to Bagdad not less than 2,200,000 dinars (£1,017,500), for the benefit of the poor and the learned in that city. Another Vizier founded a college there at the expense of 200,000 (£92,500), and endowed it with an annual revenue of 15,000 dinars (£6,937 10s.). The benefits of public instruction in that capital were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand students of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic. The celebrity of its schools may be inferred from the vast numbers of poets, historians, physicians, and astronomers which it produced." (Crichton's *Arabia, Vol. II., Cap. I., p.* 76.)

colleges, and libraries. Cordova, the birthplace of Lucan, and both Senecas, at the time of the Romans, was famed for its university. It could count, later, one hundred and seventy eminent writers. Hakem founded a college here, and the Royal Library contained four hundred thousand volumes. Ibn Hassan, the poet, is said to have written four hundred books, consisting in all of eighty thousand leaves. Granada, in the twelfth century, possessed the works of one hundred and twenty authors. Under the Saracens, there were nineteen colleges in Spain. In Andalusia alone, there were seventy libraries used in public instruction; while Toledo, Malaga, Murcia, and Valencia, were celebrated for their collections of valuable books.

Spain was indebted for all this to the Abbassides. On regaining their ascendancy, they brought with them a taste for astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. The Arabs acquired their first tincture of the last from the Nestorian School at Nischapur. Nestorian physicians under Almansor (753—775) translated Euclid, and several other Greek works, into Arabic. It is maintained by some, that the Elements of Euclid, by others, that the Almagest of Ptolemy, was the first work rendered into that language. Haroun-al-Raschid (776—808), of whom mention has been made, founded the celebrated College of Translators. John Mesueh, who made the first complete translation of Aristotle's works into Arabic, was appointed its president, and Honain, Costa-ben-Luca, Isaac,

and others, nearly all Nestorians, were numbered amongst its members; and being commentators as well as translators, tinged their work with Neo-platonism. The Caliph Almamoum ordered astronomical tables to be made, and imposed upon the Emperor Michael III., as a condition of peace, to transmit rare and valuable Greek works to Bagdad, where he caused translations to be made, and then burnt the originals. Medical and mathematical works were the first to be translated in the College of the Caliph. That the logic and philosophy of Aristotle were especially attended to, cannot be proved; but this is rendered very probable, by the fact that the Nestorians borrowed from Aristotle the dialectical weapons with which they assailed the orthodox faith. This is certain, that Alkendi wrote, in the time of Almamoum, a notice of his works. A century later, there was Alfarabi, a decided Aristotelian; after him, Algazel, and Fakhr-Eddin Razy, to the great dismay of the orthodox adherents of the Koran, began to use the logic of Aristotle in theological dispute. Finally, Avicenna formed a philosophical encyclopædia after the plan of Aristotle; and, taking up all the views of the Stagyrite, published his doctrines in every direction. The last follower of Aristotle, of any mark in the Eastern portion of the Mahommedan world, was Algazel, who died in the year 1111.

The intellectual movement in the East, was connected with a similar movement in Moorish Spain. This was principally brought about, as has

been indirectly stated, by the fall of the Ommaides. Abderrahman, son of Moavijah, by good fortune, escaped the general massacre of his family; and, after many extraordinary adventures, took refuge in Andalusia. Having lost a kingdom in the East, he found one in the West. He became a powerful supporter of science in Cordova; and was the first, in that line of splendid rulers, which raised, for a time, the Moorish domination in Spain to a position of unusual splendour. It was at its zenith under Hakem II., in the tenth century, when the culture of the West had sunk below the horizon.*

The West, at this period, turned from its own comparative darkness to the culture of the Moors. Gerbert hurried off amongst the Saracens of Cordova, the Bagdad of the West, to procure those treasures of mathematics and philosophy, which he was unable to acquire at home. Cesar of Heisterbach speaks of young men in his day, who set out for Toledo, to commence the study of astrology. Adelhard of Bath, Robert Retinensis, Hermann of Dalmatia, Gerard of Cremona, and Michael Scott, all procured mathematical, philosophical, and natural science, from the Moors of

* "Abderrahman, ein Sohn Moavijah's, war durch eine ganz besondere Fügung des Glückes dem Blutbade entronnen, das seine Familie vertilgte, und nach vielerlei Abenteueren in Andalusien gelandet; zum Glücke der Lebensrettung gesellte sich noch das weitere, dass er im Westen ein Reich fand, nachdem sein Geschlecht es im Osten verloren hatte. Unter den Einflüssen der Umgebung, die er in Cordova fand, wurde er ein thätigster Förderer der Bildung und Wissenschaft und eröffnete die Reihe jener kunst- und prachtliebenden Regenten, welche die maurische Herrschaft in Spanien für einige Zeit wenigstens zu einer wahrhaft glänzenden machten, und zwar am meisten unter Hakem II., im zehnten Jahrhunderte, gerade in jener Epoche, in welcher die Bildung des christlichen Abendlandes tief darniederlag." (Werner's *S. Thomas, Erster Band, Cap. I., p.* 67—68.)

Spain. Besides Cordova—Seville, Granada, Toledo, Xativa, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, Malaga, and Velez, possessed learned academies and splendid libraries. Having, themselves, been brought up by the most celebrated men of Egypt, Syria, Bagdad, and Persia, the Spanish professors—who had already carried the Aristotelian philosophy into Spain—determined, in the same way, to draw the whole riches of science out of Asia.

The Spanish Jews did their share also to encourage scientific relations between the Christians and Saracens. In the twelfth century, they had many distinguished representatives of learning. There were Aben Esra, Jona-ben-Gamach, Maimonides, Bechai, and David Kimchi; and, in France, Moses Hadarschan, and Solomon Jarchi; Maimonides, associated with Averroës, Ibn Tofeil, and Ibn Saig, was excessively energetic in pushing the doctrines of Aristotle. Some Spanish Jews made known, in the twelfth century, the teachings of Avicenna in Montpellier, and founded a celebrated school of medicine, which was actively employed in spreading the science of the Arabians. On account of their knowledge of language, the Jews devoted themselves much to translating, while their commercial spirit taught them to regard literature as an instrument of gain, and they encouraged its cultivation in every land which they entered. To realize the firm hold the teachings of the Saracens had upon Christians in the twelfth century, the reader has merely to

notice the warnings of Hugh of S. Victor's to the Bishop of Seville, the strong expressions of Alvarus of Cordova, or the powerful letter of Innocent III. to King Alfonso X., regarding the fearful danger in which the Christian religion and morality stood, from the terrible spread of the literature of the Saracens.*

However, it is certain, that, on the whole, though it introduced great evils, benefits were derived from inheriting the scientific traditions of philosophy and natural science, from the Greeks, through the Arabs. Two periods are distinctly marked out regarding this class of knowledge in the middle ages. In the first, all knowledge of astronomy was confined to what could be gathered from Hyginus, Venerable Bede, and a few verses of Priscian; in mathematics, the system of Abacus was followed; in medicine, Cœlius Aurelianus, and later, Gariopontanus, the barbarous jargon of whose Latinity manifests the wretched remains of an older culture. Through the Arabians, Hippocrates, and Galen, were resuscitated. Gerbert was the first to introduce into Europe Arabic numerals, and the decimal method of counting.

* "Da suchten nun aber diejenigen, welche ungeachtet ihres Widerspruches mit dem christlichen Glauben die Ansichten der arabischen Commentatoren des Aristoteles doch nicht aufgeben wollten, mit einer ganz eigenthumlichen Annahme sich zu helfen. Sie gaben nämlich zu, dass ein solcher Widerspruch vorhanden sei; aber sie behaupteten, der christliche Glaube und die Philosophie seien von einander ganz getrennte Gebiete, welche einander gar nichts angingen. Es könne daher etwas in der Philosophie wahr, und vom Standpunkte des Glaubens und der Theologie aus falsch sein, und umgekehrt. (*Cf.* Alb. Magnus, *Summ. Theol.*, *p.* 2, *tr.* 13, *qu.* 77, *m.* 3. *Bas.*, 1507. Stöckl, *Zweit. B. Erst. Abt.*, *p.* 7—8.)

Gerard of Cremona, and John of Seville, made Western Christianity acquainted with the development of algebra: and through Alfergan, Thabet-ben-Corrah, and Albumasar, it became possessed of the teachings of the Greeks upon astronomy. To Greek letters, the Saracens added the special knowledge they had gained through their intimate connection with the Indians. From the year 1100, to 1200, Arabic literature was especially cultivated by our own countrymen. In the eleventh century, an Arabian chronicle was translated into Latin by an Englishman who had studied on the banks of the Ebro. Adelhard of Bath translated astronomical and mathematical works: amongst others, the Elements of Euclid. Robert Retinensis, at the request of Peter the Venerable, translated the Koran; and Hermann of Dalmatia, the Planisphæricum of Ptolemy. To these may be added Alfred, and Daniel, of Morlay; Aurelius, Eugenius Ammiratus, Mark, and Philip, of Tripoli—all flourishing in the twelfth century. Alfred of Morlay translated several works of Aristotle. Archdeacon Gundisalvi principally translated philosophical works, and was head of a college of translators, established by Archbishop Raymund of Toledo (1130). Here, besides the principal writings of Aristotle, many works of Avicenna, Algazel, Alfarabi, and, possibly, Avicebron's *Fons Vitæ*, were rendered into Latin.*

* "Durch diesen Verein wurden nebst den Hauptwerken des Aristoteles mehrere Schriften des Avicenna (libri de anima, de cœlo et mundo, IV. libri Physicorum, X. libri Metaph.) Algazel, Alfarabi (de scientiis) in's Lateinische übersetzt, vielleicht auch der fons vitæ des Avicebron." (Werner, *Cap. I., p.* 71.)

John Avendeath (Ibn Daûd), sometimes called John of Seville, by birth a Jew, was excessively active. Alfred of Morlay translated several of the philosophical writings of Alkendi, and Alfarabi. Gerard of Cremona (1187) published four original works; and translated, they say, as many as seventy-six works on natural science, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy. But the first translator of Arabic writings was Constantine Africanus, who, after an active life, sought peace at Monte Cassino, and occupied his leisure in giving to the world his knowledge, especially on medicine, acquired during thirty years' travelling in the East. The notorious Michael Scott translated the nineteen books of Aristotle's History of Animals, and also the celebrated spheres of Alpetragi, making use of the services of a baptized Jew, named Andrew. Frederick II., himself, undertook the translation, out of the Arabic and Greek, of Aristotle, and other philosophical works, and sent copies to the most celebrated universities. Scott, upon whom Albertus Magnus is so severe, for bad translations, and ignorance of physical science, did much towards making men familiar with the writings of the Greeks; and was the first to introduce the learned to the writings of Averroës. Finally, Hermann of Germany translated the Gloss of Alfarabi * on Aristotle's Rhetoric, and a writing

* An universal genius. He was, amongst other things, a great musician. He composed a piece in three parts, and played it before the Sultan: the first, set the Sultan and his court into roars of laughter: the second, set them weeping floods of tears: the third, lulled even the performers themselves to sleep. (Crichton's *Arabia, vol. II., p.* 116.)

of Averroës upon his Poetics. He translated the Commentary of Averroës on Aristotle's Ethics from the Arabic, at the same time that Robert of Lincoln rendered them from the Greek. But the West drew from other sources, besides the Arabian: for instance, James of Venice, Thomas of Cantimpré, Boethius, and William of Mœrbeka, translated directly from the Greek. King Alfonso of Castille collected more than fifty learned men from Toledo, Cordova, and Paris, and set them to translate into Spanish the works of Ptolemy, and others. These were afterwards turned into Latin, and were not without their effect on the teachings of the schools.

Then, in theology, four names are specially memorable; one of which, in a particular way, is intimately connected with S. Thomas of Aquino, viz. Avicenna, in the East; Avicebron, Avempace, and Averroës, in the West.

But before speaking of these men, a few remarks may be here ventured upon, to give unity to the conception of the mental activity of the East, and which may serve to throw a ray of light upon the development of Western thought.

Just as Christians had the two instruments of intellect and will, and a Bible, on which they could bring these powers to bear; so the Easterns had like instruments, together with the Koran. It is evident that the fact of the Scriptures being the real Word of God, gave an incalculable advantage to the West; for the Koran was simply a com-

pilation made by human ingenuity, full of all manner of wickedness and extravagance, though interspersed with many profound and noble maxims. The same broad lines of human bias manifested themselves under the influence of the Moslem, as afterwards made themselves known in the Christian schools. The likeness becomes all the more remarkable, after the introduction, amongst the Arabs, of Aristotle, and of the extravagances of the Indian mystics. If we had our strong orthodox school of dogmatism in the Sorbonne, they had theirs in the powerful sect of the orthodox Motakhallim. If we had the school of S. Geneviève, with its philosophical and rationalistic tendencies, they had the celebrated school of the philosophic Motazalitæ, who did away with fatalism, asserted the freedom of the human will, and denied predestination altogether.* If we had the mystic school of S. Victor's, the Arabs had theirs long before, in the pantheistic dreamings of the Susufi, and Ibn Tofeil. If we had Abelard, they had Averroës; if we had S. Bernard, they had Algazel; if we had the Sentences of the Lombard,

* "Der Name Motakhallim oder Motécallemîn bedeutet nämlich 'Lehrer des Kelam,' des Wortes, d. i. 'des geoffenbarten Glaubens.' Die Juden gaben den Ausdruck mit 'Medabberim.' Im Munde der arabischen Aristoteliker waren daher alle islamitischen Dogmatiker, auch die Muatazile ja sogar die jüdischen und christlichen Theologen, Motakhallim (Loquentes); aber zu den *orthodoxen* Motakhallim oder zu den Motakhallim im engern Sinne können die Muatazile (Motazalen) nicht gerechnet werden. Der Grundsatz nun, von welchem die Motakhallim ausgingen, war die Forderung eines unbedingten Glaubens an den Coran, von welchem in irgend einem Punkte abzuweichen für das grösste Verbrechen erklärt wurde." (*Vid.* Stöckl, *loc. cit.* § 34, *p.* 139—140. *Cf.* Schmoelders, *Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes*, *p.* 100—105—133—170—179, *&c.*)

they had, long before, the dogmatic work of Abhadeddin El-Idschi; if we had the Commentaries on Scripture, of Albert, they had the Commentaries on the Koran, of Baidhawi. In a word, the Arabs seem to have been, as it were, acting out the literal portion of a prophecy—just as the actions of the Jews were realities, but, at the same time, figures and tokens of what was coming in the Incarnation. The same excitement, and exaltation, the same violent spirit, the same dogged adherence to opinion, the same severe and physical method of insisting upon the truth as was customary in the West, is found—though unmitigated by Christianity—in the history of Arabian philosophy in Bagdad, Damascus, and the cities of the East. The heart, the will, and the intelligence of man, ever manifest themselves—it matters little under what conditions—where thought is active, in belief, in reason, and in affection. In the case of Arabia, these powers circulated round error; in the case of the Christian schools, they circulated round the truth. But to proceed.

Abu-Ali-al-Hosein-Ibn-Abdallah-Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) was born at Afschena, near Bokhara, in the latter half of the tenth century (980--1037), of rich and noble parents.* After having learnt the outlines of arithmetic, geography, and astronomy from

* His writings obtained despotic ascendancy amongst the Saracens. He recommends the administration of gold, silver, and precious stones, to purify the blood. His works formed text-books for the professors in the principal colleges of Europe, and continued an oracle of medical knowledge for nearly six hundred years. (Crichton's *Arabia, Vol. II., p.* 97.)

a celebrated mathematician, he was handed over to a private tutor (Abu-Abdalla), to be instructed in philosophy. But from Abdalla he learnt nothing but the bare terminology of logic. He then took up the science by himself, and studied logical writings and commentaries ; and, at the same time, he applied himself, with ardour, to the Alcoran ; and, when only ten years old, had mastered the preliminary studies necessary for fully understanding it. To complete his course, he was sent to Bagdad, and here he dedicated himself, with a species of fanaticism, to the study of philosophy and medicine. He was called "Prince of Physicians," and his fame was rivalled only by that of Hippocrates and Galen.* When he came across a problem which he could not understand, or when he was unable to find a middle term, he hurried off to a neighbouring mosque, to implore his Creator to open his understanding, and make known to him the truth. On returning home, he would read and write all night, drive sleep away by drinking, and when at last overcome, would continue until morning dreaming over the problems which had engrossed his thoughts during the day. Thus, he acquired his knowledge of dialectics, and

* For full information on the Arabian philosophers, amongst other works, see Munk's *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosop., Vol. I., p.* 180, *sqq.* Flügel : *Dissert. de Arab. Script. Græc. Interpret. Meissen*, 1841—1844. Wüstenfeld : *Die Academien der Araber.* Wenrich : *De Auctorum Græc. Versionib. et com. Syraic, Arab., Armen., Persicisque, p.* 13—25, *sqq.* Schmölders : *Documenta, and Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes ; also,* Prantl, *Logik, Zweiter Band, Abschnitt XVI., p.* 297. Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie, Zweiter Band, Erste Abth.* § *IV., p.* 12—227.

natural science. When eighteen, he practised medicine, and diplomacy. At twenty-one, he wrote upon philosophy, and medicine.* On curing the Caliph's son, he was received at Court, and had access to the rich library of the palace. But, though a man of extraordinary talent, and excessive energy of intellect; an ardent lover of philosophy, and science, he injured his character and constitution, by debauchery and wine. Finally, Avicenna received orders from the Caliph to put his son to death by poison. Avicenna concealed this command from the son of the Caliph, and was, in consequence, flung into prison by him; and here he hastened his miserable end, by a combination of violent excesses, with violent remedies. He died in 1037.

He taught that science cannot contradict faith. Faith came before philosophy. Faith is for all mankind; and it is the object of philosophy to illuminate faith, and to furnish proofs for it. He looked upon the positive theology which sprung

* "Les modernes ne connaissent guère Avicenne que comme médecin. Il n'y a pas un siècle, on commentait encore ses *Canons* dans les académies de Montpellier et de Louvain. Mais Avicenne ne fut pas seulement, au moyen-âge, le maître des médecins, il fut encore celui des philosophes. A la fin du douzième siècle Gérard de Crémone avait traduit en latin ses *Canons*, Dominique Gundisalvi ses *Commentaires sur les livres de l'âme, du ciel et du monde*, ainsi que sur la *Physique* et la *Métaphysique*, et le juif Jean Avendeath son analyse de *l'Organon*. On possédait ainsi, dès le commencement du treizième siècle, toutes les œuvres philosophiques d'Avicenne qui furent éditées à Venise vers la fin du quinzième, par quelques chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin et F. de Macerata: *Avicennæ peripatetici philosophi ac medicorum facile primi, Opera in lucem redacta;* Venetiis, 1495, in-folio. Leur succès fut immense dans les écoles du moyen-âge, et Bruker a pu dire sans exagération: 'Usque ad renatas litteras non inter Arabes modo, verum etiam inter Christianos, dominatus est Avicenna tantum non solus.'" (Hauréau: *De la Philos. Scholast., Tom. I., Chap. XIV., p.* 367.)

from the prophets, as an enlargement of natural religion: what the latter taught, simply as possible, the former taught, as quite certain. There can be but one necessary being: that being is God. Matter, the subject of operation, is eternal; and above it, there is God—the eternal, active, first cause. The world is as eternal as He that made it. But it is not independent; were it not kept in being by the cause that influences it, it would cease to be. Perhaps there is no Arabian philosopher who, so completely as Avicenna, expressed the full feeling of the strange people of the East. He was a species of eclectic; but at the same time possessed considerable originality, especially on questions concerning natural science. He seems to have borrowed his Neoplatonism from Alkendi, and his extraordinary methods of contemplation from Alfarabi. Neoplatonism, the doctrine of emanation, of the eternity of the world, and astrological fatalism, enter as component parts into his philosophic system. While destroying the freedom of the human will, by placing it under the influence of the stars, he accords to man the gift of prophecy through the influence of rays of light proceeding from the universal world-soul. There is no steadiness in this system, which seems to swing, till one is dizzy, from the utter extreme of spiritualism, to the grossest extreme of materialism. He insinuates, in one place,* without daring to teach it, that there is, after all, no such thing as

* De Orientali Philosophia.

pure form, and, therefore, that there is no God, and no immortality.

His doctrines exerted considerable influence, not only on the Saracens, but also on Christians. Hebrew and Latin versions of his works are still extant; but it is doubtful whether his translators have done justice to his meaning. The next celebrated character is Abu-Bekr-Mohammed-Ben-Jahya-Ibn-Badscha (Avempace), who was born at Saragossa, in the beginning of the twelfth century. He was celebrated as a physician, a poet, and a philosopher.* He lived at the court of the Morabeths, and, being much esteemed by them, was made away with, by poison, through the jealousy of a brother doctor, in 1138. Taken up with active duties, he did not leave any very voluminous writings. Munk speaks of two of his works; one he calls "*Epistola Expeditionis;*" the other, "*Du Régime Solitaire.*" The scholastics quoted the first under the title of "*De Continuatione Intellectus cum Homine.*" Avempace taught a threefold possibility of knowledge in the human soul. The highest, the knowledge of pure forms, separated from all matter. According to S. Thomas, he held that the contemplation of separate forms was

* His philosophical influence could not have been great. "Sein Einfluss auf das Mittelalter liegt hauptsächlich in seinen Bearbeitungen der physikalischen Schriften des Aristoteles oder mittelbar durch Averroës in der Entwicklung der Erkenntnisslehre, welch beiderseitige Thätigkeit uns hier nicht berührt. Und wenn derselbe sich auch mit dem Umkreise der Logik im engeren Sinne beschäftigte, so scheinen von dergleichen Schriften desselben dem Mittelalter durchaus keine Uebersetzungen vorgelegen zu sein, und auch wir finden ihn nur ein paar Mal gelegentlich erwähnt." (Prantl's *Logik, Zweiter Band, Abschnitt, XVI., p.* 373.)

the highest happiness of man. Besides Avempace, we often find Avicebron's name mentioned amongst the scholastics. The scholastics call him an Arabian philosopher. But the researches of Munk prove, without doubt, that he was a Jew. His real name was Ibn-Gabirol; he lived in the eleventh century, was born at Malaga, and was brought up at Saragossa. Munk found, in the Imperial Library at Paris, the sketch of a work called "*Mekôr Chajim*"* *(Fons Vitæ)*, which, from its contents, can be no other than the often quoted *Fons Vitæ* of the scholastics. It was taken almost word for word by a Jewish philosopher of the thirteenth century, named Shem-Tob Ibn-Falaquera, from the writings of Ibn-Gabirol of Malaga, who was famed amongst the Jews as a poet, and philosopher. His teaching bears the impress of Jewish influence. He believes in creation. The highest principle of things, is the Divine will. He lays down that there is a vegetative, sensitive, and reasonable world-soul. By his Neoplatonism, he almost does away with his own teaching on creation. What he must have known from reve-

* Dr. A. Schmiedl gives the following *resumé* of Ibn-Gabirol's theory of creation, throwing his teaching into the three following propositions :—

I. "Die erste und höchste Substanz emanirte aus sich eine göttliche Kraft, die 'Wille,' oder auch 'das schöpferische Wort,' genannt wird."

II. "Diese göttliche Kraft, der Wille, hält die Mitte zwischen Gott und Welt."

III. "Aus dem Willen emanirte eine 'Materia universalis' aus welcher die unzähligen Wesen alle ohne Unterschied, die körperlichen wie die geistigen, hervorgingen." *(Studien über jüdische, insonders jüdisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie, p.* 103—104.) For a fuller account of Ibn-Gabirol, see Munk, *Mélanges, p.* 227, &c. Bachja ben Josef Ibn-Pakuda was Ibn-Gabirol's contemporary, and held the creation out of nothing; and on it rested his proof of the unity of God.

lation, seems to jar with his philosophic theories. His views on man are essentially Neoplatonic. He seems to have drawn largely from compilations, ascribed by the Arabs to Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle; but which, in reality, were nothing else but Neoplatonic methods of philosophy.*

But the most celebrated of all the Arabian followers of Aristotle, Abul-Walid-Muhammed-Ibn-Achmed-Ibn-Muhammed Ibn-Rodsch (Averroës) was born at Cordova, in the year 1105.† He studied Islamitic law at an early age, and united the study of the Mahommedan faith, with that of the Aristotelian philosophy. Avenzoar taught him medicine; Ibn-Saig, mathematics; and he became a convert to the tenets of the Asharites. On his father's death, he was made Chief Magistrate of Cordova, the capital of the Saracen dominions in Spain. Caliph Jacob Almansor, hearing of his splendid abilities, made him Supreme Governor

* Dr. Schmiedl's opinion of Avicebron is very high. "Endlich," he says, "in der zweiten Hälfte des xi. Jahrh. tritt uns ein wahrhaft grosser Name entgegen, der an die Gedenktafeln der Literaturgeschichte mit goldenen Lettern angeschrieben zu werden verdient, ein Mann von ausserordentlichem Genie, der dem Manne mit den zwei Köpfen in der griechischen Mythe gliech: der eine Kopf war den blumenreichen Thälern der Dichtung zugewandt, mit dem andern blickte er zu den Sonnenhöhen kühner und erhabener Forschung hinan." He shows how *Ibn-Gabirol* became changed into *Avicebron*:—"Ibn wurde in Avi verwandelt—wie Ibn Sina in Avicenna—und aus dem arabischen G'im wurde ein italienisches c (tsch)." (*Studien, Die Seele*, § *II.*, *p.* 139.)

† That is, according to Lebrecht; according to Renan, in 1120.

Ibn means "son;" and "Averroës," has grown out of the following modifications: Aben and Aven, then Ibin-Rosdin, Ibn-Rusid, Ben-Raxid, Ibn-Ruschod, Ben-Resched, Aben-Rassad, Aben-Rois, Aben-Rasd, &c.—Aven rosd, Avveroys, Avenroyth, Averroysta; and, finally, Averrhoes and Averroes. (*Comp.* Renan, *Averr. et l'Averroisme*, *p.* 7, *not.* 1. *Paris*, 1852.

and Priest of Morocco and Mauritania. Jealous of his preferment, his enemies charged him with heresy. To procure his condemnation, they persuaded some of his household to solicit lessons from him in philosophy, and carefully to take notes of his heterodox opinions. This they did; and he was declared guilty of heresy in a charge signed upon oath by an hundred witnesses. The Caliph confiscated his goods, and threw him amongst the Jews, by whom he was held in such ignominious contempt, that, on issuing forth to the mosque to pray, the urchins in the streets were in the habit of waylaying him, and pelting him with mud and stones. Maimonides, who was his pupil, fled away from Cordova.* He himself at length escaped to Fez, but was speedily seized by the Magistrate. The King, hearing of his capture, called a council to decide upon his fate. Some advocated death; others, recantation. The milder alternative prevailed. Averroës was led from his prison to the gate of the mosque; and being placed upon the upper step, with his head uncovered, the congregation in passing were allowed the privilege of spitting in his face. He then returned to Cordova, to live in destitution and contempt. After a time, at the

* It may be well to remark that Dr. J. Hercz denies that Averroës was a pupil of Ibn Saig, or, as he is called by others, Ibn-Badsche Abu-Bekr Ibn Al-Zaig, as well as that, he was master of Maimonides. See the interesting pamphlet, entitled "*Drei Abhandlungen über die conjunction des separaten Intellects mit dem Menschen von Averroes (Vater und Sohn) aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von* Samuel Ibn Tibbon, *zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von* Dr. J. Hercz. *Berlin*, 1869. *Compare* Munk, *Notice sur Joseph ben Jehouda, p.* 31—32; Steinschneider, *Catal., p.* 2546, referred to by Hercz.

solicitations of the people, he was restored to his position in Morocco. Here he remained until his death, the date of which, it is impossible precisely to determine. If what is related of him be true, Averroës was a man of noble natural character. He eat but once a day; he passed whole nights in study; his heart was so compassionate, he could not bring himself to pass sentence of death on any one. An enemy at a public meeting once sent his servant to Averroës, to whisper an odious insult in his ear. The philosopher acted as if he had simply received a common message. He was as liberal to his enemies, as he was to his friends—for in the one case, he declared, he was simply following nature, while in the other, he obeyed the commands of virtue.

Now, Averroës is that special philosopher, whose speculations had so dangerous an effect upon Catholic teaching; and who was so triumphantly opposed by the Angel of the Schools. It will here be well, then, to give a rapid, and, it is to be hoped, an intelligible, outline of his mode of thought.

In the first place, his belief in Aristotle was unbounded. He looked upon him with a reverence which certainly amounted to a superstition; and which greatly tended to the spread of his philosophy. He declared the writings of the Stagyrite to be so perfect, that, since they had been composed, not one error had been found in them; nor had a single improvement been made upon them. His teaching is the "perfection of truth,"

and his intelligence, the limit of human power.* "He was created and given to the world that men might see in him how much it was possible a man could know." However, though he admired Aristotle, he did not do him justice; for he read his writings, not in the original Greek, but from a detestable translation from the Latin into the Syriac.†

One of the fundamental points that underlay all the philosophy of Averroës, was this, that philosophy is nearer to truth, than is religion. Religion, is for the masses: philosophy, is for the learned few. All men begin with religion, but the learned, though they begin with it, do not stop at it; but by philosophy, mount up, through

* "Averroes an mehr als einer Stelle, mit beinahe göttlicher Verehrung von Aristoteles gesprochen hat, so in *De Generat. Animal. Lib. I.*: 'Wir spenden unendliches Lob demjenigen, welcher diesen Mann (Aristoteles) durch Vollkommenheit ausgezeichnet und ihn allein auf die höchste Stufe der menschlichen Ueberlegenheit gestellt hat, zu der noch kein Mensch, in irgend welchem Zeitalter gelangen konnte; ihn meinte Gott indem er sagte: Die Ueberlegenheit, Gott gewährt sie dem, wem er will.' (Vgl. Munk, *Mélang., pag.* 316; 451 *et not.* 1. Renan, *Averr. et l'Averr., pag.* 41, *suiv.* Averr. *De Anim., III., Comm.*, 14, *p.* 159.) "Credo quod iste homo (Arist.) fuerit regula in natura et exemplar, quod natura invenit ad demonstrandam ultimam perfectionem humanam in materiis.'" (Hercz, *not. p.* 1.)

† The work of Averroës, and of his son, on the Separate Intellect, has been recently translated (1869). See *Drei Abhandlungen über die Conjunction des separaten Intellects mit dem Menschen von Averroes (Vater und Sohn) aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von* Samuel Ibn Tibbon, *zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von* Dr. J. Hercz. *Berlin.*

Prantl says: "Einen gewissen Abschluss aber erhielt die Arabische Philosophie überhaupt, wie bekannt, durch *Averroes*, dessen commentirende Thätigkeit die sämmtlichen Werke des Aristoteles umfasste. Er stand hiebei allerdings nur auf dem Boden seiner arabischen Vorgänger, denn er selbst verstand weder griechisch noch syrisch, aber mit peniblem, ja fast bornirtem Fleisse nahm er in stets wiederholten Ueberarbeitungen den gleichen Gegenstand vor, und so verfasste er auch zu jenem Zweige der Philosophie, welchen wir hier zu besprechen haben, nemlich zum Organon, dreierlei Commentare, unter welchen die einfachsten blosse Paraphrasen waren, zu welchen ebendeshalb noch sog. 'mittlere' und zuletzt sog. 'grosse' Commentare kamen." *(Logik, Zweit. Band, Abschn. XVI., p.* 374.)

mere belief, to the conclusions, and evidences of science. Here, they can gaze upon truth in its purity. The people have not the power of mind to attempt a study of philosophy. They must find their whole happiness in religion. Though to the philosopher, philosophy is life; to the people, it would be as poison. Yet, religion must be defended. He who talks against religion, and is a scoffer, deserves to be put to death. Even the philosopher cannot philosophize, with any fruit, if he be not founded in virtue, and in the law. It is only when he has thus practised the teachings of religion, that he is raised above it, into the speculation and demonstration of the purest truth. But, though philosophy depends, in its beginning, upon religion, it does not depend on any religion in particular; all religions are true; the only difference consists in a greater or less perfection. It would really seem as if we were considering the teachings of the nineteenth century, instead of the follies of an Arab eight hundred years ago.*

In his teaching on substance, and accidents, on *actus* and *potentia*, on corruption and generation,

* "Vor Allem haben wir den Standpunkt zu kennzeichnen, welchen Averroes in seiner Philosophie dem Islam gegenüber einnimmt. Er hält dafür, dass die Religion früher sei, als die Philosophie, ja dass sie die Voraussetzung der letztern bilde, weil derjenige, welcher sich nicht vorher einfach dem Gesetze und der Religion ergeben habe, nicht zur Einsicht in das Gute gelangen könne. Die Gewöhnung in den Tugenden des Gesetzes von Jugend auf sei also nothwendig, um zur Philosophie zu gelangen. Dabei gilt es aber an sich gleich welche Religion man bekenne, alle Religionen sind gleich wahr; nur ist die eine vollkommener, als die andere; der vollkommeneren sollen wir uns auschliessen." (Stöckl's *Gesch. der Philosoph. des Mittelalters, Zweit. Band, Erste Abtheil.*, § 18, *p.* 69, *Cf.* Renan's, *Averroes et l'Averroisme, p.* 113. *Paris*, 1852.)

in his proofs of the existence of God, he follows the Stagyrite, and founds most of his arguments on the assumed impossibility of an infinite series. He attacks the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, on the ground that it contradicts the absolute simplicity of God's nature to teach that the Three Divine Persons are *denominationes additæ super substantiam :** and declares it to be the Christian tenet that the Divine Persons are really distinct from the Divine substance. Hence, he considered it a duty to assail the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, in defence of what he considered to be the simplicity of the Godhead. He affirmed it to be the teaching of Christianity, that God was one and three ; one in act, and three *in potentia*. It is strange—or would be so, did we not meet with like instances every day—that so great a philosopher should so egregiously have failed to grasp the Christian doctrine before he attempted to combat it.†

But, God, the first cause, cannot bring into existence any creature, unless there be a possibility, or *sub-*

* *Vid. Destructio Destructionis, Disput., V., Dub. III., fol.* 67.

† How strangely the view of Averroës regarding the relation of religion to philosophy resembles that of advanced thinkers of our day ! He taught to the effect that, "Die Philosophie nimmt der Religion gegenüber die höhere Stellung ein ; sie besitzt die reine und volle Wahrheit, welche sie auf dem Wege der Speculation und Demonstration gewinnt ; die Religion oder das 'Gesetz' dagegen ist nur erzählend, nur lehrend, sie gibt nicht die reine Wahrheit ; sie accommodirt sich der Fassungskraft des Volkes. Desungeachtet aber darf die Philosophie der Religion weder feindlich gegenüber treten, noch ihre eigenen Resultate unter das Volk bringen, denn sonst wird das Volk irre an der Religion, und das wäre verderblich. Die Religion ist nothwendig für das Volk, weil sie diesem die höhere philosophische Erkenntniss einigermassen supplirt ; sie darf daher von der Philosophie nicht angetastet werden.—Der Standpunkt ist bequem, und dem Islam gegenüber ist er allerdings berechtigt." (Stöckl, § 18, *p.* 70—71.)

stratum, out of which the existence is educed. Nothing can come of nothing. Hence all existences imply two—God and matter.* God cannot educe existences, without matter; any more than matter can come into act without God. They are correlative. There are two grand eternal principles: the Eternal God, and eternal matter; neither confused together, nor identified, but each independent, though both eternally existing by, and outside each other. As it is absurd to imagine that matter existed from all eternity without form, and, then, in time was reduced to form; it follows that it must have existed in form from all eternity. Now, God is eternal act; but there is no actor or motor without something being moved; therefore, movement is as eternal as the mover. Now, this relation of mover and moved, results in the formation of matter. So, this movement, being eternal, its result

* These are the words of the philosopher: "Dicimus nos, quod sententia horum verborum (Algazelis sc.) est, quod quodlibet innovatum est possibile antequam innovetur, et quod possibilitas exigit rem, in qua sustentetur, scilicet subjectum recipiens. Possibilitas enim recipientis differt a possibilitate agentis. Et ideo non potest possibilitas perfecte attribui agenti, nisi conveniat cum recipiente. Multa enim sunt possibilia in agentibus, quæ respectu quorundam recipientium sunt impossibilia. Unde postquam illa possibilitas, quod innovatur, præcedit impossibile est, quod reperiatur absque subjecto; neque agens potest esse subjectum, neque possibile potest esse subjectum, quia quando possibile est in actu, est remota possibilitas. Remanet ergo, quod subjectum possibilitatis sit res recipiens eam, scilicet materia, et materia, in quantum materia, non generatur. Oporteret namque, quod materia haberet materiam ad infinitum. Et si forte dici posset, quod generaretur, est sine dubio, in quantum componitur ex materia et forma, quia quodlibet generabile ex aliqua re generatur. Unde aut proceditur in infinitum recte in materia infinita, quod est falsum, aut formæ adveniunt successive vicissim in quoddam subjectum ingenerabile et incorruptibile; et sic circulariter ad infinitum ab æterno . . . . Nullum enim de nihilo fit . . . . nulla permutatio de summa privatione fit. Patet ergo ex istis, quod hic necessario est res in contraria deferens formam, in quam rem illæ formæ successive adveniunt vicissim." (*Destruct. Destr.*, *Disp. I.*, *Dub. XXI.*, *fol.* 22, *col.* 1. *Cf.* Stöckl, *p.* 92.)

too is eternal. Hence, the world is eternal. This is the cardinal point of the Averroistic system. The world is nothing else than matter brought into existence, or formed. God is the mover; the world is the moved. The moving is eternal; therefore, what is moved is eternal; that is, the earth. The world could have had no beginning; and it can have no end. The world can be affected, neither by generation, nor by corruption. It exists eternally out of God, and by God. God is the first cause, not as creator, but as mover. As the world cannot be conceived without God, so God cannot be conceived without the world. The world and God are complements of each other. Without the world, God would not be God; and without God, the world would not be the world. Generation, and corruption, are the results of the action of cause and effect; these are eternal, so too are generation and corruption eternal movements. The corruption of one thing, is the generation of another, and the generation of one, the corruption of another; and there are many phases of the eternal movement of the world. So there can be no talk of a "first man." The soul is the form of the body; number lies in the matter, not in the form. So, the individual existence of the soul, independent of the body, cannot be imagined. What rises, must fall. This is an eternal law of nature. God himself cannot alter such a law. He could not give immortality to an individual, for He is under the law of His own movement.

This is as true of the human soul, as of any other thing. Averroës assails the doctrine that the world was created out of nothing, which is another fundamental tenet of the Christian religion. His arguments are very superficial, and there is no occasion for wasting space with them here.*

As movement is eternal, so must it be one. The oneness of the moved, follows from the oneness of the mover. There is the oneness of the world; first, because it is all subject to the action of the mover, who formed it in its variety and order; and secondly, because this world alone, and no other, could possibly exist.

The heavens, and the heavenly bodies, are neither subject to the change of generation, nor corruption. They are formed of quite a different matter from the earth. The eternal movement of the heavens, and heavenly bodies, is the cause of the changes and variations in the sublunary world. Now, the heavens are more perfect than the earth. Therefore, it follows that, if on the earth there are intelligent souls, *a fortiori*, so must it be in the heavens. But, the heavens are not subject to

* Stöckl gives his doctrine thus :—"Die Welt als solche ist nämlich nichts anderes, als die zur Form und Wirklichkeit herangebildete Materie. Kann also die Materie nie ohne Form sein, so kann die Ewigkeit der Materie nur unter der Bedingung aufrecht erhalten werden, dass zugleich auch an der Ewigkeit der Welt als solcher festgehalten wird. Die Welt ist ferner das Object der Bewegung, welche von dem ersten Beweger ausgeht: sie ist das Bewegte. Ist also die Bewegung eine ewige, und kann dieselbe, nicht gedacht werden ohne ein Bewegtes, so muss auch die Welt, als das Bewegte, ebenso ewig sein wie die Bewegung selbst. Und wie sie ohne Anfang ist, so ist sie auch ohne Ende; denn dieselben Gründe, welche den Anfang der Welt ausschliessen, schliessen auch das Ende derselben aus." (§ 25, *p.* 94.)

generation and corruption; so the soul of the heavens is not tied to things of sense. This soul must desire good—a good which is higher and more perfect than itself. Now, this good cannot be corporeal, for the heavens themselves are the most noble bodies. It can, therefore, only be the highest mover, and the Absolute Good, by whom all other good is conditioned. Hence, the soul of the heavens knows God; and this knowledge creates in that soul a desire to be as like Him in perfection as possible. This it attains by eternal motion, for motion is more perfect than rest, and eternal gyration is the noblest and most perfect of all movements. Other systems, which are discoverable by astronomical observation, have their movers, which are as their forms—inasmuch as, without such forms their existence could not be imagined; and as their end—inasmuch as the movement which is received from them issues in their striving to become more and more like to them. So to every series of systems there corresponds a series of pure intelligences, and at the head of them all, is the Prime-Mover. From Him, these intelligences reach down to the humblest sphere, that of the moon. The active intellect is subject immediately to the moon-mover, and, through him, to the Prime-Mover. All these movers so depend upon each other, that, according to their position, they are more or less immediately connected with the first cause. As the higher system is more perfect than the lower, so is one

intelligence more perfect than another. The movement of the higher spheres is swifter than the movement of the lower; and so of all in their relations. The subordinate intelligence is conditioned by the higher one, and the Prime-Mover is the condition of them all.*

God does not know things as they really are, for that would lower His intelligence, but He knows them in a more perfect, and in a nobler manner. His knowledge is higher than either an individual, or a general knowledge. The knowledge which separate intelligences enjoy is their life. The most perfect life is God, the perfect intelligence. There is no Providence in this world over individuals. This is contrary to

* "Le caractère général de la doctrine d'Ibn-Roschd est le même que celui que nous remarquons chez les autres philosophes Arabes. C'est la doctrine d'Aristote modifiée par l'influence de certaines théories néo-platoniciennes. En introduisant dans la doctrine péripatéticienne l'hypothèse des intelligences des sphères, placées entre le premier moteur et le monde, et en admettant une émanation universelle par laquelle le mouvement se communique de proche en proche à toutes les parties de l'univers, jusqu'au monde sublunaire, les philosophes Arabes croyaient sans doute faire disparaître le dualisme de la doctrine d'Aristote, et combler l'abîme qui sépare l'énergie pure, ou Dieu, de la matière première. Ibn-Roschd admet ces hypothèses dans toute leur étendue : le ciel est considéré par lui comme un être animé et organique, qui ne naît ni ne périt, et dont la matière même est supérieure à celle des choses sublunaires; il communique à celles-ci le mouvement qui lui vient de la cause première et du désir qui l'attire lui-même vers le premier moteur. La matière, qui est éternelle, est caractérisée par Ibn-Roschd avec plus de précision encore qu'elle ne l'a été par Aristote : elle est non-seulement la faculté de tout devenir par la forme qui vient du dehors; mais la forme elle-même est virtuellement dans la matière; car si elle était produite, par la cause première, ce serait là une création de rien, qu' Ibn-Roschd n'admet pas plus qu' Aristote. Le lien qui rattache l'homme au ciel et à Dieu le fait participer, jusqu'à un certain point, à la science supérieure, principe de l'ordre universel : c'est par la science seule, et non par une vide contemplation, que nous pouvons arriver à saisir l'être, et, sous ce rapport, Ibn-Roschd est encore plus absolu que son maître, et les idées morales ne jouent dans le doctrine d'Ibn-Roschd, qu'un rôle fort-secondaire." (Hauréau, *Tom. I., Cap. XIII., p.* 378—379.)

reason, and to experience. The Providence of God is general, keeping the universe in its normal condition. It must not be forgotten that the world is eternal; God is not creator and master, but He is mover, and subject to the eternal laws of matter.

Man stands between eternal and temporal things: for, in his nature, he includes both. The soul is the form, or the first perfection, of the living body. The soul, in its activity, is independent of the body, so it must possess an independent principle. Its activity extends to the intelligible; while sense is confined to sensation. The *passive intellect* is not one with man, it is a separate principle. It unites itself, indeed, with the individual body, as its form; but it remains distinct and separate from the individual soul. As such, it is not individual, like the soul; it is rather universal, and, hence, numerically, it is one in all human beings. Individuality, exclusively belongs to the soul. It is eternal, and lasting in every respect. If, in speaking of the soul of man, you do not refer to the soul as the principle of corporeal life, but as the principle of reason, then, the souls of men, substantially, are identical. It is like the light which spreads itself over all creation, without suffering in its oneness. It ever remains numerically one, and is only individualized in so far as it is participated in by many individuals. Much more, then, is the active intelligence one in all men, eternal and enduring, forming no part of man's contingent, individual nature. It is an

objective principle existing independently of our individuality. And this objective principle is no other than that intelligence which closes the chain which depends, finally, upon God, but which is the mover of the moon.*

The mind of man does not essentially, but only in degree, differ from that of the beast. The will is conditioned by the movements of the world without, and is hence subject to a kind of fatality. But Averroës did not mean to take away from it all freedom. Yet he admits of no personal immortality. What is said of the next life is simply a fable. The universal mind, not the individual soul, is immortal. The race is eternal; the individual dies. The condition of man, after death, is like the condition a man finds himself in, while sleeping. The knowledge of separate substances is man's highest knowledge, and in it his greatest happiness lies. Man here becomes like unto God. Here, all is grasped by man. Being now like to God, he knows all things, inasmuch as, in a manner, he himself is all things; for knowledge, and being, become, now, identical. Man is not capable of attaining greater perfection and happiness than this. And he arrives at this state by the study of speculative wisdom.

Averroës held the mystic way in great contempt: for, according to him, it is only the speculative mind that breaks through the veil of sense, and

* "Intellectus autem agens ordinatur ex ultimo horum in ordine, et ponamus ipsum esse motorem orbis Lunæ." (*Epit. Met., Tr.* 4, *p.* 146.)

gets into immediate contact with Divine things.* Hence, philosophy is the highest calling of man.

Such is a brief sketch of the most celebrated and the last representatives of Aristotle in Arabia.

It remains to be seen how S. Thomas acted, when living in the midst of this terrible intellectual struggle; and how reason can oppose reason, and how the meek, but crushing warrior of God's truth, can, through the power of his intellect, and his firm grasp of principle, bring under and subdue the rampant heresies, which others may have feared, but had not the power to overthrow.

The same kind of effects seem to have been produced by the Bible, amongst the Jews, that were produced by the Koran, amongst the Arabs. And, as the intellect of S. Thomas had to be directed against their errors, and as some of his most startling triumphs had to do with Jewish doctrines and Jewish Rabbis, it will here be well to draw, in a very few strokes, the broad outline of their intellectual movement.

The philosophy of the Jews appears to have developed about the same time as that of the Arabians. The obligation they were under of

* "L'âme peut arriver à une union bien plus intime avec l'intellect universel, à une sorte d'identification avec la raison primordiale. L'intellect acquis a servi à conduire l'homme jusqu'au sanctuaire; mais il disparait dès que le but est atteint . . . Ainsi l'intellect actif exerce sur l'âme deux actions distinctes, dont l'une a pour but d'élever l'intellect matériel à la perception de l'intelligible, l'autre de l'entraîner au delà jusqu'a l'union avec les intelligibles eux-mêmes. L'homme, arrivé à cet état comprend toutes choses par la raison, qu'il s'est approprié. Devenu semblable à Dieu, il est en quelque sorte tous les êtres, et les connaît tels qu'ils sont; car les êtres, et leurs causes ne sont rien en dehors de la science, qu'il en a." (Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroisme, p.* 110. Paris, 1852.)

defending their tenets from attack, the reverence in which they held the Holy Scriptures, induced them, nay, obliged them, to defend and establish, scientifically, what they held through faith. And though it was quite contrary to the spirit of their religion, to mix with other nations, there were not wanting men, who, from time to time, endeavoured to amalgamate the teachings of the Pentateuch with Arabian philosophy.

As with the Arabs, as with ourselves, there were the orthodox, and rationalistic school. The orthodox Jew, besides the Scriptures, held in equal reverence with the Scriptures, the ancient tradition of their Rabbis. This consisted in wearisome and enslaving casuistry, and exegesis, which was applied to the very animals of the field, and to the most minute and paltry arrangements of domestic life. This tradition was at length written down by Jonas the Holy, in a book called the Mischna. This, again, later on, was enlarged upon and continued by the Talmudists.

A reaction was not long in coming against the unbearable tyranny of this Talmudist school. Anan, a Jew of Bagdad, about the middle of the eighth century, headed a schism. This created two distinct parties: the orthodox Jews, with the Scriptures, tradition, and the Talmud; and the Karäeites, who rejected all except the Bible; affirming that the light of reason was quite strong enough to read it by. Thus, we have the orthodox Jews, corresponding with the Motakhallim; and the Karäeites, corresponding with the Motazalitæ

of the Arabs.* Nor was there wanting a school, corresponding to the Susufi, or the Mystics: that is to say, there were the Cabbalists. Their teaching, in reality, was a kind of Gnostic philosophy. It consisted in their continued prying into the hidden and deep meaning of the Word of God. God had made known this mysterious meaning to Moses, on the mount. Moses had delivered it to the seventy ancients. From them, it had come to Esdras, who wrote it in a book. From him, the ancient teaching of the Jews was derived. They looked upon the Bible as a book of symbols; and they laid great stress, like Philo, upon the mystery of numbers. Cabbalism had not so much as a philosophy, or a tradition; while it had about it that mystic element, which is never wanting when rationalism, or its reaction, is rife, or when there is any deep religious feeling, which often is the source from which it springs.†

* "Dr. Schmiedl, in his interesting *Studien über jüdische, insonders judisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie*, gives evidence of a remarkable character with regard to the immense influence Aristotle and the scholastics exerted upon some of the most powerful minds in the Jewish body. *e.g.* See '*Der philosophische Gottesbegriff. Die Lehre von den Attributen Gottes. Die Engellehre. Die Schöpfung aus Nichts.* See also *p.* 259, *Was hat den Aristotelismus in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie so populär gemacht?*'"

† The fundamental doctrine of creation, writes Schmiedl, according to the Cabbala, is viewed in the following light: "Die Kabbala ging von dem Gedanken aus, die mosaische Schöpfungslehre mit dem Fundamentalprincip der alten Philosophie, 'dass aus Nichts Nichts werde,' in Uebereinstimmung zu bringen. Hiezu fand sie die alexandrinische Lehre von der Ausströmung (Emanation) am geeignetesten. Sie stillte nun folgendes System auf: Keine Substanz ist aus dem absoluten Nichts hervorgegangen: alles Seiende hat vielmehr seinen Ursprung in einer Quelle ewigen Lichts in Gott. Dieser undefinirbare Gott wird in ganz eigenthümlicher Weise das 'Nichts' genannt, d.h. das in Abstracto bestehende, durch positive Attribute nicht zu erklärende Sein—und auf diese Weise ist die Welt aus 'Nichts' hervorgegangen. Das göttliche Urlicht erfüllte vor der Schöpfung die ganze Unendlichkeit, so dass kein leerer Raum vorhanden war. Es zog sich daher in sich selbst zurück, um eine Leere zu bilden. Nach dieser Concentration manifestirte sich der Endlose (En-Sof) zuerst in einem Prototyp der Schöpfung, dem Makrokosmos oder Adam Kadmon auch Adam Ilaa, aus welchem sodann die Schöpfung in vier Abstufungen oder Welten ausströmete." (*Studien*, *p.* 127.)

Now, the action of the rationalistic school, as a matter of course, brought out men on the other side, fit to cope with its pretensions. As the Arabs, and the Church, used Aristotle to defend the orthodox teachings of their revelation; so, too, did the Jews. Saadiah was the first to snatch Aristotle's weapons out of the hands of his adversaries, and to turn their arms against themselves. Perceiving the success of this manœuvre, the philosophy of the Stagyrite became the fashion with the Hebrews. When the Spanish Jews had emancipated themselves from the domination of the Babylonian academy, at Sora, and had founded at Cordova a new school, they did exactly what the schoolmen did—they busily set about translating, and making themselves masters of the philosophy, and fundamental principles of Aristotle, in order that they might successfully defend themselves against attack, and carry on a vigorous war against the Karäeites. So much were these Jews smitten with their new weapons, that William of Auvergne positively declares that the Jews, who lived under this influence, had abandoned the faith of Abraham, and had gone over to the Saracens. The same tendencies toward rationalism, and towards placing science above faith, amongst the Arabs, and amongst ourselves, soon made themselves manifest amongst the Arabian Jews. They no longer bowed down with humble reverence to the Sacred Word of faith. Faith, now, was for

the poor, ignorant, and deficient. Philosophy, was for the learned. Man may begin with faith; but he rises through the methods of belief, into the higher and purer region of demonstration, and philosophy. The most remarkable, by far, amongst the rationalistic school of Judaism, is Maimonides.

We derive our knowledge of the Cabbalistic doctrines of the Jews from two books, the Jezirah, and the Sohar. The writer of the Jezirah was a contemporary of the writer of the Mischna, about the year 50, of Christ. The Sohar is later, about the year 121. Some put it down as late as the third century, and declare that it was put together by a Spanish Jew. The basis of the Cabbalistic system is the doctrine of emanation. It would be tiring, as well as useless, to go into its analysis, and waste paper in describing the Ainsoph, and the Cimçoum; who was Adam Kadmon, and his connection with the Sephirot, or the relative position of Aziluth, Beriah, Jezirah, and Asiah.* We refer the curious reader for matters

* "Die andern Welten, welche an die Welt Aziluth in absteigender Stufenreihe sich anschliessen, sind die Welt Beriah, die Welt Jezirah und die Welt Asiah. In der Welt Beriah herrschen die drei obersten, in der Welt Jezirah die drei folgenden und in der Welt Asiah die drei untersten Sephiren. Aber wie die Sephiren ungeachtet ihrer Verschiedenheit doch wieder Eins im Sein sind, so verhält es sich auch mit diesen drei Welten. Denn da das grosse Siegel Aziluth drei Stufen begreift, welche da sind drei (Zuren) Urbilder von Nephesch, Ruach und Neschamah (Leib, Seele und Geist), so haben auch empfangen die Besiegelten drei Zuren, nämlich Beriah, Jezirah und Asiah, und diese drei Zuren im Siegel sind nur Eins. Nur ein beziehungsweiser Unterschied also findet statt zwischen diesen drei Welten: ihrem innern Sein nach sind sie nicht verschieden von einander. (Stöckl, *p.* 239.)

of this kind to Frank's "Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews."*

The first man who treated Judaism from a scientific, rational standpoint, was Saadiah Fajjumi, who was born in Egypt, persecuted by the orthodox Jews, till he was forced to fly away from the Academy at Sora; and, having written many works in his solitude, died in the year 942. His principal work was "Faith and Philosophy," composed about the year 933. But, the greatest of the Spanish Arabs, was Rabbi Moses-Ben-Maimon (Maimonides), born at Cordova in the year 1135. He studied Aristotle under Averroës, or under one of his disciples. He was persecuted without much delay as a heretic. He fled to Fez, then to Cairo, where Saladin treated him handsomely, and permitted him to set up a school in Alexandria. But his enemies would not leave him alone. He was forced to abandon his school, and led a wandering life for the rest of his days, and died (1204), some affirm, in Palestine; others say, in Egypt. His principal work was "*More Nevochim*," or "*Doctor Perplexorum.*" But of his system it will be time to speak when it comes in contact with the teaching of the Angel of the Schools. That his doctrines, though he suffered so much in his lifetime, exerted a wide influence amongst his brethren, cannot be denied.

"This learned Jew," says Brucker, "was not

* Frank, *La Cabbale, ou La Philosophie Religieuse des Hebreux, p.* 197, *sqq.* *(Paris,* 1843.*)*

only master of many Eastern languages, but, which was a rare accomplishment at that time, was well acquainted with the Greek tongue; in which he seems to have read the works of Plato, Aristotle, Themistius, Galen, and others. He confesses that he had been much conversant with the writings of philosophers. As a physician, he possessed high reputation: he was a good logician, and had a competent knowledge of mathematics. In Talmudic learning, he excelled all his contemporaries. Besides many other works, he wrote a treatise 'On Idolatry;' another, 'On the Theology of the Gentiles;' and a third, 'On Allegorical Language;' which discovered great learning, but leaned towards Gentile philosophy more than his countrymen approved. A singular proof of his fondness for the Aristotelian doctrines, and, at the same time, a curious specimen of the absurd method of allegorizing, adopted even by the more intelligent among the Jews, we meet with in his explanation of the sapphire stone, which Moses saw under the feet of the God of Israel, the whiteness of which he understood to denote the Ὑλὴ πρώτη 'first matter' of Aristotle." *

With regard to his tenets, great battles took place after his death in France, and Spain. Provence was the hottest place of struggle. Shem-Tob-Ben-Joseph-Ben-Palaquera, born about the year 1226, defended him in many works. Calonymos,

* *Book IV., Cap. II., p.* 206.

who was born in the year 1287, did the same. In fact, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which lie beyond the date at which I write, very fierce contests were continually being waged amongst the Jews: belief, on one side; and rationalism, on the other: the Stagyrite, and the Scriptures: the light of reason, and the light of faith.

But enough has now been said to give a general idea of those Arabian and Jewish philosophers, whose names are so constantly recurring in the writings of S. Thomas. Let us now see how he conducted himself under Albertus Magnus at Cologne.

CHAPTER XIV.

S. THOMAS AT COLOGNE.

When S. Thomas arrived at Cologne, the Dominicans had already been some time settled there. S. Dominic, who always had an eye to great centres, must have observed that the fact of its being a great commercial city, with its one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and three thousand soldiers, would make it a fair field for work; and its intimate relations with Italy, its reputation for science and art, would tend to elevate the mind, and make it a natural centre for Dominican activity.

In the year 1221, those dear friends, Jordan of Saxony, and Henry of Cologne,* the former who owed his singular conversion to his love of the poor of Christ, and of the Holy Office, and the

* Brother Henry died in 1234. Albert lived for three or four years under the same roof with him. It was not till a much later date that the University of Cologne, strictly so called, was founded. "Albert va fonder l'école; l'université n'existe point; elle ne sera créée que le 21 mai de l'an de grâce 1358, par bulle expresse d'Urbain VI., qui lui accordera les mêmes franchises et priviléges qu'à l'université de Paris." (See D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand, Liv. III., p.* 255. *Cf.* Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln, p.* 75.)

latter whom Jordan declared to be "the most gracious creature he ever saw," established the Order at Cologne. They began in a very humble manner. They opened a *hospitium*, near the Cathedral, in the Stolkstrasse *(vicus Stolcorum)*, and served a little chapel dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene. Their gentle, devoted lives, struck the people of the town, who, unfortunately, had been accustomed to receive very little edification from many of the clergy.* Their little chapel quickly filled. The clergy of the town were ill-pleased at this. Invidious comparisons were instituted by the people between the meek, shaven friars, with their extreme simplicity and poverty, and the sleek, well-fed, and sometimes, disedifying clergy. The clergy begged the Archbishop to remove the friars.† The venerable Engelbert gently answered them, that as long as the little convent of Dominicans did nothing but good, he preferred to allow them to remain. But the clergy replied that the warning-note had already been

* Speaking of the evils rife in society, in Albert's day, Sighart says:— "Albert schildert in seinen Predigten selbst alle diese Uebel der Zeit, besonders die Putzsucht, die Ueppigkeit, die Theater und Tänze, den schändlichen Aberglauben der Weiber, die Trägheit der Kanoniker, die nicht einmal im Chore den Mund genug öffnen. Vgl. *III. Serm. de Nativ. B. Mariae de Sacrif. Missae. Sermo de Assumpt. Mariae II.* Besonders *Serm. in dom. IV. post Epiphan.* Klagen über Bischöfe und Klerus besonders im Commentar zu Lucas." *(Kap. V., note, p.* 26.) Sighart also quotes a passage from a sermon of Albertus Magnus in which he compares the clergy to the barren woman, who married seven brothers, one after the other, signifying that they were sharp enough to get hold of good livings, but that no fruit came of them for the glory of God. Cursing, swearing, and blaspheming, were the special vices of the people. (See Touron's *Disciples de Saint Dominique, p.* 725.)

† Manche Welt-Geistliche beklagten sich darüber beim edlen Erzbischofe Engelbert, dass die Ordensmänner das fremde Aerntefeld beträten . . . Sie würden die Geistlichen in Gefahr, die Stadt aber in Bedrängniss bringen. (Sighart's *Albertus Magnus Kapitel V., p.* 27: *more fully treated by Peter of Prussia, p.* 249.)

sounded against them by a saint. It was of these men, with their strange costume, and shaven crowns, that Holy Hildegard had prophesied, when she spoke of men who would bring danger on the priests, and destruction on the city. Well, then, replied the Archbishop, "If it be a Divine revelation, it will certainly come to pass." The Dominicans remained, flourished, taught; and under Albert the Great the little convent became a nursery of saints.*

When we consider three things which must have exerted a great influence on S. Thomas, it will not appear surprising that he should have given himself up to silent meditation in the school of Albert. In the first place, a mind so noble and so delicate would be subdued by the force of the master-mind with which it came in contact, and would feel far more inclined to think and listen, than to talk and to dispute. Secondly, the knowledge which the young student must have possessed of those great questions which had agitated the schools for so many years -questions intimately bound up with the first principles of Christianity, nay, even with the dogma of the existence of God Himself—could

* Considering the importance of the town, it is not surprising that the Dominicans settled there, and were unwilling to be driven out. "Cologne prit peut-être, en effet, plus d'importance encore au moyen âge qu'elle n'en garde aujourd'hui. Tant de mouvement ne saurait s'expliquer que par l'activité de son négoce et l'étendue de ses transactions avec le pays d'Utrecht et les côtes de la Baltique, car, en dépit de sa situation heureuse et du fleuve qui la traverse, Cologne, vers 1230, manquait assurément de ce *bel air*, de ces élégances et de ces appas qui attirent ou retiennent les étrangers. Sa cathédrale, chef-d'œuvre inachevé, dont une légende attribue, par parenthèse, le dessin et le plan au docteur universel, n'est point encore sortie de terre à l'heure matinale à laquelle nous passons avec Albert de l'autre côté du Rhin." (Vid. D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand*, *p.* 254.)

not but affect, most deeply, his mind and imagination. And, lastly, he may have felt, in his extreme modesty, that his mind had not arrived at that maturity, which makes the ventilation of difficult problems of much advantage; and that now was the time to listen and learn, not to talk and teach: and that truth is arrived at by slow degrees, through patient, unwearied thought, and through the laborious comparison of a thousand experiences. Besides, naturally, the Saint loved contemplation. His life, from the beginning, had been formed in a monastic mould: and the impress of S. Benedict made him strange, at first, to the activity and excitement of the modern methods of the mediæval world.*

* "Quando poi ei posto in libertà, fu dal suo prelato mandato in Colonia per istudiare la teologia sotto la scorta d'Alberto Magno stimato da'suoi condiscepoli di rozzo e tardo ingegno, era da' medesimi per sopranome chiamato (come sopra s' accennò) il bue mutolo; egli nondimeno di simili irrisioni e beffe non curante, con gran mansuetudine le tollerava senza mai aprir bocca ad imitatione del nostro Signore nella sua Passione sì fieramente schernito e dileggiato, di cui parlando il Profeta dicea: *Quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet et non aperiet os suum.* Oltre a ciò il solo silentio di Tomaso per lungo tempo da lui osservato, certissimo argomento fu dell' animo suo dolce e mansueto." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n.* 4, *p.* 109.) Lacordaire only expresses what St. Thomas felt so many years before, when he says:—"A man is made from within, not from without. Solitude is my element; it is my life, there is nothing great to be accomplished without it." (Dora Greenwell's *Life*, *p.* 56.) "Dispostosi agli studi coll'orazione, tutto preordinando alla gloria di Dio, raccolto della mente intendeva alle lezioni del suo maestro, e s' ingegnava di perfettamente apprendere ogni cosa fino a quelle che altrui sembravano picciole, o che solo per indiretto riguardavano alla materia; di tutto si facea tesoro nella mente; e in effetto, ogni pensiero eragli, in virtù della meditazione, assai ricco e prezioso tesoro. Intorno alle quistioni, che molte e sottili erano proposte, egli in suo pensiero facea di ridurle alla più semplice ed accurata formola; e questo gli apriva la via a levarsi coll' intelletto a quel principio scientifico, onde procedea la soluzione. Comechè a tutti entrasse innanzi nell'acutezza dell' ingegno, nella sicurtà del giudizio, nella sottilità del sillogizzare, pure tenea continuo silenzio, sì per la riverenza verso il maestro, sì perchè avea tutti gli altri scolari per da più di sè. Dal suo silenzio alcuni inconsiderati trassero cagione di metterlo in novelle, e lo chiamavano il *bue muto;* della qual cosa egli non si turbava niente, siccome colui, che amava di essere spregiato." (Gibelli, *Vita, Cap. XI., p.* 43—44.)

His companions in the school of Albert, belonged to quite another class. Whilst Thomas was living in the varied world of abstract thought, of problem, and question and probability—with its labyrinths of truth; with its fitful, eccentric fires; with sombre avenues, opening into terrific pit-falls; and vast stretches of clear certainty, with its far-distant peaks, reflecting the light of the good, the beautiful, and the true—his companions were living amongst material things.* His world was not only hidden from them, but was beyond their powers of realization. He was amongst them in body, but that was nearly all. Yet, they were occupied with discussing great questions also. But, they were young men who thought themselves capable of handling any question; and would argue a point with very slender knowledge of its bearings. They were young men full of activity, intelligence, and life; buoyant with animal spirits, and filled with the impression that to exert the reasoning faculties in debating

* "Magister Ordinis in carissimum in Christo filium suscepisset, duxit ipsum Parisios, et deinde Coloniam: ubi sub Fratre Alberto Magistro in Theologia ejusdem Ordinis florebat studium generale: qui reputabatur in omni scientia singularis. Quo cum pervenisset prædictus juvenis et audivisset in omni scientia profunda et miranda docentem, gavisus est se cito invenisse quod quæreret: a quo haurire posset avidus, quod sitiret. Qui ut ostenderet, quia ad hoc tendebat, quo venerat; cœpit miro modo taciturnus esse silentio, in studio assiduus, in oratione devotus, interius colligens in memoria quod postmodum effunderet in doctrina." (Tocco, *Boll. in Vita, Cap. III., p.* 660.) What a distinct pleasure contemplation of truth was to S. Thomas, is evident from his own words:—"In contemplatione veritatis maxima delectatio consistit. . . . Et ideo homines ex contemplatione divinorum, et futuræ beatitudinis, in tribulationibus gaudent, secundum illud Jacobi, I, 2: *Omne gaudium existimate, fratres mei, cum in tentationes varias incideritis;* et, quod est amplius, etiam inter corporis cruciatus hujusmodi gaudium invenitur; sicut Tiburtius martyr, cum nudatis plantis super ardentes prunas incederet, dixit: Videtur mihi quod super roseos flores incedam in nomine Jesu Christi." (*Summa, Prima Secundæ, Quæst. XXXVIII., Art. IV., p.* 141.)

scholastic questions, was one of the principal ends of all philosophy.* They had been told of the splendid talents of Abelard, of that brilliant school of intellectual chivalry which he established, and which had made its name famous throughout Italy, Germany, and France.

It is not extraordinary that such young men as these, when they saw young Aquino so silent, should imagine that nothing occupied his thoughts ;† especially when they perceived that he was equally reserved in the school, as he was in conversation. Whilst his companions boldly disputed, and waxed loud and noisy, this imperturbable youth remained in his place without a word, and without a sign. They soon came to the conclusion that he was a naturally dull, obtuse lad, who possessed no powers of appreciation. They must have known that he came from the South. Probably they knew that the General had brought him to Cologne; but it is evident that the fame he acquired in Naples had never reached them. What is more strange is this, that Albertus Magnus held the same opinion as

* How different the influence produced by the school of quiet :— "Nelle tante sue disputationi e conflitti scolastici non aspirò mai [Tomaso] alla vittoria, ma che solamente conosciuta si fosse la verità : e avvengache fosse ei solito di manifestare con ogni candore il suo sentimento, ed anche d'impugnar con moderata acrimonia le false opinioni, nel cui caso la contentione per suo insegnamento è laudevole, guardossi però sempre dagli atti sconci, dalle grida, dall' immoderate contese ; e niuno spregiando, ne ad alcuno ostinatamente contradicendo, elesse per la gloria di Dio e per l'edificatione del prossimo, parere alle volte anzi men dotto, che poco modesto, e in quello stesso, che insegnava, confessarsi discepolo." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IV., n.* 9, *p.* 26.)

† "Giunto, che fù Tomaso in Colonia con tutte le forze si diede a i piu profondi studij, che da lui sperare si potevano, con attentione mirabile apprendendo quello, che se li insegnava il Maestro, e discorrendo poscia le diverse opinioni de gli autori, giudicava qual di loro fusse più soda, e in quella si ligava. Era tanto amico del silentio, e della taciturnità, che pochissime volte parlava : e perche era molto corpulento, lo chiamavano il Bue muto." (*Vita, p.* 14.)

his pupils, regarding the dulness and deficiency of the young Aquino. Thomas was ridiculed publicly for his intellectual shortcomings, and was called, by master and by pupils, the great, dumb, Sicilian ox.* That they all taunted him publicly, and called him by his nick-names to his face, is evident from the surest testimony. But the Saint had been well broken to suffering, and he bore it all without a word. And being a youth of real breadth of mind, he knew how much all this was worth, and took it at its proper valuation.

Still there is no doubt that he must have keenly felt the roughness, vulgarity, and noisiness of his associates.† Without doubt, one fully

* "Obwohl er unter einer zahlreichen Genossenschaft lebte und obwohl alle Brüder ihn anfänglich wegen des Rufes, der ihm vorausgegangen, mit grossen Gunstbezeugungen überhäuften, blieb er doch am liebsten in seiner einsamen Zelle, bei den gemeinsamen Zusammenkünften hielt er strenges Stillschweigen, bei den Vorträgen der Lehrer schien er in dumpfes Brüten versunken, an den häufigen Disputationen der Mitschüler nahm er keinen Antheil. Man hielt ihn daher anfangs für einen Sonderling, man staunte dann, dass die Obern einen so stumpfsinnigen Menschen für begabt und für fähig des Unterrichts eines Albertus gehalten hätten, ja die Gefährten enthielten sich nicht, den jungen Thomas scherzweise einen stummen Ochsen, oder den grossen sicilianischen Ochsen zu nennen." (Sighart, *Kap. VI., p.* 39.)

† The coarseness and vulgarity of ridiculing anyone on his personal apearance, and that to his face too, need not be remarked upon. It was the vocation, the providential vocation of the Angelical, to bring calmness, gentleness, and delicacy of tone and feeling into the schools. Frigerio mentions another nick-name which was given by the Dominicans to their Angelical *Confrère* "Ma in tanta eminenza di talenti, egli non fe mai ostentatione alcuna; ne in tal proposito disse ne pur una parola; ma imponendo a se stesso un silentio Pitagorico, non parlava quasi mai, se non interrogato. Onde i suoi condiscepoli vedendolo, come in fatti era corpulento, e grasso (secondo la temperatura hereditaria de' Conti d'Aquino), e scorgendolo ancora sì taciturno, chiamavanlo alcuni d'essi per sopranome il bue mutolo, ed altri l' otre di Pitagora." *(Lib. I., Cap. IV, n.* 5, *p.* 24.) Tocco puts it thus:—"Qui cum sub velamine miræ simplicitatis taciturnus absconderet, quidquid a Magistro addisceret et quod Deus ei miseranter infunderet; cœperunt eum Fratres vocare Bovem mutum, ignorantes de eo futurum in doctrina Magistrum." Tocco continues expressing the Benedictine idea:—"Verum utiliter sibi et aliis quasi mutus ab exteriori erat eloquio, ut cum suis cogitationibus loquacior fieret in secreto, ut inde habitum scientiæ tacens citius colligeret, quem nulla exterior locutio impediret." (Tocco, *in Vita, Cap. III., p.* 660.)

formed in the retiring school of quiet, who had lived in the company of the gentle, silent Benedictine monks at Monte Cassino, and had learnt to fix his mind on the one great object of all man's striving, on the Supreme Good—and that in speechless contemplation—would be scared and shocked by the unrestrained and sportive garrulity of quick-tongued and off-hand young logicians—fledglings who were ever piping, and crowing, and flapping their young wings, and bouncing at each other around him, ever trying the strength of their spurs, and the sharpness of their beaks and claws, in those dialectical encounters which were the natural consequence of the principle of motion. He must often silently have smiled at their blunders, whilst they were thinking to dazzle him by their talent and acuteness.

The four great pillars of the monastic school of quiet: love, reverence, purity, adoration, that is, the principles of contemplation — as pointed out in the writings of S. Anselm, S. Bernard, Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's—had so firm a foundation in the heart and mind of S. Thomas, that even had he tried, he could not have forced himself into sympathy with the flippant, thoughtless, emptiness of his companions. His life had been fixed in another set of principles. He was like the lighthouse in a noisy, washing sea—calm and steady—and, in the midst of the whirling and seething, the rising and breaking, the lashing and sinking of the objectless waters—ever biding

in one place, ever consistently fulfilling one appointed mission, ever throwing the light that was in him upon the instability of all around. It takes some little time for a character like his to make itself felt with all its weight, amongst a school of unreflecting students. But constant, silent pressure, the pursuance of one unbending course, at length produces its effect. *

In fact there is little doubt that, from time to time, the young Aquino amused himself quietly at his companions' expense, or, at all events, took them somewhat by surprise. Once, when studying in his cell, he heard a voice crying to him from outside the window: "Brother Thomas, Brother Thomas, here! quick, quick—look at this flying ox!" With all simplicity, Thomas went to the window, and no sooner made his appearance, than he was saluted with shouts of derision. Those who had played the trick upon him, asked how he could be so simple as to imagine that an ox could fly? He answered in his own gentle, yet incisive way, "I did not believe that an ox could fly, nor did I, till now, believe that a religious could tell a

* It is interesting to trace, all through the course of S. Thomas, from his boyhood till his death, the extraordinary influence exerted by his gentleness. This is one of the (seemingly) less masculine virtues, as the world would say; though, in reality, sweetness, gentleness, and repose are tokens of strength. Who so sweet, so gentle; who carried in his presence so much repose to the weary, as Christ? Yet, who so mighty? Mental, not animal vigour; mind, not muscle; forms the basis of the genius of command. What is known of those noisy boys who called S. Thomas a fat ox? Not even one of their names is remembered. The silent subject of the joke will live as long as theology is taught, and books are read.

falsehood.* Some of his companions who did not despise him, felt compassion for him. One of these offered to assist him in his lesson. Thomas accepted the offer with gratitude. He allowed his companion to proceed, and attentively listened to his explanation. At length, the young professor came to a difficult passage, which was beyond his depth, and which he was unable to explain. Thomas quietly took the book from him, and, to the amazement of his companion, explained the entire passage with greater lucidity and precision than could have been done by an experienced professor.† All his companion could do was to mix confusion with astonishment, and implore the young Aquino to become his instructor for the

* "Ein einzelner Zug aus dieser Epoche seines Lebens charakterisirt ihn und seine Umgebung hinlänglich. Als er einst schweigsam zurückgezogen in seiner Zelle beschäftiget war, rief ihn aus dem anstossenden Garten die Stimme eines Gefährten: Bruder Thomas, komm eilends, es ist ein fliegender Ochs zu sehen! Der Gerufene, dessen Phantasie in eine höhere Wunderwelt versenkt war, glaubte wahrscheinlich, dass ein seltener Wundervogel, ein Greif oder Phönix in den Lüften schwebe, und eilte wirklich in den Garten, zur grossen Belustigung der Genossen. Da man ihn nun über seine leichtgläubige Einfalt neckte, entgegnete er in seiner ruhigen gemessenen Weise: Ich habe nie geglaubt, dass ein Ochs fliegen könne; noch weniger aber glaubte ich bis jetzt, dass ein Religiose lügen könne." (Werner's *S. Thomas, Vol. I., p.* 96.)

† Some say that Thomas had, amongst others, as companions, Ambrose of Sienna, Thomas of Cantimpré, S. James of Bevagna, B. Augustine, and B. Thomas Joyce, who joined the Order, with five of his brothers, and was afterwards made Cardinal, under the title of S. Sabina.

"Cumque sic taciturnus proficeret, cujus profectum opinio humana nesciret, cœpit Magister Albertus librum de Divinis nominibus B. Dionysii legere, et prædictus juvenis lectionem attentius audire. Cui cum quidam studens, ignorans quanta virtus intelligentiæ in ipso lateret, ex compassione ad repetendam ei lectionem se voluisset conjungere; ipse ut humillimus grates referens, acceptavit; qui studens cum cœpisset repetere, et tamen deficeret; prædictus Thomas quasi jam a Deo accepta licentia lectionem distincte repetiit, et multa, quæ Magister non dixerat, repetendo supplevit: de quo studens admirans, rogavit, ut deinceps Fr. Thomas lectiones repeteret, et sibi in hoc pro gratia mutuæ vicissitudinis responderet. Quo cum humiliter promisisset, rogavit ne aliis revelaret, ut ipse adhuc absconditus in sua simplicitate maneret." (Tocco, *Loc. Cit. p.* 661.)

future. Thomas quietly declined; but, being pressed, he consented, on the strict understanding that all that had happened was to be kept a profound secret.

At length a circumstance occurred which brought his extraordinary gifts before the notice of the school. Master Albert had selected a very difficult question from the writings of Denis the Areopagite, and had given it to some of his scholars for solution. Whether in joke or in earnest, they passed on the difficulty to Thomas, and begged him to write his opinion upon it. Thomas took the paper to his cell, and taking his pen, first stated, with great lucidity, all the objections that could be brought against the question; and then gave their solutions. As he was going out of his cell, this paper accidentally fell near the door. One of the brothers passing, picked it up, and carried it at once to Master Albert. Albert was excessively astonished at the splendid talent, which now, for the first time, by mere accident, he discovered in that big, silent student * He determined to bring out, in the most public manner, abilities which had been for so long a time so modestly concealed. He desired Thomas to defend a thesis before the assembled school, on

* "Contigit etiam illis diebus dictum Magistrum disputare difficilem quæstionem, quam cum Frater Thomas recollectam scripsisset in schedula, et quidam studens casu ipsam ante ejus cellam inventam cum gaudio Magistro ostendisset, legens ipsam Magister, et furtum studiosi admirans discipuli, advertit in ipso tam diutinum silentium, cum tanta simplicitate et puritate conversationis et vitæ, alicujus magnæ et occultæ gratiæ non carere privilegio." (Tocco, *Cap. III., p.* 661.)

the following day. The hour arrived. The hall was filled. There sat Master Albert. Doubtless the majority of those who were to witness this display, imagined that they were about to assist at an egregious failure. How could that heavy, silent lad—who could not speak a word in private—defend in public school, against the keenest of opponents, the difficult niceties of theology? But they were soon undeceived. For Thomas spoke with such clearness, established his thesis with such remarkable dialectical skill, saw so far into the coming difficulties of the case, and handled the whole subject in so masterly a manner, that Albert himself was constrained to cry aloud, "*Tu non videris tenere locum respondentis sed determinantis!*"* "Master," replied Thomas with humility, "I know not how to treat the question otherwise." Albert then thought to puzzle him, and show him that he was still a disciple. So,

* "Unde mandavit Magistro studentium, ut quæstionem satis difficilem ei committeret, de qua in crastino responderet: quam cum ex humilitate nollet recipere, ex necessitate obedientiæ paruit. Unde ad consuetum locum orationis se conferens, et ad primum actum inchoandum scholasticum Deo humiliter se commendans, ad respondendum de quæstione, prout divino adjutus auxilio potuit, in scholis in crastino se paravit. Unde cum repetitis argumentis Magistri præmisisset quamdam distinctionem, et ad argumenta sufficientissime responderet, prædictus Magister ei dixit: Frater Thoma, tu non videris tenere locum respondentis, sed determinantis." (Tocco, *Loc. Cit.*, *p.* 661.)

This was said, some writers affirm, because S. Thomas was laying down certain principles which were to act as solvents to the coming objections: Sighart thus explains it:—"Wir sehen hier, Thomas war auf einer der Bänke und musste mit dem von Albert aufgestellten Opponenten am Unterstuhl disputiren. Er gab nun so bestimmte, zweifellose Entscheidungen, dass Albert sagte; Das Entscheiden gehört dem Magister zu, du sprichst schon wie ein Magister. Der Magister (hier Albert) hatte nämlich bei Disputationen die Entscheidung zu geben. Und nun scheint Albert selbst die Disputation fortgeführt zu haben." (See *Albertus Magnus, Kap. VI., not. p.* 40.)

one after another, he started objections, created a hundred labyrinths, weaving and interweaving all manner of subtle arguments—but in vain. Thomas, with his calm spirit, and keen vision, saw through every complication, had the key to every fallacy, the solution for every enigma, and the art to unravel the most tangled skein—till, finally, Albert, no longer able to withhold the expression of his admiration, cried out to his disciples, who were almost stupified with astonishment: "We call this young man a dumb ox, but so loud will be his bellowing in doctrine that it will resound throughout the whole world." *

He who takes the pains to dip into Denis the Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, will see, at a

* "Magister dixit: Modo respondeas ad quæstionem per tuam distinctionem: et fecit ei quatuor argumenta tam difficilia quod omnino se eum crederet conclusisse. Ad quæ cum Frater Thomas sufficientissime respondisset, fertur Magistrum Albertum dixisse per spiritum prophetiæ: Nos vocamus istum bovem mutum; sed ipse adhuc talem dabit in doctrina mugitum, quod in toto mundo sonabit. Quod dictum propheticum est veraciter adimpletum: nam in toto mundo, dum inter fideles ejus doctrina diffunditur, Ecclesia ejus vocibus edocetur." (Tocco, *Cap. III., p.* 661.)

Speaking of the proficiency and gifts of S. Thomas at this period, Frigerio says: "Tomaso dunque sotto la scorta di sì raro dottore con tal sollecitudine ed ingegno diessi ad imparare la sacra teologia, ch'in brieve trapassò i più dotti maestri, ch' in quelle Università fiorissero. Nobilissimo era il suo ingegno, tenacissima la memoria, e ardentissima la brama del sapere." *(Lib. I., Cap. IV., n.* 4, *p.* 24.*)*

How far above human applause S. Thomas was, even as a youth, is clear from Tocco: "Juvenis autem, qui cor suum in humilitatis fundaverat pavimento, ex tanti Magistri testimonio, et ex tam honorabili actu scholastico non erexit in superbiam animum, nec mutavit solitæ simplicitatis exemplum; eumdem modum vivendi servans in posterum, quem tenuerat inchoatum, quamvis prædictus Magister omnes difficiles actus scholasticos ipsi committeret, quem sufficientiorem aliis inveniret." (Tocco: *Boll., Cap. III., p.* 661.)

"Se tenant toujours sous les yeux de Dieu, and dans la considération de son néant, Thomas s'occupoit si peu de ses qualités, ou de ce que les hommes pensoient de lui, qu'il étoit également insensible aux plus flatteuses loüanges, et aux mépris les plus humilians. Sans crainte de tenter son humilité, on le préferoit à tous ses Condisciples, quoiqu'il y en eût plusieurs, qui dans les occasions avoient donné des preuves de leur esprit, and de leur sçavoir." (Touron, *Lib. I., Chap. XX., p.* 79.)

glance, what sort of a test Albertus Magnus must have applied to young Aquino. The easy passages in that work are hard enough—what then must it not have been with the more involved? The explanation of this work was thought so difficult by the scholastics, that there is a legend extant to the effect that Albert, when expounding it, received assistance immediately from heaven.* Throughout the middle ages it was supposed to have been the composition of a convert of S. Paul's; and such being the case, it was handled with great reverence, deeply studied, and much written upon. Men thought by commenting upon it, to elicit out of its Neo-platonism, the hidden mysteries of the Christian faith. The work may with safety be put down to the latter part of the fifth century?† It is full of fundamental thought, and has a mystic savour which gained it many admirers and commentators in the middle ages; but its explanations are sometimes arbitrary, its thoughts occasionally

* Sighart's *Albertus Magnus, Cap. IX., p.* 64.

† "But the theory which has on the whole found most favour, is that which refers them (the works of S. Denis) to the latter end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth century. Such is the opinion of Montet, and of Gieseler; and it is accepted by Mr. Westcott, who concludes his enquiries into the subject of date by saying that 'the error cannot be great, if it be conjectured that they were composed A.D. 480—520, either at Edessa, or under the influence of the Edessene school.' Mr. Westcott agrees with Baratier in thinking that there is no ground for considering the writings to be a forgery, though he does not go so far as to acquit them of being pseudonymous. In any case, the real name of the author will probably still remain unknown. Time has in one respect dealt with these remarkable monuments of the Alexandrian mind (if such indeed they be), as it dealt with the Pharos, which was Alexandria's material monument. In the one case, as in the other, it has shewn the name outwardly inscribed on the work to be unenduring; but it has not yet, in the one case as in the other, revealed the name of the true artificer chiselled underneath." (See Lupton's *Introduction to Colet's Dionysius, p. XXXVIII.)*

unworthy, and it contains passages which border very closely upon error.*

It is remarkable that the first question in which S. Thomas appears in the capacity of disputant should have been so intimately connected with the cry of his young heart—*quid est Deus?* † It was in the "*Divinis Nominibus*" that a profound and mystic attempt was made to give a solution to that question, and the fact of its having engrossed the thoughts of the Saint from his earliest years, no doubt assisted him in solving the difficulties presented to him by his master. Minds that principally live in external facts and relations, are little conscious of that world of wealth which lives in the contemplative spirit, nor of the vivid light that illuminates so many problems, which could not otherwise be unravelled except by the patient labour of love and thought.

Like his father, S. Dominic, young Aquino loved to study the Collations of the experienced

* Baumgarten-Crusius' opinion, that Denis lived in the third century, has been completely refuted. See Engelhardt, *Die angeblichen Schriften des Areopagiten Dionysius, Sulzbach*, 1823, *Bd. II., p.* 329, *sq;* Baur, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes, Bd. II., p.* 205; Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie, Bd. VI., p.* 533, *sq.* Compare *Die Gotteslehre des Thomas von Aquino*, von Dr. Johannes Delitzsch. *Leipzig*, 1870, *Einleitung, p.* 6.

Erigena says of it:—"Opus Valde, ut opinamur, anfractuosum, longeque a modernis sensibus remotum, multum invium, paucis apertum, non solum propter antiquitatem, verum etiam cœlestium altitudinem mysteriorum." See his preface to his translation of the works of Denis, beginning thus:—"Gloriosissimo Catholicorum regum Carolo Joannes extremus sophiæ studentium salutem." (Vid. Migne, *Patrol. Tom. CXXII., p.* 1031—1032.) Erigena must have known pretty well what it was, for he wrote a translation or paraphrase of it.

† "Et bene congruit Providentiæ Divinæ consilio, ut a lectione libri de Divinis nominibus prædictus Frater Thomas acciperet a Deo loquendi et se manifestandi licentiam, cui concessurus erat sui nominis manifestare doctrinam; et ut Dei nominibus Divinæ notitiæ lectionem acciperet, quam usque in finem vitæ legendo perficeret, quam scribendo etiam moriens non taceret." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. III., p.* 661.)

Cassian. * When studying, he kept this one volume by his side; and he found that such spiritual reading was of assistance in purifying his heart and mind to see more clearly into the depths of theological and Scriptural science. He combined, in fact, the fulness of the monastic temper with a soaring power of speculation. At this very period, besides explaining the mysticism of the Areopagite, he is said to have commenced a work founded upon Albert's lectures in the schools, namely, an explanation of Aristotle's Ethics.†

But this same year, a change was made by the Twenty-third General Chapter of the Dominicans, held at Cologne. (1245.) Here it was determined that Albert should leave Cologne and go to

* "Sed quia frequenter contigit quod, dum intellectus superius subtilia speculatur, affectus inferius a devotione remittitur, prædictus Doctor ad excitandam devotionem die quolibet legere unam lectionem sibi de Patrum Collationibus solitus erat. Interrogatus autem cur lectioni huic intentus, interdum speculari dimitteret; respondit; Ego in hac lectione devotionem colligo, ex qua facilius in speculationem consurgo, ut sic affectus habeat, unde se in devotionem diffundat, ut intellectus ex hujus merito ad altiora ascendat. In hoc sui Patris Dominici imitatus exemplum, qui in dicto libro legens frequentius, magnum perfectionis apicem apprehendit." (Tocco, *Cap. IV., p.* 665.)

Cassian was probably born in Gaul about the year 350. He was dedicated to God in a monastery at Bethlehem. In the year 390 he visited, with his friend Germanus, the convents of Egypt, for the sake of instructing himself in monastic life. The result of his experiences he wrote down in his *Collationes Patrum*. This book became a standard monastic work. In the year 414, Cassian founded two monasteries at Marseilles, which became mother-houses of many more in France and Spain. He died in the year 432, with the reputation of a saint.

† "Post hæc autem prædictus magister Albertus cum librum Ethicorum cum quæstionibus legeret, frater Thomas magistri lecturam studiose collegit et redegit in scriptis opus, stylo disertum, subtilitate profundum, sicut a fonte tanti doctoris haurire potuit, qui in scientia omnem hominem in sui temporis ætate præcessit." (Tocco, *p.* 661; also, *Philosoph. de S. Thomas.* Jourdain, *p.* 92.)

Paris. His superiors decided that he should occupy the professor's chair in that capital, and take his doctor's cap; and Thomas was to finish his three years under him at S. James's.*

The reputation of many famous men was still fresh in the memory of scholars, when young Aquino came to Paris. William of Shyreswood, whom John of Salisbury declares to have been greater than Abertus Magnus; William of Paris, who had fully mastered the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, and in his great work, "*De Universo*," had dealt a mortal blow to the Arabian philosophers; Robert of Lincoln, the learned mystic expounder of the Stagyrite, the deadly enemy of the Holy See; Vincent of Beauvais, who had no doubt spent years in the great library of King Louis, with its one thousand two hundred precious volumes, and who wrote an Encyclopædia of Universal Knowledge;† and Alexander of Hales, the great Franciscan light, who manifested such keenness

* "Thomas de Catimpré a conversé avec notre Saint à Cologne; il a étudié comme lui sous Albert le Grand, il les a vûs partir tous deux pour Paris; l'un pour y enseigner la Théologie (comme il a été dit) l'autre pour y continuer ses études sous le même Maître. C'est Catimpré lui même, qui nous l'apprend dans un de ses ouvrages qui n'est point inconnu aux gens de Lettres. *Coloniam Agrippinam venit (F. Thomas) studuitque in illo loco, quousque præclarus Lector fratrum, Albertus Parisios translatus est.*" (Touron, *Cap. XXII., p.* 87.)

† S. Louis had the greater part of the extracts Vincent wanted for his work copied at his own expense. Vincent was Lector of the King, and tutor of his child. The number of authors he mentions, gives some idea of the richness of Louis's Library, though it is possible Vincent may have consulted books elsewhere.

"Frater Vincentius Bellovacensis scripsit quatuor magna specula . . beato Ludovico Francorum rege ei libros ministrante." (Martène, *Vet., Scrip., Tom. VI., p.* 363.)

and breadth of reading in his Commentary on the Lombard, and whose stoutness in debate earned him the title of "Irrefragable Doctor," and who had just died when Thomas came to Paris—all these had been students and teachers in the University. Paris must have been pregnant with the odour of an hundred lofty names; and those halls and colleges, those monasteries and hostels—in which so many had gained a brilliant reputation, and then had become popes, statesmen, bishops, theologians, poets, philosophers—must, in the mind of the student, have been clothed with a species of mystic awe, from the oppressiveness which so many memories must have brought over the imagination.* The homes of genius, and the haunts of learning, where men of great brain have worked out the salvation of their fellows, by the breadth of their attainments, and the vigour of their minds, affect the spirit with a species of fascination; and, whilst overpowering it by their greatness, seem,

* "Tout ce qui était appelé à exercer une haute influence dans le monde, hommes, doctrines, institutions, semblait devoir se rendre à Paris pour y recevoir la consécration de son avenir. Un nombre de plus en plus considérable d'hommes éminents venaient dans cette capitale pour se préparer à accomplir dignement leur noble destination: c'étaient des princes appelés à régner, qui ne croyaient pas pouvoir, sans cette préparation, recueillir, ni dans les camps ni à la cour, les fruits de la guerre ou de la paix; des papes qui furent la gloire du siége de Saint Pierre par leur sagesse, leurs lumières et leur courage; des cardinaux qui secondèrent ces pontifes par leur habileté et leur expérience consommée des affaires; des patriarches dans lesquels l'Orient put reconnaître la gravité et l'austérité de l'Eglise plus indépendante de l'Occident des évêques qui exercèrent leurs fonctions avec le sentiment de ce qu'elles ont de grand et de sacré; de pieux abbés placés à la tête des couvents les plus célèbres: en sorte que Paris était reconnu pour l'école fertile du sein de laquelle sortaient les flambeaux de l'Eglise, qui éclairaient la chrétienté." (Bareille, *Cap. XII., p.* 115. *Cf.* Touron, *Cap. XXII., p.* 86.)

at the same time, to kindle within it a kindred inspiration.*

When a short sketch has been given of the authors and text-books used by students during the thirteenth century, and the condition of the University of Paris has been touched upon, then the way will be clear for entering fully into the great work of S. Thomas; so that, whilst the reader bears in mind the struggles, and theological and philosophical positions which preceded him, he will be able, not only to appreciate what the Saint actually did, but, what is of great importance, the relation in which he stands to the intellectual world that went before, and the influence he exerted over the teaching of the future.

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* "A partir du milieu du douzième siècle, il y avait eu là [à Paris] une affluence de jeunes gens de tous les pays chrétiens, plus grande qu'en tout autre lieu et à toute autre époque; et cette affluence n'avait fait qu'augmenter, comme nous l'avons dit, sous la sage administration de Louis IX, et par suite de la protection généreuse qu'il accordait à la science et aux savants. Les fondations des rois ses prédécesseurs, celles d'autres princes et seigneurs chrétiens, pourvoyaient à l'entretien des étudiants pauvres. Les franchises et les privilèges contribuaient également au développement de cette grande école; et les sages réglements établis par les supérieurs en prévenaient les abus. L'union intérieure était maintenue par des associations religieuses établies parmi les élèves; là se contractèrent des amitiés qui eurent pour résultat de consolider l'unité de la grande société chrétienne, dont l'esprit vivifiait l'Europe; là devaient se rencontrer Thomas d'Aquin et Bonaventure, dont les génies renouvelleront le sublime embrassement des deux saints patriarches Dominique et François." (Bareille, *Cap. XII.*, *p.* 114.)

CHAPTER XV.

INSTRUMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE.

BEFORE proceeding to show the work that S. Thomas did, it will be well to give a short account of the instruments that he had to do it with.

The one absorbing science of the middle ages was theology.* The whole form of learning pointed to the study of religion as the great terminus of the human mind, and the one right road from earth to heaven. The liberal arts were but a careful and laborious preparation for philosophy or logic; logic, in turn, was only valuable inasmuch as it was an instrument for the ordering, defending, and proving the great truths of revelation. The great object of life was to know God. James de Vitry beautifully says, "*Omnis scientia debet referri ad cognitionem Christi*"—all science

* The Church, from the beginning of the revival of letters, set her face against Regulars learning secular law or physics, which in reality kept them pretty close to ecclesiastical pursuits. Open Hefele, and see the decrees of the Tenth Gen. Synod, 1130; Synod of Clermont, 1130; and the Synod of Montpellier, 1162; which threatened those Regulars with anathema who took to studying law or physics. Both the Synod of Tours, 1163, and Montpellier, 1195, forbade regulars to leave the monastery to learn either of these branches.

should be referred to the knowledge of Christ. Again, more clearly still : "*Debet scolaris ire per viam ad puteum (ut Isaac), id est per scientias adminiculantes ad theologiam.*" The scholar should go along the road to the well (like Isaac), that is, through the assisting sciences to theology. "Logic is good," he says, "which teaches us how to separate truth from falsehood ; grammar is good, which teaches us to write and speak correctly ; rhetoric is good, which teaches us to speak with elegance, and to persuade ; geometry is good, which teaches us to measure the earth on which we dwell ; so is arithmetic, or the art of reckoning, by means of which we can convince ourselves of the small number of our days ; and music, which teaches us harmonies, and makes us think of the sweet song of the 'Blessed;' and, finally, astronomy, which makes us consider the heavenly bodies, and the virtue of the stars, darting forth splendour before God. But much better is theology, which alone can truly be called a *liberal* art, because it frees the human soul from its miseries." * Arnoul d'Humblières, Bishop of Paris, thus speaks in his *Summa* :—"Is it permissible to associate philosophy and pagan letters with the study of Divine sciences ? Yes, when this accessory erudition is only employed for the better interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, for the fuller understanding of prophecy, for comprehending,

* Again : "Filios nostros liberalibus artibus erudimus, non quia virtutem dare possunt, sed quia animum ad virtutem recipiendam præparant." (De La Marche, *p.* 423.)

and strengthening faith, and as a help towards creating detestation for false doctrines, and towards more solidly refuting them. But if, on the contrary, one takes pleasure in the fables of the poets —in the worldly ornamentation of their style, such philosophy becomes an impious and corrupting science." *

It may be laid down, roughly, that the Holy Scriptures, the Lombard, and Aristotle, were the three great bases on which the active intellect of the thirteenth century rested, in its development and analysis of truth. The subject-matter of its efforts was revelation —and philosophy also, but only in so far as it had a bearing on religious truth ; and the form became more and more perfectly Aristotelian, as the learned gained a more perfect acquaintance with the whole mind of the Stagyrite, and with the immense usefulness of his system, for ordering, and systematizing, the multitudinous teachings of the Church. † Not, of course, that the

* *Hist. Litt., XX.*, 14.

† "The schoolmen of the twelfth century had only the Organon of Aristotle in Boethius' Latin translation, and their philosophical treatment of dogmatic theology was purely logical. On the other hand, all the works of Aristotle were translated into Arabic. The study of his philosophy flourished especially after the time of Avicenna (Ibn Sina, 1036), as well in the Moorish schools in Spain, as in general under the Arabian sway. It received a fresh impulse in the beginning of the thirteenth century, from the new translation and commentary, with which Averroës (Ibn Roschd, about 1217) illustrated the works of Aristotle. Ever since the middle of the twelfth century, pilgrimages to those seats of learning, from Western Christendom, grew continually more common. It was natural that, here also, the attention and desires of men should turn to the remaining portion of Aristotelic philosophy. Soon they began to translate into Latin the works of the Arabian Aristotelians ; these they considered to be faithful representations of the Aristotelic philosophy, although in parts, for instance, the writings of Algazel (1127), they were strongly infused with Neoplatonic ideas. The high estimation in which Aristotle was already held as a logician, won for this natural philosophy, supposed to be Aristotelian, an easy entrance into Western Christendom." (Hull's Gieseler, *Chap. IV.*, § 74, *p.* 295—296.)

Doctors of the Church of the middle ages, became enslaved to the Stagyrite; they had a brighter and stronger light than his, shining over their heads, and, by its guidance, were able to do what neither Jew nor Arab had yet succeeded in, viz., to handle so sharp and dangerous an instrument, without cutting the fair form of religion with it, and to turn it with edge and point in the right direction. It will not, therefore, be altogether out of place to give a short account of the opportunities the student had of learning both the sense of Holy Scripture; the theology of the Church; and the method of dealing with revelation, through the influence of the Stagyrite. To begin with exegesis.

The Church of God is principally founded in Holy Scripture.* Hence, it follows that, at all times, theologians have given themselves with earnestness to the study of the Word of God. Now, there are several sources to which the student might apply whilst prosecuting such a study. He would first procure the Commentaries of the Fathers—though they were difficult to obtain, except piece-meal—and then he might consult Venerable Bede, Alcuin's Revision, Rabanus

* "Vor Allem musste gründliche Kenntniss der heiligen Schrift erworben werden. Daher wurden die Bücher derselben der Reihe nach von den Professoren erklärt in der bekannten allegorischen Weise, die zur Erbauung des Volkes so geeignet ist, indem sie fast allen Fakten und Worten der Schrift einen auffallenden tiefern, geistigen Sinn abzugewinnen weiss. So lange die Studierenden diese Vorträge hörten, hiessen sie *biblici*, die Bibelstudenten, und waren ausschliesslich auf dieses Feld angewiesen. Denn alle Vielheit und alles Vielerlei zu gleicher Zeit war dem Studiengang des Mittelalters fremd. Man studierte einige Jahre die heilige Schrift und nur die heilige Schrift und zwar mit ungetheiltem Eifer und glänzendem Erfolge." (Sighart's *Albertus Magnus, Kap. IV., p.* 24.)

Maurus, and Remigius of Auxerre. The student, as a matter of course, would carefully peruse the "*Glossa Ordinaria*," of Strabo,* and, if he lived at a somewhat later period, would manage to procure the "*Glossa Interlinearis*," of Anselm of Laon. If he were anxious to study the more literal meaning of the Sacred page, he could borrow Hugo of Amiens' work on the Hexameron, and choose between the Gospel harmonies of Zachary of Besançon, and Odo of Cambrai. For mysticism, he would be at no loss ; there would be, at once, S. Bernard the mellifluous, and the beautiful writings of the monastic theologians of S. Victor's.† But, if he were of a more strictly scientific turn, he would be recommended to study carefully, as the best treatment of the original Bible Text, the writings of Remigius of Auxerre, and Rupert of Deutz ; or, better still, perhaps—if he could procure a copy, would be the criticism of Abbot Stephen of Citeaux on the Text, who had not only taken the trouble to compare the generally received version of the Vulgate with more accurate readings ; but had also collated it with the original Hebrew and Chaldaic, which he had somehow succeeded in

* This is principally, however, an abridgment of Rabanus' *Catena*.

† Hugh of S. Victor's, Hugh of Ostia (1158), and Hugh of S. Caro (1263), wrote papers on S. Luke, which had a very wide circulation ; something like the popularity of the commentaries upon Job of S. Thomas, Peter of Blois, and Peter of Chartres. Two of the books most spread in the middle ages were the *Liber de Doctrina Cordis* of Gerard of Liège, a Dominican (1270), and Peter Comestor's work, *Scholastica Historia super Novum Testamentum*, of which, in the library of S. Victor's alone, twenty-two MSS. were preserved. He was Professor of Philosophy, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and died, 1198. Nicholas of Lyre wrote a gloss on the whole Bible. S. Raymund wrote a Sum of Penance and Matrimony, and a Sum of Cases of Conscience, which had little popularity.

getting from the Jews. And, in point of fact, the student could not do better, if he were anxious to know something of the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament, than consult such men as Ben Esra, David Kimchi, and Moses Maimonides.* Justin's Dialogue with Tryphosshows, clearly enough, how much there is in common on this point between the Christians and the Jews. Then, finally, he might dip into the "*Clavis*" of Melito, which inaugurated a special tradition of exegesis, and can clearly be traced from the fifteenth century upwards, through the late and earlier scholastics to the days, inclusively, of the great Fathers of the Church. This, together with the ponderous work written by Hugh of S. Caro, assisted by five hundred friars, the "*Correctorium Bibliæ Sorbonnicum*," with its concordance, would go a good way

* "Die jüdischen Ausleger des A. T. gewährten den christlichen Theologen nicht bloss in sprachlicher, sondern auch in sachlicher Hinsicht mancherlei Ausbeute als Bewahrer von Traditionen über den tieferen, schon vor Christus in den jüdischen Schulen recipirten Schriftsinn. Eine solche, Juden und Christen gemeinsame Anerkennung eines traditionellen Schriftsinnes leuchtet schon aus Justin's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* hervor; Justin setzt augenscheinlich voraus, dass die Benennungen: *rex, sacerdos, dominus, angelus, dux exercitus, sapientia, filius, deus, verbum, dies, oriens, gladius, lapis, virga* u. s. w. von den jüdischen Rabbinen anerkannte *cognomina* des Messias seien. Auffallend ist die Uebereinstimmung vieler Erklärungen, welche Maimonides in seinem More Nebuchim gibt, mit den Auslegungen eines Alanus von Ryssel, eines Petrus Cantor und Peter von Capua. Vgl. *Pitra, Spicileg. Solesmense, tom. III, pag. LXXXVI.* In der nächstfolgenden Anmerkung wird gesagt werden, woher die genannten Männer ihre Auslegungen schöpften; woraus sich der von Pitra a. a. O., *pag. XI,* gezogene Schluss nahe legen wird: *aut in Maimonidis manus devenisse quædam nostrorum commentariorum collectanea, aut ad ejus usque aetatem in scholis hebraicis* κανονισματα *allegoricae interpretationis a nostris non absimilia viguisse.* Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass Maimonides für seine biblischen Erklärungen sich weder auf Philo, noch auf Plato oder sonst irgend eine philosophische Auctorität beruft, sondern einzig auf die traditionelle jüdische Auslegung, auf den Talmud und die angesehensten Rabbinen, Onkelos, Jonathan, Eliezer, Akiba, Jochanan, Chanina, Tarphon, Aben-Adi, Aben-Bachar, Aben-Zaig, Aben-Aflach, Abubachar u. s. w." (Werner, *Vol. I., p.* 35.)

towards giving the student a fair knowledge of that science which was called by Rabanus Maurus, the four daughters of wisdom, and by Hildebert of Mans, the four feet of the Table of the Lord.*

There is extant a very interesting little volume, written at this period, by an unknown hand, and dedicated to a monk called Hugh.† The author, in the first place, gives a complete list of the Canonical and Apocryphal books of Scripture. Scripture, he says, must be read in a three-fold manner—*secundum historiam, allegoriam, et moralem instructionem, seu magis dicendum, tropologiam.* Then the whole Bible must be gone through three or four times in its historical sense, and those portions of it be marked, which are not capable of

* Hugh "fuit primus postillator totius Bibliæ, et eam tam excellenter postillavit, quod hucusque parem non habuit." (Martène, *Vet. Scrip.: T. VI., p.* 355.) Nicholas of Lyre, who, however, was nearly a century later, as his epitaph says, where he lies at Paris, amongst the Franciscans, "Postillavit Bibliam ad litteram a principio usque ad finem."

† Here are a few of the names of books, in a catalogue made of Notre Dame Library, in 1297:—*Scripture and Commentaries.*—Biblia sine glosa, completa; Biblia postillata, in duobus voluminibus; Genesis et Exodus, glosati, in uno volumine; Exodus, glosatus; Liber Ysaie, cum parvis glosis; Epistole Pauli, cum minori glosa. *Commentators.*—Ysidorus, super Vetus Testamentum; Liber Augustini super Geneses, ad litteram; Postille Hugonis super Lucam; Augustinus, de Oratione Dominica; Ricardus, super Apochalipsim sex libri. *Liturgy.*—Pastoralis Gregorij; Gregorij Pastoralis. *Theologians.*—Augustinus, de Doctrina christiana, cum viginti tribus libris originalibus ejusdem; Ricardus de Trinitate; Quidam libri Boecij, scilicet de Trinitate, et Unitate et Uno; Hugo de Sacramentis, Summa Raymundi, cum glosis; Liber Jeronimi contra Jovinianum, &c. *Sermons.*—Omelie Gregorij super Prophetas et Evangelia; Sermo Johannis Crisostomi; Sermones Petri Abalardi que incipiunt; 'Ascendat puteus;' Sermones. *Philosophy.*—Flores philosophorum, excerpti de libro Macrobij Saturnaliorum; Liber Anselmi de Veritate, cum quindecim aliis libris ejusdem; Ysidorus, de Differentijs, de Spiritu et Anima; Tractatus Hugonis de Fructibus corporis et anime, cum quibusdam alijs Hugonis et Richardi; Seneca, de Institutione morum; Boecius, de Disciplina scolarium; Originale Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi, in quodam libro cooperto corio vitulino, jam quasi depilato, cum clavis rotundis de cupro; Liber Scintillarum Bede; Liber Avicebron Fontis Vite, cum quibusdam alijs; Ricardus, de Potestate judiciaria. *History.*—Flores et Dictis sanctorum; Gregorij dialogus; Historie scolastice. (See Franklin, *p.* 13—18.)

literal interpretation. What would be false, unbecoming, unmeaning, and opposed to true morality, if interpreted literally, must be mystically understood. At first, the student ought to confine himself to the Books of Moses, and the Historical Books of the Old Testament, and study them with Josephus or Hegesippus open before him. If he cannot make out a word, let him look at Isidore's work on Etymologies, Jerome's Explanation of Hebrew names, the "*Liber Derivationum*", or the "*Partionarius vel Glossarius.*" The principal facts should be committed to memory; for instance, the details of the Creation, the history of the building of the Ark, the names and number of the Patriarchs, the plagues of Egypt, and such like. Next, S. Augustine's work, "*De Quæstionibus*," can be read with great profit.* After this, the student may begin to read the prophetical books of the Old Testament; paying attention to the fulfilled, and to the unfulfilled, prophecy. Then, the rest of the Bible may be read. S. Jerome's work on the localities of Palestine, is to accompany the reading of the Gospels. When the Bible has been mastered, the student is to study the Sacraments of the

* As to literary teaching in the thirteenth century, it was certainly very fragmentary:—"Il n'y eut en cela rien de systématique . . . La jeunesse des universités mal pourvue de livres, d'ailleurs, il faut le dire, assez peu disciplinée, traversait sans profit les classes de grammaire. Elle y séjournait le moins possible, entraînée qu'elle était par la vogue toujours croissante d'Aristote; et si, dès l'entrée de la carrière classique elle rencontrait, comme autrefois, Virgile, Horace et Cicéron, le retentissement des disputes de l'école venait bientôt la distraire de ces premiers travaux. La lutte et la victoire dans les champs de la dialectique, c'était, pour les étudiants d'alors, ce que fut' il y a cinquante ans, pour les élèves de nos lycées, la gloire militaire de l'empire." (*Des Études Classiques*, par Ch. Daniel, *Chap. VI., p.* 138.)

Church. These he will find fully treated by Hugh of S. Victor's. Then, he is to study the principal virtues, and the opposing vices. If he wants a history of the Church, there is the "*Candela Gerlandi;*" or, if he likes, the "*Quare,*" of Simon the Theologian. Next to this, the works of S. Augustine, the "*Doctrina Christiana,*" and the "*De Civitate Dei*" are to be mastered. After this preparation, the student is in a position to take up any book of Holy Scripture, and study profitably its allegorical, and moral meaning.*

With respect to theological authorities, the great basis of all teaching and learning, at this period, was the "Book of the Sentences."† To master this work, the student would have to apply himself to the Scriptures, and the Fathers. It was especially necessary for him to know something of the latter, since the greater part of the Sentences were composed of extracts from their writings—so that

* "Aus den Deutungen des verborgenen Schriftsinnes entwickelte sich die christliche Mystik, die objectiv im Geiste der Bibel, subjectiv im religiösen Sinne und Bedürfnisse des Menschen gründend, sich in eben so vielen Formen darstellte, als man Arten des tieferen Schriftsinnes unterschied. Der tropologischen Schriftauslegung entsprach die praktische Mystik, der allegorischen und anagogischen Schriftdeutung die theoretische und beschauliche Mystik, die im Anlehnen an bestimmte religiöse Vernunftanschauungen zur speculativen Mystik sich gestaltete. In ihrer reinsten Unmittelbarkeit trat diese in den Schriften des heiligen Bernhard hervor; einen mehr vermittelten Charakter nahm sie bereits in Hugo von St. Victor an; am Meisten durch psychologische Reflexion ausgebildet erscheint sie in Richard von St. Victor." (Werner, *Vol. I., p.* 40.)

† Sighart says of the Sentences:—"Es war das System der kirchlichen Lehre, wie es von jenem grossen Lehrer zu Paris war in ein Werk zusammengefasst worden, mit den Erklärungen und Erweiterungen der folgenden Meister, welche den Stoff noch mehr zerlegten, für die einzelnen Dogmen neue Beweise suchten und alle auftauchenden Zweifel lösten. Der Professor brachte das Lehrbuch des Lombarden mit auf den Katheder; die Erklärungen und Erörterungen musste er aber ohne Hilfsmittel frei vortragen. Während dieser Beschäftigung, die wieder mehrere Jahre in Anspruch nahm, hiessen die Theologen *sententiari*, Studenten der Sentenzen." (*Kap. IV., p.* 74.)

some knowledge of them became an integral portion of the education of an ecclesiastic. He could study them in two ways: either by procuring copies of their writings—a difficult thing for the generality of students; or by reading the works of Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorus, and Venerable Bede. The translation of the writings of the Greek Fathers into Latin was promoted through the commerce of the East and West, brought about by the Crusades; through the high influence of the Popes, who were always patrons of ecclesiastical learning; and through the enterprising energy of religious Orders. Yet some knowledge of the Greek Fathers seems, at a very early period, to have been possessed by Western scholars. Rufinus did most valuable service. Through his industry, Western Christendom obtained a more accurate and extended knowledge of the works of Origen, S. Gregory Nazianzen, and S. Basil; as also of the History of Eusebius, the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, and Flavius Josephus.* Then, Denis the Less trans-

* The Rules laid down to be observed, for instance, at S. Victor's, to secure the safe custody of books, are well worthy of attention:—"Armarius omnes libros ecclesiæ (id est domus vel abbatiæ, si mavis aut familiæ) in custodia sua habet, quos omnes nominibus propriis sigillatim annotatos habere debet, et per singulos annos, ad minus bis aut ter, eos exponere et recensere, et ne in eis aliquid vel tinea vel alia qualibet corruptela infectum vel exesum sit diligenter considerare. Ipsa autem armaria intrinsecus ligno vestita esse debent, ne humor parietum membranas rubigineque aliqua sive humectatione aliqua inficiat; in quo etiam diversi ordines seorsum ac seorsum distincti et convenienter coaptati esse debent, in quibus libri separatim ita collocari possint et distingui ab invicem, ne vel nimia compressio ipsis libris noceat, vel confusio aliquid specialiter in eis quærenti moram afferat, vel impedimentum. Debet etiam Armarius inter hos libros qui ad quotidianum officium ecclesiæ necessarii sunt, etiam de aliis aliquot, quos ad instructionem, vel ad edificationem fratrum magis commodos et necessarios esse perspexerit, in commune proponere; quales sunt Bibliæ sacræ et majores Expositores et Passionarii, et Vitæ Patrum et Homiliarii." (Vid. *Antiq. reg. abb. S. Victoris*, by John of Toulouse, *Tom. II., p.* 180.)

lated some of the works of S. Gregory of Nyssa, of S. Cyril, and of Proclus. Cassiodorus compiled his "*Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*" from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; and translated several of the works of Josephus, Hippocrates, and Galen. Later on, Scotus Erigena did the works of Denis the Areopagite into Latin. Then, the Orders of S. Dominic, and S. Francis, had amongst them many linguists of extraordinary ability; and they took every advantage of their missionary opportunities in the East, for acquiring a more intimate knowledge of Oriental tongues. Robert of Lincoln translated the "*Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum;*" and, according to his friend Roger Bacon —who laments that more work, and more satisfactory work, had not been done in this way—he also translated many of the other Greek Fathers. The Popes caused the Acts of the Greek Councils to be rendered into Latin. And, lastly, Burgundio of Pisa, at the request of Pope Eugenius III., translated many of the Greek Fathers, and amongst the rest, the celebrated work of S. John Damascene, "*De Fide Orthodoxa.*" *

* Montalembert, speaking of the great men of the thirteenth century, mentions: "Saint Raymond de Penafort, que Grégoire IX. choisit pour coordonner la législation de l'Eglise, auteur des *Décrétales* et successeur de Saint Dominique; enfin ce Théobald Visconti, qui devait présider aux destinées de l'Eglise, sous le nom de Grégoire X., sur la terre, avant d'avoir droit éternellement à ses prières, comme bienheureux dans le ciel. A côté de ces hommes dont l'Eglise a consacré la sainteté, une foule d'autres lui apportaient le tribut de leurs talents et de leurs études: Albert le Grand, ce colosse de savoir, propagateur d'Aristote et maître de Saint Thomas; Vincent de Beauvais, auteur de la grande Encyclopédie du moyen âge; le cardinal Hugues de Saint-Cher, qui fit la première concordance des Ecritures; le cardinal Henri de Suze, auteur de la *Somme dorée.*" (*Histoire de S. Elisabeth, Introduction, p.* 72.)

Besides the writings of theologians, and the labours of compilers, there was a rich vein of tradition—of theological teaching, running through the Paris schools. What Bologna was, for law; what Salerno was, for medicine; that Paris was, for the study of divinity.*

With regard to the form of teaching in the schools, or the study of dialectics, scholars, up to the first half of the twelfth century, had only such traditions of the later Roman civilization, as could be gathered from the writings of S. Augustine, from the Pseudo-Augustine treatise on the "Categories," and the sketches of Aristotle's Logic by Cassiodorus, Capella, and Boethius. The student might have picked up some fragmentary knowledge from the writings of Cicero, Lucretius, and Apulejus. Some affirm that extracts from the physical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle were in use as early as the days of Venerable Bede; nay, even as far back as the time of Cassiodorus and Boethius. But it has been shewn by Prantl, that

* Take as an example the Convent of S. James's. Bareille says of it:—"Cette maison n'avait cessé depuis d'être une école de science et de sainteté; elle faisait toujours des conquêtes parmi ces innombrables étudiants qui, de tous les points de l'Europe, apportaient à Paris l'ardeur commune de leur jeunesse et le génie divers de leurs nations. On en avait vu sortir, dès la première époque, de savants écrivains, de zélés prédicateurs, des professeurs distingués, des princes de l'Eglise. Les chaires érigées au sein de cette maison attiraient un concours soutenu, grâce au mérite constant de ceux qui les avaient occupées: il suffit de nommer parmi ces professeurs deux des plus profonds encyclopédistes de ce grand siècle, Alain de Lille et Vincent de Bauvais. Rolland de Crémone et Hugues de Saint-Cher, dont le nom se mêlera si souvent à celui de Thomas d'Aquin, descendaient à peine de ces chaires; Jean de Paris, Etienne d'Auxerre, et plusieurs autres habiles théologiens, les occupaient encore, lorsque frère Albert de Bollstat vint ajouter le prestige de sa réputation à celle dont jouissait déjà le collége de Saint-Jacques." (*Chap. XII. p.* 117.)

such could hardly have been the case. This is certain, that the student, at the time of Henry of Auxerre, who had been educated by Haymo at Fulda, would have had access to the "Categories" of the Stagyrite.* He would be able to use those strange compendia, thrown together from every source imaginable; and those crabbed commentaries, which were more difficult to understand than the original matter they pretended to elucidate. By degrees, works of Aristotle, which had been translated, but had never been used, were brought into the schools; a more perfect and clear knowledge of the method of the Stagyrite was acquired by the student, when, in the thirteenth century, a pretty full analysis of his principal works had been made by the scholastics. Something of this kind is to be found in John of Salisbury's "Metalogue;" which, though it omits none of the logical writings of Aristotle, leaves out all the rest. Still, there are many more names besides his which might be mentioned, for instance: the labours of Antoli, of John of Basingstoke, and of Henry of Brabant; the Byzantine Logic of Psellus; the Latin labours of Shyreswood, and of Lambert of Auxerre; and the

* Hugh of S. Victor's puts logic as one of the four sciences:—"Quatuor tantum diximus esse scientias, quæ reliquas omnes continent, id est theoricam, quæ in speculatione veritatis laborat; practicam, quæ morum disciplinam considerat; mechanicam, quæ hujus vitæ actiones dispensat; logicam quoque, quæ recte loquendi et acute disputandi scientiam præstat. Hic itaque non absurde ille quaternarius animæ intelligi potest, quem ob reverentiam sui antiqui in jusjurandum asciverant. Unde et illud dictum est:—

Per, qui nostræ animæ numerum dedit illi quaternum." (*Erud. Didasc., Lib. I., Cap. XIII., p.* 750—751.)

"*Summulæ*" and "Translation" of Peter of Spain. Then another constellation of writers, compilers, and translators, such as Alexander of Hales, the Gloucestershire man; William of Auvergne, and Vincent of Beauvais, with his Universals, might be named; whilst the developments of the "Categories" by Gilbert de la Porrée, and the efforts of Robert Capito of Lincoln, carry the science on to the time of Albert, Thomas, and Bonaventure. *

Of course, it stands to reason that, so long as the scholars of the West were confined within the narrow compass of the "Dialectics" of Aristotle, they were able to do little else than regulate the practices of dispute. It was a barren and contentious gift at best. Still, such as it was, men hailed it with delight. Rabanus Maurus was about the first to comment on the "Introduction" of Porphyry, and on portions of the "Organon." In the year 935, whilst Reinard of S. Burchard, in Wurtemburg, commented on Aristotle's "Categories," Poppo was elucidating, at Fulda, the "Commentary" of Boethius. Notker Labeo, who died in 1022, translated into German the "Commentary" of Boethius, and the "Categories" and "Interpretation" of the Stagyrite. Abbo of Fleury (1004) wrote a clever and original work on the "Conclusions," and Adalberon, Bishop of Laon (1030), disciple of

* It was commonly said, in the thirteenth century, that if a man possessed the three following books, he was in possession of the whole science of scholastic theology, viz.: the *Scholastica Historia Super Novum Testamentum* (a paraphrase of the Bible from Genesis, exclusively, to the Acts of the Apostles); the *Sentences of the Lombard*; and the *Decretum of Gratian*, composed about 1151.

Gerbert, wrote a dissertation "*De Modo recte Argumentandi et Prædicandi Dialecticam.*" *

But the time at length came, when men got tired of chopping logic. From time to time, circumstances occurred which called for the application of the forms of logic, to the methods of metaphysics. The celebrated question put by Otto III. to Gerbert, occasioned that subtle work, so far in advance of its period, "*De Rationali et Ratione Uti*," which goes into the relations of possibility to reality, and of substance to accidents, upon the right meaning of which, the solution of the royal difficulty depended. † Then comes

* Walter Burley, a Professor at Paris, wrote an exposition on the ten books of Ethics, of the Stagyrite. It will not be uninteresting to give a specimen of the Rules generally enforced, before printing came into use, for facilitating the work of transcribing aud translating. These were the rules at S. Victor's :—"Omnes scripturæ, quæ in ecclesia, sive intus, sive foris, fiunt, ad ejus [Armarii] officium pertinent, ut ipse scriptoribus pergamena et cætera quæ ad scribendum necessaria sunt, provideat, et eos, qui pro pretio scribunt, ipse conducat. Quicumque de fratribus intra claustrum scriptores sunt, et quibus officium scribendi, ab Abbate injunctum est, omnibus his Armarius providere debet, quid scribant et quæ ad scribendum. necessaria sunt præbere ; nec quisquam eorum aliud scribere quam ille præceperit, vel in ipsa scriptura præter ejus voluntatem et dispositionem quisquam agere præsumat. Loca etiam determinata ad ejusmodi opus seorsum a conventu, tam intra claustrum, præparanda sunt, ubi sine perturbatione et strepitu scriptores operi suo quietius intendere possint. Et hæc quidem omnia, quamdiu typographia latuit, exacte satis sunt observata : unde etiam nonnulli codices manu variorum fratrum nostrorum exscripti leguntur." "Ce règlement" says Franklin (*p.* 151), "se trouve dans un grand nombre de manuscrits, dont trois sont conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale et classés dans le fonds de Saint-Victor."

† "Betrachtete man das Studium der Dialektik vorerst als reine Denkübung, so tauchte allgemach auch die Frage nach dem inneren Zusammenhange der Dialektik mit der Metaphysik, und nach ihrer Bedeutung für die Behandlung theologischer Fragen auf. Gerbert, der Freund des Kaisers Otto III., löste ein von diesem gelegentlich aufgeworfenes logisches Bedenken dadurch dass er die Frage auf das metaphysische Gebiet hinüberlenkte. Der Kaiser wollte wissen, wie es sich dialektisch rechtfertigen lasse, dass Porphyrius sage, das unterscheidende Merkmal eines Subjectes, z. B. das Merkmal *rationale,* könne auch wieder ein anderes, und zwar verwandtes, näher und enger bestimmendes Merkmal, z. B. *ratione uti,* erhalten, da doch der Prädicatsbegriff der weitere und umfassendere sein soll. Diess veranlasste Gerbert zur Abfassung der

another step, and not a small one, from the work of Gerbert, to that of S. Anselm. His dialogue "*De Grammatico,*" in which he treats of the categories of substance, quality, &c., is written with great ability, and with so firm a grasp of those difficult and abstract subjects, as manifests what an advance had been made upon the speculations of his predecessors. The scientific results of the contest of Berengarius with Lanfranc, have already been hinted at, and thus, as the knowledge of philosophy, through the streams flowing into Europe, from Constantinople, and from Arabia, became more extended, and less fragmentary ; and as men, by degrees, were able to gaze on the full orb of truth, as expressed in the splendid mind of the Greek philosopher, and to see that the whole *scibile* of human cognition could be reduced, from a comparative chaos, into system ; they doggedly and laboriously set about piling together, under headings and divisions, the whole mass of information that was extant at their day. This, Hugh of S. Victor's attempted —this was the work that immortalized the name of Vincent of Beauvais. Men had studied reasoning, and the laws of order

Schrift : *De rationali et ratione uti,* in welcher er zur Lösung der beregten Schwierigkeit auf das Verhältniss von Möglichkeit, und Wirklichkeit, Substanz und Accidenz eingeht, um zu zeigen, dass *ratione uti* als *actus* mehr umfasse als der Begriff *rationale* und als Accidenz ein Prädicat des Subjectes *rationale* sein könne ; ferner weist er darauf hin, dass es neben den allgemeinen Urtheilen auch besondere gebe in welchen das Prädicat nur in Beziehung auf das particulär genommene Subject der anfänglichere Begriff zu sein braucht ; endlich ist überhaupt das Prädicat nicht allzeit grösser, als das Subject, indem in den Definitionen der Umfang von Subject und Prädicat sich geradezu deckt." (Werner, *Vol. I., p.* 48—49.)

and arrangement, and they naturally brought their knowledge to account. But, systematizing is not science. An encyclopædia, however much matter may be thrown into it, and however cleverly it may be put together, is not the highest result of the efforts of the human mind. In a corpse, the anatomy remains as marvellous in the economy and wisdom of its order and arrangement, as in a living body; but a corpse répresents the silent power of death. Anatomy must be animated by a living spirit, and then the relations of its parts will manifest their power, and be able to act upon the world. This, men gradually began to see.* The masses of knowledge must receive the animation of an intellectual life. The *spiraculum vitæ* must be breathed into the ready clay—S. Thomas must turn the Encyclopædia of Albert into the power of an intellectual life. The one, long ago, has been dead, strangled in the mightiness of its own birth—a

* It is a curious coincidence, to say the least, that the master-pieces of mediæval science should be produced at the very time that the great architectural master-pieces were conceived, and, at least, partially realized. The delight that mediæval theologians take in comparing their works to churches and cathedrals points to something more than an accidental relationship. Montalembert says:—"Cologne, forme, avec Strasbourg et Fribourg, la magnifique trilogie gothique des bords du Rhin. En France, Chartres, dédiée en 1260, après un siècle et demi de persévérance; Reims (1232), la cathédrale de la monarchie, Amiens (1228), Beauvais (1250), la Sainte-Chapelle et Saint-Denis; la façade de Notre-Dame (1223); en Belgique, Sainte-Gudule de Bruxelles (1226); et l'église des Dunes, bâtie par quatre cents moines en cinquante ans (1214—62); en Angleterre, Salisbury, la plus belle de toutes (1220), une moitié de York (1227-60); le chœur d'Ely (1235); la nef de Durham (1212), et l'abbaye nationale de Westminster (1247); en Espagne, Burgos et Tolède, fondées par Saint Ferdinand (1228); et presque toutes ces œuvres colossales, entreprises et menées à fin par une seule ville ou un seul chapitre, tandis que les plus puissants royaumes d'aujourd'hui seraient hors d'état avec toute leur fiscalité d'en achever une seule." *(Hist. de S. Eliz., Introd., p.* 95—96.)

monster accumulation of all human knowledge of that day, thrown into order and division, but dead. The other, a clear, scientific exposition of the truth of God, animated throughout every portion of its organism with the vitality of a scientific life; of a life that has lived, and fought, and conquered, from that day to this; a life which is so living, that it has possessed the minds of the most consummate masters of human thought, and, through the strength of its vitality, has given intellectual vigour to men, who, unexercised in its power, would have remained comparatively feeble all their lives.*

The quiet monks in the peaceful Benedictine monasteries, who introduced the study of dialectics into the schools, little knew what they were about—that those imperfect translations of Boethius were to be the beginning of a movement, which would shake the Catholic intellectual world.† It was all well enough for men busied in the love of God, and

* "Michaud says truly of Albert and S. Thomas:—"Avant d'avoir pour élève Thomas d'Aquin, Albert le Grand était un prodige de science, un homme incomparable; quand Thomas eut grandi sous son enseignement, Albert fut oublié." *(Guillaume de Champeaux, Introd., p.* 10.*)*

† Possibly, had it not been for the veneration in which S. Augustine was held by the monks, logic would not so easily have crept into the monastic schools. "The high reputation which St. Augustine obtained in the Christian Church," says Brucker, "gave his treatise on dialectics universal authority, and led those who were inclined to philosophize, implicitly to follow his method of applying the subtleties of Stoic reasoning, and the mysteries of the Platonic doctrine, to the explanation of the sacred doctrines of revelation. The dialectic art, thus introduced, was further encouraged by Latin versions of some of the writings of Aristotle, and of Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories. The study of logical subtleties was pursued under these guides in the schools of the monasteries, particularly in Ireland, whence many scholars from England and Scotland carried this kind of philosophy into their own countries; and from Britain, it afterwards passed into France, and other parts of Europe." *(Hist. of Philos.*, drawn up by Enfield, *Book VII., Cap. III., s.* 2, *p.* 361.*)*

balanced in the contemplation of the Day of Judgment, to exercise their minds upon literary remains, saved from the wreck of Greek and Roman letters. But, all the students at the monasteries were not monks; or, if they were, there were not wanting those whose ardent natures would find greater pleasure in intellectual contest, than in the quiet monotony of religious routine. Such youths, when they had learnt to use the weapons which had been put into their hands, awkward and clumsy as they might have been, were bent upon leaving the retirement of the cloister, to brandish them in the world. * Dialectics soon began to be applied to faith. The Church had grown into vast and stately proportions. Her creed had to be defended, illustrated, proved; her rights had to be maintained. Philosophy, theology, and law were to be mastered by those who were to be her champions; and dialectics were the most powerful weapons, in the hands of the dispensers of her gifts. The stream of learning from the East, tinged with its Oriental fanaticism; and the principles of Greek thought, which sharpened still more the keen edge of the mind, entered into the soul of

* "As we glance through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we perceive the philosophical character of scholasticism coming more into view. In its progress through that period, it exhibits not so much the literary form as the professorial. We find individuals eminent for their talents as lecturers, like the Sophist of old, leading after them, by the charm of their voice, troops of sequacious hearers, as they went from place to place. This was a state of effervescence. What was wanting evidently for the literary perfection of the system, was a more extensive acquaintance with the stores of ancient philosophy. Individuals were vaguely seeking rather to originate systems of their own, than working on any established method." (Hampden's *Bampton Lectures, Lect. II., p.* 73.)

European society. This, added to the mysterious influence of supernatural faith, the marvels performed by saints, and the extraordinary interference of the unseen in human affairs, worked the mind into enthusiasm. The spirit was ready to be acted on throughout its circumference, by the unimpeded influence of truth.

The Church was far too wise to allow instruments, so finely strung, to waste all their power in personal displays. She was the *Ecclesia Docens*, and she undertook their direction. She knew the task of governing minds, and felt her responsibility in guiding them in their fiery impetuosity—in their headlong speed, to the gate of truth. Ever looking into the future, with an eye that sees farther than human vision, she perceived her opportunity, and seized upon it.*

The Sees of the Bishops were centres of her influence. Endless branches radiated from them, as they themselves seemed to radiate from the Apostolic See. Or again, they form the knots in the vast net-work of the Hierarchy spread throughout the world, and maintain its whole complexity in

* What evidence is more luminous of the Church's divine guidance, than that given in every page of her history regarding her unswerving course in the midst of so many storms? Straight and direct, she has ever gone. Men may fear her, and hate her; they may, and do, think her obstinate and wrong-headed—that is, they do not follow her—but one thing they are constrained to admit, that the long-enduring battle of eighteen hundred years has been a consistent fight, in which she has always shown the same front, has always fought under the same colours; and has known—what no religious organism has ever been able to learn—how to keep men of vigorous, independent, and enthusiastic temperament upon her side, and to turn all their energy and fire to her own account. This, in so long a course of years, cannot be simply human prudence—it is Divine wisdom.

power, unity, and order. The Council of Rome, in 1078, took a broad and masterly view of the necessities of the times, and met the wants of the age. By the side of every Episcopal Cathedral, it placed a school of liberal arts.* It stands to reason, that the most important capitals would be the first to grow into a larger life. Rome, being the seat of the Papacy, was ever the first seat of authority; but Paris may be said to have been the capital of intellectual Europe. Its position, its resources, its healthiness, the balminess of its air, its traditions—which ran back to Charlemagne and Alcuin, and had not been altogether extinguished—point to it as the natural centre of university activity.

* Michaud speaking of this period says:—"Les écoles palatines ont disparu, ou du moins celle de Paris, puisque nous voyons Philippe Ier envoyer son fils, Louis VI., à l'école de Saint-Denis. Mais les écoles épiscopales, les écoles claustrales, aussi bien que les écoles libres qui commencent à se fonder, sont en pleine vigueur. La philosophie emmaillottée jusque-là dans la dialectique, cherche à profiter de la force que lui ont communiquée Scot Erigène et Gerbert et à devenir une science. La théologie est en pleine germination; trop vivace pour se contenter de quelques discussions sur des points isolés, elle aspire à produire des systèmes. Une sève abondante circule dans toute ses parties: la métaphysique, la morale, la jurisprudence, la mystique, la science de l'Ecriture sainte cherchent à développer leurs principes intrinsèques, à étendre leurs racines, à solidifier leur tronc à devenir ce chêne vigoureux que le treizième siècle a appelé la *Somme de Saint Thomas d'Aquin.*" (*Guillaume de Champeaux, Chap. I., p.* 71—72.)

CHAPTER XVI.

PARIS.

THE UNIVERSITY.

PART I.

Like the solar system, according to the theory of La Place, the Universities were not organized in a day. Both were developments out of chaos and confusion, into order. Power and method had to expand into a vast system of intellectual activity; and the greatest minds of the new world were to be exercised in the highest and most splendid forms of human thought. This, of course, took time. A few teachers came as adventurers, or to assist in the Episcopal schools. Then, some took lodgings, and hired rooms. Others, having received a good education, and being active, enterprising fellows, pushed their way, in spite of poverty and obscurity; drew young men under their influence, and made a name.* Godfrey of Boulogne, the Bishop of Paris, saw which

* "Nous avons dit que le goût de l'instruction s'était réveillé vers la fin du X^e^ siècle. Des professeurs suivis d'une foule d'auditeurs de tout âge et de toute condition parcouraient les provinces, donnant des leçons sur les places publiques et même en pleine campagne. Au XII^e^ siècle, l'enseignement se concentra surtout dans Paris, qui, sous la parole éloquente d'Anselme, de Guillaume de Champeaux, et surtout d'Abélard, devint rapidment le foyer intellectuel de l'Europe. A Notre-Dame, à Saint-Victor, à Sainte-Geneviève affluaient des milliers d'étudiants, venus non-seulement des provinces de France, mais encore d'Italie, d'Angleterre et des autres Etats du Nord." (Franklin, *Eglise Cathédrale de Notre-Dame*, *p.* 3.)

way the current was running. He at once founded, towards the end of the eleventh century, a high school in the capital.* Now, the great development began in earnest.† Here, Lanfranc taught; and astonished his hearers, by the grasp of his intellect, and by the splendour of his eloquence.

There were not only deeply-learned men acting as doctors in the schools of Paris; but young men with no learning, and little experience, would undertake to collect students around them, and to teach a class. Cardinal de Vitry speaks of these conceited young professors, and warns the inexperienced against them. He says that all their learning was in their copy-books and text-books, and that by force of prayers, caresses, and even money, they strove to gather about them a crowd of curious young men, and encouraged them to waste their time in futile questions.‡

* "Die Pariser Universität hatte also einen vorherrschend theologischen Charakter; und dieser datirte sich von der Zeit her, als der Bischof von Paris, Gottfried von Boulogne, gegen Ende des eilften Jahrhunderts eine höhere Schule errichtete, welche zuerst durch Lanfrank, dann durch Wilhelm von Champeaux und Abalard einen grossen Ruf erlangte, und eine grosse Menge von Hörern aus Nah und Fern nach Paris zog." (Werner, *Vol. I., p.* 102.)

† Cf. Newman *On Universities, L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, p.* 365.

‡ John of Salisbury had full experience of the weaknesses of would-be learned men:—"Errant utique, et impudenter errant, qui philosophiam in solis verbis consistere opinantur. Errant qui virtutem verba putant, ut lucum ligna. Nam virtutis commendatio consistit ab opere, et sapientiam virtus inseparabiliter comitatur. Unde constat, quia illi qui verbis inhærent, malunt videri quam esse sapientes. Plateas circumeunt, terunt limina doctiorum, quæstiunculas movent, intricant verba, ut suum et alienum obducant sensum, paratiores ventilare quam examinare si quid difficultatis emersit. Verentur tamen prodere imperitiam suam jactatores sapientiæ, non amatores, et id quod nesciunt, pravo pudore nescire, quam quærere et discere malunt, præsertim si adsunt alii, quibus notum [arbitrentur quod ipsi nesciunt; fastum tamen] eorum ferre non poteris: de omni materia loquuntur subito, dijudicant omnes, culpant alios, se ipsos prædicant, jactant se invenisse de novo, quod tritum est ab antiquis, et testimonio librorum per ætates multas ad tempora nostra perductum." (*Polycrat., Lib. VII., Cap. XII., p.* 662.)

Some young men are mentioned, as being so dull and negligent, as to learn nothing, even under the ablest masters—continually on the move, never resting with this master or that, ever changing their books, and their course of studies; sometimes attending lectures in winter, and giving them up in summer. Some did only barely enough to secure to them their titles of scholar, or to preserve the stipend which was given to poor students. They would be seen sitting on the benches of the lecture-hall two or three times a week, perhaps; and were said to prefer to attend the lectures of the decretists, because they took place at three o'clock, and thus they were enabled to sleep all the morning. However, they made up for their idleness by their ostentation, employing men to carry enormous volumes before them, through the streets, so that people might take them for excessively learned and studious young men. Others, on returning home, in order to make their friends imagine that they had been working hard, would carry with them a large parchment book, full of blank leaves, and very elegantly bound in red.*

The turmoil and excitement of a city of students from every part of the world can be imagined. The narrow streets swarmed with clerks and

* Odofied speaks of a certain gentlemen who sent his son to Paris, giving him an annual allowance of one hundred livres:—"What does he do? Why, he has his books ornamented with gold initials and strange monsters, and has a new pair of boots every Saturday." This appears to have been a common weakness with the students of the Paris schools.

students, brandishing their weapons, and ever on the alert for the pleasures of some fresh intellectual excitement.* Then came Abelard, and William of Champeaux, with their noisy, boisterous following. Paris had by this time obtained a name for depth, and activity of theological display. What Bologna was, and Modena and Orleans became, for law; Padua, for liberal arts; Salerno for medicine; and Toledo, for mathematics — Paris now became, for theology, the *Summum Scientiæ*. She decided cases of conscience, and was consulted by Popes and Kings. The third Council of Lateran helped the movement on. Paris became the centre of an attraction, which possessed the power of drawing everything like intellectual life, however distant, into itself. Crowds of students, from every portion of Europe, filled the city, already half inhabited by Jews. It was impossible for such a multitude to exist, or to be taught on any rule, without some permanent arrangement for the schools. † This pressure

* "Qu' est-ce que ces luttes de savants, demande un chancelier, sinon de vrais combats de coqs, qui nous couvrent de ridicule aux yeux des laïques? Un coq se redresse contre un autre, et se hérisse . . . Il en est de même aujourd'hui de nos professeurs. Les coqs se battent à coups de bec et de griffes: l'amour-propre, quelqu'un l'a dit, est armé d'un ergot redoutable." (De La Marche, *p.* 417.)

† About 1127, Bishop Stephen de Senlis did his best to put things in order:—"Discreta etenim providentia tam venerabilis Stephani, Parisiensis episcopi, quam conventus Parisiensis ecclesie, evitando molestiam et inquietationem claustro inferri, statuendo concessit, ut neque scolares extranei in domibus claustri ulterius hospitarentur, neque in illa parte claustri quæ vulgo Tresantiæ nominantur deinceps legerent neque scole haberentur; sed amore et gratia domni Stephani presulis, infra ambitum claustri, quidam locus adherens Episcopali curie, per quam introitum et exitum scolares habebant, ex communi assensu episcopi et Capituli electus et coopertus est, in quo scole ecclesie deinceps tenerentur et regerentur." (*Parvum Pastorale Eccl. Paris.*; vid. Franklin, *p.* 3.)

gave rise to the University. The Episcopal Seminary, S. Victor's, S. Geneviève, and S. Germain's, which, alone, at this period, had permanent professors, formed the basis of this splendid institution.

The natural laws of demand and supply, waited on the intellectual market of the University. Men would arrive, perhaps from Salerno, and give lectures on medicine; then others would set up and descant on civil and canon law, until Paris became crammed with a diverse population of boys and men from every quarter of Europe, and even from the East—eager, excited, full of animal spirits and animal passion, half civilized, and glowing with an indescribable desire after knowledge and after fame. At length, some of these teachers put themselves in connection with the Chancellor of Notre Dame; and the University thus took a wider development. All kinds flocked to the schools.* There were starving, friendless

* The following lines, from the *Metamorph. Goliæ, p.* 28, give an idea of the temper of professors in those days:—

"Ibi Doctor cernitur ille Carnotensis,
Cujus lingua vehemens truncat velut ensis,
Et hic præsul præsulum stat Pictaviensis,
Prius et nubentium miles et Castrensis

. . . . . .

Celebrem Theologum vidimus Lombardum
Cum Yvone Helyam Petrum et Bernardum,
Quorum opobalsamum, spiratos et nardum,
Et professi plurimi sunt Abaelardum,
Reginaldus monachus clamose contendit.
Et obliquis singulos verbis comprehendit,
Hos et hos redarguit, nec in se descendit,
Qui nostrum Porphyrium laqueo suspendit
Robertus Theologus corde vivens mundo
Adest et Manerius, quem nullis secundo,
Alto loquens spiritu et ore profundo,
Quo quidem subtilior nullus est in mundo.
Hinc et Bartholomæus faciem acutus
Rhetor, dialecticus, sermone astutus,
Et Robertus Amiclas simile secutus,
Cum his, quos prætereo, populus minutus."

(See Prantl, *Vol. II., p.* 230.)

lads, with their unkempt heads, and their tattered suits, who walked the streets, hungering for bread, and famishing for knowledge, and hankering after a sight of some of those great doctors, of whom they had heard so much, when far away in the woods of Germany, or the fields of France. Some were so poor, that they could not afford to follow a course of theology. We read of one poor fellow on his death-bed, having nothing else, giving his shoes and stockings to a companion, to procure a mass for his soul. Some were only too glad to carry holy water to private houses, "*selon la coutume Gallicane*," with the hope of receiving some small remuneration. Some were destitute of necessary clothing. One tunic sometimes served for three, who took it in turns—two went to bed, whilst the third dressed himself and hurried off to school. Some spent all their scanty means in buying parchments, and wasted their strength, through half the night, poring over crabbed manuscript, or in puzzling out that jargon which contained the wisdom of the wisest of the Greeks. Whole nights, some would remain awake on their hard pallets, in those unhealthy cells, trying to work out some problem proposed by the professor in the schools.* But there were rich as well as

* "De toutes les contrées de l'Europe, les disciples affluent autour des maîtres qui ont acquis une réputation de savoir, en quelque branche que ce soit. La plupart des orateurs étrangers dont nous avons eu à parler, Etienne de Langton, Prévostin, Robert Grosse-Tête, avaient étudié dans l'Université de Paris avant d'y professer ou d'y exercer des charges. Cette expatriation, à laquelle l'amour de la science condamne les jeunes gens, leur est fort utile, si l'on en croit Jacques de Vitry: car dans leur pays, sous

poor at Paris.* There was Langton, like others, famous for his opulence, who taught, and then became Canon of Notre Dame; and Thomas à Becket, who, as a youth, came here to seek the charm of gay society.

Indeed, all eyes, even those which had been accustomed to spend the greater portion of their time in following the Psalms of David, and the remainder in resting on quiet woodland, and placid stream, and solemn mountain, and those, too, which had been practised in more active work, all turned to Paris, all gazed on that busy, eager swarm, which was ever working at, and purifying, and taking possession of, the learning of the past.† These silent thinkers, at first, were mystified, and then were sad. The dry seed which they so gently had sown in the mind of a

le toit paternel, ils vivent au milieu des délices et de mille occupations frivoles qui les empêchent de travailler, c'est pourquoi ils préfèrent, quand ils sont sages, s'en aller ailleurs. Au sein de l'Université, ils trouvent accueil et protection, ils jouissent d'une certaine indépendance et de priviléges enviés, qui cependant ne tournent pas toujours, au profit des études, car ils sont une cause de trouble et de conflits perpétuels. A chaque instant, les cours sont interrompus. De là des plaintes et des doléances comme nous en avons recueilli de la bouche de plusieurs sermonnaires." (*La Chaire Française au moyen age*, par A. Lecoy De La Marche, *Troisième partie, p.* 416.)

* Their servants "garçones" were notorious as a thieving, gambling class of extortioners, who robbed their masters at every opportunity, and they had many a one.

† The fact of Bishops, and even Popes being chosen from clever professors, rather than from monastic contemplatives, shows the turn the world was taking even in the twelfth century. "Les pontifes étaient plus rarement alors choisis parmi les religieux que parmi les professeurs distingués. La plupart des grands évêques de cette époque durent leur élévation à l'éclat de leur enseignement. Yves évêque de Chartres, Hildebert évêque du Mans et plus tard archevêque de Tours, Baudry évêque de Rennes, Albéric achevêque de Bourges, Goscelin ou Joscelin évêque de Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée évêque de Poitiers, Ulger évêque d'Angers, Gauthier de Mortagne évêque de Laon avaient été écolâtres de quelque cathédrale." (Michaud, *Introd.*, *p*, 21.)

former generation, had taken a terrific growth. Those chance words of Porphyry had set on foot a revolution in the intellectual world. Who would care to study, at Fulda, at S. Gall, at York, or at Citeaux; or to dwell amongst the hills of Germany and France, when Anselm, William, Abelard, or Hugh, were dazzling the world in intellectual Paris? Who would care to go to the tricklings on the mountain side, when large draughts could be imbibed from the great reservoir itself? Hence, in the desert, on the hill-top, and in the fruitful valley, a gradual movement might have been discerned. Solitude and peace join in the uproar of a vast city! The Trinitarians had launched into the troubled sea, and were lecturing at S. Mathurin's as early as 1209.* Then Stephen Lexington, stung by the satires of the Mendicants, brings in the ascetic children of S. Bernard,† and the Cistercian drops his pick and spade, and is on his way to Paris; the Carmelites, too, are seen clustering with their sandaled feet at the foot of S. Geneviève; and the Augustinians, at Montmartre; then, there are the Black Monks of S. Benedict, who are heavy at heart, and quietly hide themselves away near the great Abbey of S. Germain, to watch and take advantage

* The Mendicants called the monks of Clairvaux "*Homines nullius litteraturæ*," and "*Culinæ magis deditos quam scholarum exercitiis.*" The monks lived a very hard life in Paris. On meat-days, they had half a pound of boiled beef; on meagre-days, two eggs, or a couple of roast herrings.

† They were famed for the learning of their professors—for instance: Michael Lacte (1228), John Boileau, John de Borcho, and Thomas Wright, a scholar of Hales, and fellow-student with S. Bonaventure.

of the movement;* Cluny is there, and even the silent and solitary Carthusian, struck by the pulse that throbs in the heart of the outer world, throws himself into the whirl of intellectual activity.† Provincial schools cease to satisfy. Bishops forward their contingents to the growing city of science; and we read of the seminaries of Laon, Narbonne, and Bayeux, taking their place amongst the rest.‡

It will be well rapidly to touch upon the foundation of Notre Dame, S. Geneviève, and S. Catharine's; on the colleges of the Premonstratensians, the Carthusians, and the Cluniacs; on S. Martin's; and on that influential college which opposed the Regulars so violently, the famous Sorbonne.

The oldest, and most celebrated school of Paris, that of Notre Dame, owes its origin to the enlightened influence of Charlemagne. It was when he met that able Yorkshireman, Alcuin, in Italy, that he first entertained the idea of systematically bringing the light of learning into France.§ He

* What Dr. Newman says of the English universities may receive a wider application:—"Nor is it too much to say, that the colleges in the English universities may be considered, in matter of fact, to be the lineal descendants, or heirs, of the Benedictine school of Charlemagne" (*Atlantis, III., p.* 62)—for it was the Benedictine, Remigius of Auxerre, who opened the first really public school in Paris.

† "Derriere Luxembourg, les Chartreux solitaires,
Après avoir long temps prié Dieu de concert,
Assemblez á l'Eglise où leur Cœur est ouvert,
Ont leur provision de livres necessaires."
(*Michel de Marolles, p.* 47.)

‡ So the monks of Croyland sent scholars to Cambridge, Canterbury, Durham, Gloucester, &c., and had separate colleges under their names at Oxford.

§ "Charlemagne, revenant d'Italie en 781, rencontra à Parme l'esprit le plus vaste et le plus actif du VIII^e. siècle, le célèbre Alcuin, disciple de Hechbert; c'était un Anglo-Saxon, né dans la ville d'York, résidence habituelle des rois de Northumbrie, et fameuse déjà par son école et sa riche bibliothèque. Charlemagne, qui depuis longtemps songeait à

founded the Palace school, which was Peripatetic, following him wherever he went ; and he loved to join his sons and his daughters in taking lessons from its learned men. Then the Emperor ordered the Bishops under his influence to erect free schools in connection with their cathedrals. This may be said to have been the origin of the school of Notre Dame. The cloister of the metropolitan church, for some centuries, continued to be the centre of public instruction. Even when S. Geneviève became most influential in the teaching of science, the reunions of the Faculties took place at Notre Dame. As late as the eighteenth century, the Chancellor of Notre Dame had the privilege of being one of the Chancellors of the University.* What Charlemagne and Alcuin began, was continued by the successors of both. Clement of Hibernia, Claud, Aldric, Amalarius, Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, John Scotus Erigena, and Mannon, carried on the work. But it was the Benedictine Monk, Remigius of Auxerre, in the ninth century, who started the first really public school in Paris. Its reputation grew steadily under Adam the Englishman, a pro-

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restaurer les lettres en Gaule, se laissa guider dans cette voie par Alcuin, qu'il s'attacha intimement. Leur influence se fit aussitôt sentir : en même temps que s'organisaient les *écoles palatines*, classes ambulantes qui accompagnaient partout le monarque, et où lui-même ne dédaignait pas de s'asseoir avec ses fils et ses filles, des circulaires adressées aux évêques et aux abbés leur prescrivaient d'établir dans les églises et dans les monastères des écoles où chacun pût être admis." (Franklin, *p.* 1, *Cf.* Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum Scriptores, Tom. V., p.* 621. Ampère, *Hist. Litt. de la France avant le XII.e siècle, Tom. III., p.* 230.)

* The Chancellor of Notre Dame, and the *Scholasticus* of S. Geneviève, superintended the examinations of men previous to their being admitted to teach. For a brilliant picture of Paris, as it was some centuries later, see Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame, Tom. I., p.* 167—202.

fessor at a school at Petit-Pont; and under that extraordinary book-worm Peter Comestor, and under Peter the Cantor, and Michael de Corbeil—till the contests of Abelard, and William of Champeaux, drew upon it the concentrated notice of the Paris public.* The Cathedral, in Abelard's time (*Sacro-Sancta Ecclesia Civitatis Parisiorum*), was composed of two distinct churches, one, dedicated to S. Stephen; the other, to the Blessed Virgin. The present magnificent structure was begun in the year 1163, and was finished about the close of the thirteenth century. In all the old plans of Paris, that grand, sombre temple seems to overtower, and, by its majestic proportions, to overshadow, the churches that surround it. Its cloister, with its dependencies, extended to the north and east of the church on to the banks of the Seine. The present street of Cloître-Notre-Dame occupies a portion of the old foundation. In the fourteenth century, it enclosed thirty-seven houses, which were occupied by as many Canons. The school was fixed in the enclosure, in the portion called *Tresantiæ*, and the scholars, till the year 1127 (when the privilege was taken from them), had a

* "Vers le milieu du IX^e^ siècle, Remi d'Auxerre ouvrit à Paris la première école vraiment publique qui y ait existé. Au siècle suivant, les ténèbres envahissent de nouveau la France. Les monuments littéraires de l'antiquité ressuscités sous Charlemagne sont retombés dans l'oubli, la philosophie s'est éteinte avec Jean Scot, l'école palatine a disparu; les écoles établies dans quelques monastères et dans quelques églises subsistent seules encore. Celles du cloître Notre-Dame sont du nombre, car c'est vers l'an 1100 qu'on y vit arriver, comme écolier, un jeune homme de vingt ans à peine, beau, éloquent, profond, annonçant déjà une de ces intelligences faites pour charmer et dominer une époque il se nommait Pierre Abélard." (Franklin, *p.* 2.)

right to live in the houses there. There was one favour accorded to its students by Notre Dame, which was not given by other colleges till a considerably later period. Notre Dame not only possessed a valuable library, composed of books, the gifts, amongst others, of Bishop Gilbert (991), Bishop Theobald (1157), the Lombard (1160), Aubert the Cantor (1180), Dean Barbedor (1182), Eudes Sully (1208)—who had so much to say to the building of the Cathedral—and of Bishop Peter (1218), and Bartholomew (1229), and many others; but the poor students had these works put at their disposal—an immense advantage in those days before printing was invented.* The Chancellor had the general superintendence of the library. The library had *in communem usum* forty-two annotated volumes, besides the "Sentences" of the Lombard —which Peter seems to have presented himself— and the "*Quæstiones*" of Peter of Poitiers, which consisted of commented extracts from the Sacred Text, forming a pretty complete treatise on the Bible. The necrology of these large establish-

* Even with the volumes students got at that day, they were placed in a much more difficult position than we are in acquiring knowledge from books. One thing is print: such a method as the following, given as a specimen by Franklin, is quite another. For instance, in Virgil, the line :—

"Tityre, tu patulæ recubans sub tegmine fagi."

is thus given :—

"Tityre t p r s t f," and so on.

Here is a passage from Occam's Logic :—

"Sic hic e fal sm qd ad simplr a e pducibile a deo g a e et silr hic a n e g a n e pducibile a do," which means :—

Sicut hic est fallacia secundum quid ad simpliciter. A est producibile a Deo. Ergo A est. Et similiter hic. A non est. Ergo A non est producibile a Deo. *(Vol. I., p.* 129.*)*

ments, where the names of benefactors were written down to be remembered and prayed for, shows how thoughtful Bishops, and friends of learning were, in those days, of the wants of needy students.*

The Chapter of the Cathedral was composed of a dean, a cantor, three archdeacons, the sub-cantor, the chancellor, the penitentiary, and fifty-two prebendaries. †

Let us now glance at S. Geneviève. S. Gregory of Tours relates, that Clovis and Clotilde founded, at the solicitation of S. Geneviève, on Mount Leucotitius, the Basilica of S. Peter's. All three —the King, the Queen, and the Saint—were buried in the church. The establishment connected with it was soon turned into an Abbey. ‡ Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, it was several times ruined by the Normans, and the tombs of the saints

* There are continual mentions made in the "Necrology," of the gift of books for the use of poor students: for example, that of Peter de Joigny :—"Isti sunt libri quos legavit magister Petrus de Ioingniaco pauperibus scolaribus studentibus in theologia, tradendi eisdem per manum cancellarji qui eos custodiet: quos recepit prædictus magister Petrus Cancellarius a Capitulo, anno Domini milessimo cc° nonagesimo septimo mense Septembri."

† That they kept up the Choir in form, is pretty evident from the list of various Choir-books at Notre Dame, during the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. There was the Missal, Antiphonarius, Collectarium, Graduale, Passionarius (used on the Feast of Martyrs), the Lectionarius (with the Lessons), the Pastorale, (*i.e.*, Pontifical), and the Troperius, with the Sequences, Proses, &c.

‡ "La montagne Sainte-Geneviève y faisait au sud-est une ampoule énorme; et c'était une chose à voir du haut de Notre-Dame que cette foule de rues étroites et tortues (aujourd'hui *le pays latin*), ces grappes de maisons qui répandues en tout sens du sommet de cette éminence se précipitaient en désordre et presque à pic sur ses flancs jusqu'au bord de l'eau, ayant l'air, les unes de tomber, les autres de regrimper, toutes de se retenir les unes aux autres. Un flux continuel de mille points noirs qui s'entrecroisaient sur le pavé faisait tout remuer aux yeux : c'était le peuple vu ainsi de haut et de loin." (*Notre-Dame de Paris*, par Victor Hugo, *Tome I., p.* 181.)

were rifled, and their ashes scattered to the wind. The increase of students carried the University in this direction, and the Canons, being connected with France, and Denmark—into which they sent a colony—soon gained a high reputation by the eminent abilities of their scholars. As has been seen, it was in the time of William of Champeaux that its reputation was greatly raised, by the influence of Peter Abelard. In 1790, its library consisted of fifty-eight thousand volumes, and two thousand manuscripts.*

The college called *S. Catharina Vallis Scholarium* was established by four celebrated professors: Richard, Everard, William, and Manasses. These men, wishing to renounce the world, in 1201, retired into a valley surrounded by woods and fountains, in the diocese of Langres. But they soon got tired of this, and longed after Paris again. So Manasses procured some land from a man named Gibouin Baudet; and a sergeant of the guard of King Louis, in fulfilment of a vow (1214), built them a church, of which the King laid the first stone (1229), and made them an offering of forty livres.

In the year 1247, Abbot John de Roquignies, of the Premonstratensians, an Order founded at Premontré by S. Norbert in 1120, established

* Regulars had somewhat of an advantage over Seculars in getting up a good library. For instance, Seculars could not well have done what Abbot Marcherard of Cluny did in the thirteenth century, he made a rule "ut quivis novitius, in die professionis suæ etiam librum donaret bibliothecæ utilem et alicujus pretii."

a house for his young men in Paris. In 1252, he purchased a great building in the Rue Hautefeuille, close to where the Franciscans built their immense church and quadrangle. Sister Guillerma, three years later, let him have three other houses, and thus the great College of S. Norbert began its useful work. Any one entering the present *Café de la Rotonde*, at the corner of the Rue Hautefeuille and the Rue d'Ecole-de-Medecine, would find Frenchmen sipping their coffee, and reading their papers, in the very sanctuary of the church of the Premonstratensians.

The Chartreux was one of the largest establishments in Paris.* In 1257, King Louis placed five monks in the Chateau de Vauvert, which was supposed to be haunted by evil spirits, but which were effectually dispersed by the piety of the monks. Louis held these men in highest reverence, and treated them with kingly generosity. Their building and dependences, covered nearly all that space in the gardens of the Luxemburg, lying now between the Boulevard S. Michel, formed by

* The rules of the Library, revised in 1630, are both interesting and suggestive. "De Bibliothecario. I. Bibliothecarius libros sibi commissos diligenter custodiat, eos nitidos servet, et dilapsum in eos pulverem, singulis ad minus quindenis, semel excutiat; et ne aliqua humiditate, vel quavis alia re corrumpantur, studiose provideat. II. Si librum aliquem deprehendat ablatum, nec reperire queat, indicet priori, qui adlaborabit, ut, si fieri potest, recuperetur. III. Omnium librorum custodiæ suæ traditorum catalogum habeat. IV. Absque abbatis, vel, eo absente, prioris licentia, et sine memoriali competenti, nemini librum aliquem commodet. V. Cujusque facultatis libros simul componat, et singulis libris titulos extrinsecus inscribat. VI. Librorum prohibitorum indicem habeat, et si quem prohibitum deprehenderit, significet abbati, et quod abbas jusserit faciat. VII. Bibliothecam mundam servet, et bene compositam, et ob id frequentius eam expurget et verrat." (*Statuta candidi et canonici ordinis Præmonstratensis, renovato anno* 1630, *p.* 192, *De Bibliothecario.*)

the Rue d'Enfer and the Rue de l'Est, and the first of the three great new streets that have been cut across the great *allée*.* The Cruciferi—like so many others—were called to Paris, in 1258, by King Louis, and they settled on the right bank of the Seine.

Cluny founded its college here in 1269. Ivo of Vergi bought land on the left of the present Place de la Sorbonne, surrounded it by a wall, built a kitchen, refectory, dormitory, and a portion of the cloister. † S. Martin des Champs was situated in a most beautiful position, with oak-trees and windmills on an eminence to the north—on the one side, a stream, winding its way through a valley, to the Convent of the Filles-Dieu; and, on the other, fertile fields, and bright courses of water. ‡ It was first the property of the Canons Regular, till the Monks of Cluny took possession of it.

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* Franklin gives a very interesting rule of the Carthusians, drawn up about 1110, which, since the monks were not permitted to quit their cells, is the best possible index to the requirements of a "Scriptorium" in the middle ages :—"Ad scribendum vero, scriptorium, cretam, pumices duo, cornua duo scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamena novaculas sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unam, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, graphium. Quod si frater alterius artis fuerit (quod apud nos raro valde contingit, omnes enim pene quos suscipimus, si fieri potest, scribere docemus), habebit artis suæ instrumenta convenientia." See how beautifully and reverently books are spoken of :—"Adhuc etiam libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos, quibus omnem diligentiam curamque præbere jubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe, tamquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum, cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri : ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus prædicemus." *(p.* 324.)

† This establishment was shut up, and sold in 1795. The Boulevard S. Michel has done away with every vestige of it.

‡ At the Revolution, it had forty thousand volumes in the library. The refectory is the only portion that remains of the Convent. S. Germain des Prés, in 1794, possessed forty-nine thousand three hundred and eighty-seven volumes, and seven thousand six hundred and seventy-two MSS.

There were innumerable foundations, which it would be tiresome to mention—the College du Trésorier, founded by William de Saône, in 1268; the College D'Harcourt, by Ralph D'Harcourt, in 1280; the College des Cholets, by Cardinal John Cholet, in 1292; the College of Cardinal Lemoine, founded in 1302; that of Navarre, by Johanna, Countess of Champagne, in 1304; the College of Laon, by Guy of Laon, in 1313; of Narbonne, by Bernard de Farges, and the Archbishop, in 1316; the College du Plessis, by Geoffrey du Plessis Balisson, in 1323; the College de Cornouailles, in 1317, by Galeran de Grève; the Scotch College, by David, Bishop of Murray, in 1323; and the College de Presles, by Guy de Laon, and Ralph de Presles; and so on.*

But there is one institution which, though established at a later date than Notre Dame and S. Geneviève, still, perhaps, in the long run, has exerted a greater influence upon the intellectual world, than any other seat of learning in Paris. And since it seems to have been established as a check upon the predominance of the religious

* Paris and Bologna seem to have been the first universities. Montpellier was founded in 1180; in the twelfth century, Ravenna, Salerno, Pisa; in the thirteenth, Orleans, Toulouse, Arezzo, Padua, Piacenza, Ferrara, Perugia, Sienna, Treviso, Vercelli, Vicenza, Naples, Salamanca, Valencia, Coimbra; in the fourteenth, Lyons, Avignon, Cracow, Pavia, Palermo, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurth; in the fifteenth, Toledo, Alcala, Leipsig, Freiburg, Treves, Tübingen, Mainz, Louvain. At first, the Universities were mostly annexed to cathedral churches. According to Alzog *(Hist. Univ. de l'Eglise)*, the following are the dates of the foundation of the principal French Universities. Paris, 1206; Toulouse, 1228; Montpellier, 1289; Lyons, 1300; Cahors, 1332; Avignon, 1340; Angers, 1364; Aix, 1409; Caen, 1433; Bordeaux, 1441; Valence, 1452; Nantes, 1463; Bourges, 1465.

Orders, and since one of the great opponents of S. Thomas was educated there, it will be well to give a somewhat fuller sketch of its origin and development.

The Sorbonne, then, owes its origin to the great overflow of students, during the time of King Louis. Both in S. Victor's, and S. Geneviève, the students had increased three-fold, whilst the cloister of Notre Dame, like a hive of bees, could not possibly contain the multitudes that desired to take up their abode within its precincts. The Dominicans and Franciscans, of themselves, attracted hundreds of eager youth.* Geoffrey of Poitiers, William of Autun, William Lenoir, Gerard of Abbeville, Gerard of Courtray, and others, opened new establishments. Paris was still full to overflowing. The terrible dangers of city life, the continual broils, between the students, and the lodging-keepers, about their unhealthy rooms—broils which necessitated the intervention of the Pope himself, and of which more will be said afterwards—made a deep impression on that thoughtful and kind-hearted Robert of Sorbon, chaplain of King Louis. He was not a man, perhaps, of first-

* "Outre les frères Prêcheurs et les frères Mineurs dont les premières maisons à Paris sont les colléges de tout l'ordre, on y fonda pour les moines ceux des Bernardins, de Clugny et de Marmoutier. Celui de Sorbonne fut un des premiers destiné à des clercs séculiers ; et ensuite la plupart des évêques, en fondèrent pour les pauvres étudians de leur diocèse. Par-là ils s'acquittoient en quelque manière de l'obligation d'instruire et de former leur clergé, qui est un de leurs principaux devoirs, vu qu'ils ne pouvoient espérer de leur donner chez eux d'aussi bons maîtres que dans les écoles publiques." (Fleury, *Disc., sur l'Hist. Eccl., cinquième, Disc., p.* 195.)

class talents, but he certainly was unrivalled in his knowledge of the world, and as a man of business.* The idea struck him of bringing together professors and students into one establishment, and thus saving both from many difficulties and temptations. Some affirm that his object was to create a power to balance against the Regulars; others, that he wished to give poor scholars facilities for taking degrees, which they greatly required under the regulations of that period. Whatever were his reasons—and why could not all these motives, and others besides, have influenced him?—his idea, when realized, became the type upon which all future colleges were established.

Robert was born October 9th, 1201. It is generally believed that he first saw the light at Sorbon, near Rethel, in the diocese of Rheims.† He became Canon of Cambrai. He was presented at court by the King's brother. The King seems to have liked him, and though of lowly family, he was often invited to the royal table, and became confessor

* In point of fact, the Sorbonne was the first strictly theological college established at Paris:—"Jusqu'à la création de la Sorbonne (1250), aucun collége spécial n'existait à Paris pour les étudiants en Théologie. Le nombre immense d'écoliers qui suivait les cours de la capitale ne pouvait donc se loger que chez des bourgeois, et il en résulta souvent des graves désordres." (Franklin, *p.* 3.)

† He is called by different names: Robertus Sorboniensis, de Sorbona, de Seurbona, de Sorbonia, de Sorbonio, and de Sorbona. De La Marche says, speaking of the place Robert was born at:—"Ce lieu peut être aussi bien Sorbon (Ardennes) que Serbonne (Seine-et-Marne); car les manuscrits portent indifféremment *de Sorbone, de Sorbona, de Carbonia,* et Joinville appelle notre personage Robert *de Cerbon* ou *de Cerbone.*" (*p.* 89.)

to his Majesty.* He made use of his influence with Louis for advancing his favourite design. In 1250, he persuaded the King to help him with his college. Louis let him have, *ad opus scholarium qui inibi moraturi sunt*, a house and stables in the Vie de Coupegueule, *ante Palatium Thermarum.* It was called Coupegorge, on account of the frequent murders and massacres that were known often to have taken place there. The authorities of the college, later on, obtained permission to close at night the two ends of this dangerous street, and thus it came to be called Rue des Deux-Portes. (*Vicus ad Portas*, or *ad duas Portas*). But, when the establishment had made its reputation, the street's name was absorbed into that of the college, and it was called Vicus de Sorbonia, or de Sorbonio. Others, however, do not agree with this explanation, and say that the Rue Coupegueule went down from the Rue des Poirées to the Rue des Mathurins, between the Rue de Sorbonne, and Rue des Maçons.†

Here Robert tried to collect the ablest men he could induce to help him at the college. He found many of his friends at the court well dis-

* That Robert of Sorbon was a straightforward man, appears from a curious extract from one of his sermons, in which no great compliment is paid to the Queen of France:—"Uxor," he says, "debet facere quod placeat viro suo, et e converso. Ad hoc docuit quidam princeps solvere dominum regem Franciæ: ipse enim multum benignus est, et humiliter incedit et gerit se; uxor autem ejus alio modo. Iste princeps et humilitas habitus ejus uxori suæ, quæ magnis ornamentis volebat indui, displicebat." (De La Marche, *p.* 355.)

† Franklin thinks the latter explanation the better. (See *Vol. I.*, *p.* 223.)

posed. There was William of Chartres, Canon of S. Quentin, and Chaplain to the King; Robert of Douai, Canon of Senlis, and physician to Margaret of Provence, wife of King Louis. Then there were Cardinals Geoffrey de Bar, Dean of the church of Paris; and William de Brai, Archdeacon of Rheims—these men offered him money and advice. Others gave their brains: above all, William of Saint-Amour—the great enemy of S. Thomas and the Regulars—then there was Odo of Douai, the Englishman Lawrence, Gerard of Rheims, Gerald of Abbeville, Ralph of Courtray, Reginald of Soissons, Godfrey Desfontaines—a man of great learning—Henry of Gand, Peter of Limoges, Odo de Castres, Siger de Brabant, Poncard, and Arnulf de Hasnède. The college was opened in 1253.*

As may easily be conceived, such a beginning as this, would naturally grow. In less than five years, the buildings had to be enlarged. S. Louis, wanting to establish a convent of Brothers of the Holy Cross, in a house contiguous to the college, exchanged with Robert some houses in the Rue Coupegueule, for some property in the parish of S. John de Grève. Five years later, the King made another exchange. He gave Robert another house in the Rue Coupegueule, and all he had in the Rue des Maçons, for some property in the Rue de

* The Necrology says, "Fundata Domus nostra anno 1253 a Roberto de Sorbona, confessore regis."

l'Hirondelle and the Rue Saint-Jacques (1263). Robert was already a Doctor of Divinity, but, in the deed of transmission, he is called a Canon of Notre Dame of Paris—*ad opus Congregationis Pauperum Magistrorum Parisiis in Theologia Studentium.** Robert of Douai died, and left the new college 1,500 livres—a considerable sum in those days. Alexander IV. (1259) recommended it to the generosity of prelates, abbots, and the faithful, generally. Clement IV. (1268) approved of it, and regulated its relations with the Holy See, showing how keen an eye Rome kept, even in those days, upon the great fountains of science and education. Robert, naturally, was officially recognized as head. But the Pope insisted upon his successors being nominated with the approval of the Archdeacon and Chancellor of the church of Paris, of the Doctors of Theology, the Deans of the Faculties of Law and Medicine, the Rector of

* It is evident what a practical man Robert was, and how pious. He does not appear, however, to have shone much as a writer. Nevertheless, he left a few works on moral subjects :—"Nous avons dans les Bibliotheques des Peres trois Opuscules de Pieté de Robert ; le premier de la Conscience ; le second de la Confession et le troisième intitulé le Chemin du Paradis. Dans le premier il traite du Livre de la Conscience ; quel est ce Livre, où on le trouve, et qui l'enseigne ; quelle est sa division, comment on y entre et quelles sont ses parties. Il y fait une comparaison perpetuelle de l'homme qui veut se sauver, et de ce qu'on doit faire pour cela, avec les Etudians qui veulent prendre des degrez, et être licentiés par le Chancelier de l'université, et de ce qu'il font pour y parvenir . . . On peut juger par ce que nous venons de dire de ces Ouvrages, qu'ils sont fort simples, et écrits d'une maniere trop familiere, cependant la doctrine en est bonne, solide, et prouvée par des passages de l'Ecriture et des Peres, dont il auroit pû faire un meilleur Ouvrage, si suivant la mauvaise coutume de son temps, il ne se fût pas arrêté à faire des divisions, et à raporter des comparaisons indignes du sujet grave et serieux qu'il avoit à traiter." (Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bib. Chap. I., p.* 80—81.)

the University, and the Procurators of the four nations.

Robert died in the year 1274, after having been head of the college for twenty years.* About the year 1270, the Faculties were established in different places : law, was at Clos Bruneau ; arts were at Rue du Fouare ; and the Sorbonne itself remained the chief place for the faculty of theology. To be admitted to the college, a man had to be a bachelor; to defend a thesis, called the Robertine; and to obtain the majority of votes in three *scrutinia.* The members of the community comprised two classes, viz. : *Hospites*, and *Socii.* The former had all facilities for study provided for them, and had nothing to do with the administration ; they were allowed to work in the library, but were not trusted with the key.† When they became doctors, they had to leave the establishment. The administration was carried on by the

* The following words, from a sermon of his, are suggestive of the state of things in those days, and of the liberty of the pulpit. On Easter Sunday, he took as his text : " 'Surrexit, non est hic.' Hoc est verbum breve, et faciemus de ipso brevem sermonem, si poterimus ; quia bene scio quod hodie vultis brevem sermonem et longam mensam : sed utinam non brevem missam !" (De La Marche, *p.* 203.)

† Dr. Newman gives this *horarium*, preserved in one of the colleges of Cambridge, which, very probably, was based upon the Paris practice. Anyhow, it is interesting as an index to student life, if not in France, in England. The student " got up between four and five ; from five to six, he assisted at Mass, and heard an exhortation. He then studied or attended the schools till ten, which was the dinner-hour. The meal, which seems also to have been a breakfast, was not sumptuous ; it consisted of beef, in small messes for four persons, and a pottage made of its gravy and oatmeal. From dinner, to five p.m., he either studied, or gave instruction to others, when he went to supper, which was the principal meal of the day, though scarcely more plentiful than dinner. Afterwards, problems were discussed, and other studies pursued till nine or ten ; and then half-an-hour was devoted to walking or running about, that they might not go to bed with cold feet—the expedient of heart or stove for the purpose was out of the question." (*On Universities*, *p.* 330—331.)

Socii, who maintained a strict equality amongst themselves, according to the saying of the old Sorbonists, "*Omnes sumus sicut Socii et æquales.*" The *Socii* who were well off, paid exactly the same sum to the college as the poor *Socii (Socii Bursales)* received from it. Originally, the number of *Socii* was thirty-six. Some of the doctors were obliged to apply themselves to the study of Cases of Conscience. People, after a while, sent cases for solution from all parts of Europe, and thus the Sorbonne gained a wide-spread reputation.

The Provisor was the highest dignitary. The active duties fell upon the Prior, who was generally taken from amongst the younger members of the *Socii*, and his term expired at the end of twelve months. Four seniors were appointed to regulate difficult questions, and to maintain the ancient traditions of the place, thus forming seemingly an equal—though it hardly seems practical—check and countercheck of old and young. The meeting of the *Socii*, which was held the first of every month, was called the *Prima Mensis*. The establishment, most probably, was under the protection of S. Ursula.

The Paris students may roughly be divided into three classes: those who lived in seminaries, those who lived in monasteries, and those who lived as best they could.* The principal inhabitants of the

* "Chacun habite, seul ou avec un camarade, quelque modeste chambre d'hôtellerie, où sa petite collection de volumes, et de rouleaux de parchemin, ordinairement son seul avoir, n'est pas toujours bien défendue contre les voleurs qui rôdent dans la grande cité. Les élèves des classes

city appear to have been at first tradesmen, publicans, furriers, jewellers, barbers, cutlers, mercers, tavern-keepers, and sellers of tapestry and parchment, who made their money by the students; with thousands of Jews, and women of ill-fame.* Paris, in early days, must have presented a spectacle of great public disorder, debauchery, and crime.† The professors, in great part, were reckless adventurers—a sort of wild knight-errants, who scoured the country in search of excitement for the mind, and money for the pocket. The students were, in the main, disorderly youths, living in the very centre of corruption, without control, loving a noisy, dissipated life in town. Some were destitute, quarrelling with prostitutes and varlets, and filling the tribunals with their scandals and litigations, living on charity or in *hospitia*; others were rich

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de grammaire, plus jeunes et en majeure partie Parisiens, demeurent au domicile paternel, et le trajet qu'ils ont à faire leur sert de prétexte pour courir au hasard par la ville. Les autres, venus de pays lointains, sont livrés à eux-mêmes, sous la surveillance et la protection des chefs de leur nation. Il y en a de nobles, il y en a de roturiers: mais il n'y en a pas de riches; car les sergents ou *garçons* de l'université se chargent, au besoin, d'alléger leur bourse." (De La Marche, *p.* 426.)

* Speaking simply of women-servants, Humbert de Romanis says, "O combien d'adolescents, sont séduits et entraînés au libertinage par elles! Ne doivent-elles pas porter la responsabilité de toutes les fautes qu'ils commettront dans la suite contre les bonnes mœurs?" "Elles deviennent" says De La Marche, "quelquefois leurs entremetteuses, et vivent elles-mêmes en concubinage avec les valets, consommant en leur compagnie, dans des saturnales nocturnes, toutes les provisions qui leur sont confiées: c'est pourquoi il est instamment recommandé de tenir les domestiques éloignés les uns des autres pendant la nuit." (*p.* 390.)

Giles of Orleans says, in a sermon, that the woman, "A plus de queues que n'en a Satan lui-même: car Satan n'en a qu'une, et elle en a tout autour d'elle. C'est *à Paris* surtout que règnent ces abus. C'est *là* qu'on voit des femmes courir par la ville toutes décolletées, toutes espoitrinées. Quelle guerre celles-là font à Dieu!" (*p.* 405.)

† "Les écoliers, entassés dans les rues sombres et étroites de la Cité, s'y trouvaient sans cesse en contact avec le rebut de la société; les lieux de débauche touchaient les salles de cours." (Franklin, *Vol.* I., *p.* 222.)

and lordly, great spendthrifts, and swaggerers, and devoid of every virtue except, perhaps, the gift of faith, studying, if at all, to know—from mere curiosity; or to be known—out of pure conceit. They would rollick, and row, and stream in and out of the schools, like swarms of hornets, buzzing, and litigating, and quarrelling with one another, upsetting every semblance of discipline and order. They simply went to Paris for excitement and adventure, to fill their bodies and minds with whatever could minister to their cravings.* These young Martinets, as they were called, would acknowledge no master, but the impulse of the moment; and their conduct, at length, became so unbearable, that, by charter, they were excluded from all the privileges of Paris students. In the evenings, and towards nightfall, the taverns in those narrow, crooked streets, would be filled with the fumes of their liquors, and the streets would echo again with their boisterous mirth, and to the sound of the voices of troubadours, minnesingers, and minstrels, who loved good cheer, and were never so happy as when gaily singing love-songs, or dealing out satire upon people in high places, to the

* "C'est aussi, peut-être faudrait-il dire c'est sourtout le tapageur effronté, qui 'court la nuit, tout armé, dans les rues de la capitale, brise les portes des maisons pour exercer des violences, remplit ces tribunaux du bruit de ses esclandres. Tout le jour, des *meretriculæ* viennent déposer contre lui, se plaignant, d'avoir été frappées, d'avoir eu leurs vêtements mis en pièces ou leur cheveux coupés. Ses querelles avec la puissante corporation des bourgeois de Paris sont incessantes." (De La Marche, *p.* 425.)

"Manger brin je Paris vert
D'wenik lernet und viel verzehrt
Io hat er doch Paris gesehen."
(Hugo von Trimberg.)

ring of the joyous, thoughtless laugh of the Paris student.* As the drink passed round, the mirth would become more pronounced.† Words would be dealt out, interspersed with knocks and blows: the tavern would become a scene of indescribable uproar and confusion, with students, and women, and noisy rakings of the town, till the mass of them would swarm out irregularly, and choke the narrow street—shouting and yelling, and brandishing their daggers, as they parted company, some, to their lodgings; others, to crown their night's debauch by waking up and insulting the sleeping citizens. Bloodshed was frequent in these brawls; death was not uncommon. The confusion would, at times, spread to the people. There would be a general town-and-gown fight. Pegge, in his life of Bishop Grossetete, speaks of a tumult at Oxford in the thirteenth century, in which the brother of the Papal Legate was struck down by a bow-shot, and which was of so violent a character even for those reckless days, that the numbers of the University dwindled away from thirty thousand to six thousand.

The elections of professors gave a great opening

* Robert of Auvergne "Quidam enim frequentant potationes publicas et lascivas congregationes, ut cantent ibi lascivas cantilenas;" and Elinand, who had seen gay life in its wildest day, and had then become a monk, thus speaks in his third sermon on Pentecost:—"Quis suâ scientiâ utitur ad salutem? Imò, quis eâ non utitur in suam perniciem? Heu! quam rarò coeunt virtus et scientia! Nescio quo vinculo pactionis novæ libidines et litteræ sibi cohæserunt." (Tissier, *VII.*, 260.) Elinand defended the Immaculate Conception against the Lombard.

† The tavern-keepers would try and make the students pay too much; then the students would swear at them: "En non Diu, par les membres ne par la vie je n'en donrai mie por mains!—Ne par la cervele ne par la boche, je n'en donrai plus!" (MSS. de Grenier, *Vol. CLVIII.*, quoted by De La Marche, *p.* 379—380.)

to bitterness, jealousy, and contention. The custom at Paris was, at one time, for the different "nations" to elect a reader of ethics. But this practice led to so many brutal outrages, that it had, at length, to be done away with altogether.* There were plenty of occasions for faction-fights without such direct encouragement as the public election of professors. After one of these contests, the students appealed against the Parisians to the King. Philip Augustus took their part. He transferred them from the jurisdiction of the civil arm, to that of the ecclesiastical courts. He placed a member of the University upon the bench; and great advantages resulted to both sides from the relations thus introduced. Having been recognized by the King, the University was now recognized by the Pope. Innocent III., who had been a student there, formed it into an ecclesiastical body. He deputed Robert Courçon, his Legate, to draw out a set of statutes. In these, the qualifications of professors, the books to be used, and the relations of the students to each other, were stated.† To teach arts, a man must have had a six years' course, and had to be, at least, twenty-one years' old. To teach theology, an eight years' course, and thirty-five years of age, were requisite. Just as Bologna

* "Sed propter insolentias, perpetrataque in hujusmodi electione homicidia, cessavit talis electio; et novo condito statuto, quilibet Artium Regens specialem suis scholasticis facit ethicorum lectionem, a quibus in fine cursus moderata pro labore suo recipit stipendia." (*Goulet. Parisiens. Theolog.* in Launoii de Varia Aristotelis Fortuna, *Cap. X., Par.* 1662.)

† Considering the state of Paris, it is not surprising that a Synod in 1212 decreed that he who is in a monastery must not seek to be taught outside. (See Hefele, *Vol. V., Part II., p.* 775.)

became the model of Italian and Spanish universities, so Paris became the model for those of Germany, and England. In Italy, law, almost exclusively, was taught; in Paris and Oxford, there was no neglect of theology.

Paris seems to have taken the lead in influence and numbers. The distracted state of England induced scholars to leave Oxford and Cambridge, and fix themselves in Paris. So multitudinous was the number of students, that they were divided, not according to schools, but according to nations. Whoever came, were ranked as one of four—either as Frenchmen, which included Spaniards, Italians, and Orientals; as Englishmen or Germans, including the Hungarians, Scandinavians, and Poles; or as Picards or Normans. So great was their number at one time, that, in a procession, the first rank had entered the church of Notre Dame, whilst the last rank was still leaving S. Mathurin's.* Kings would assist at their splendid pageants, and would honour, by their presence, five thousand graduates. On one occasion, the University promised to send twenty-five thousand scholars to increase the pomp of a funeral. In 1262,

* Belonging to the Order founded by S. John of Matha, and S. Felix of Valois, and approved in 1198 by Innocent III.: "Qui monachos ordinis Sanctissimæ Trinitatis de redemptione captivorum voluit appellari." The Rue des Mathurins still exists, and was called, "Vicus Thermarum Cæsaris." It was in the suburbs of Paris. The religious were established about 1209 on the site which had been occupied by a little hospital and chapel, dedicated to S. Mathurin:—"In suburbio Parisiensi juxtalocum qui dicitur Thermæ." From the thirteenth century, the University held its solemn assemblies in the convent of the Trinitarians. It was suppressed in 1790.

Olfred himself gave his lectures to ten thousand scholars in Padua. In the sixteenth century, there were forty thousand students. Bologna, Padua, Salamanca, Naples, Upsal, Lisbon, and Rome, followed suit. In 1260, there were ten thousand students at Bologna; in 1262, some say, there were twenty thousand. In 1200, there were four thousand scholars at Oxford; in 1231, thirty thousand; and in 1263, fifteen thousand. We read of five thousand being at Cambridge. Toulouse was equally flourishing with the college of Guienne at Bordeaux, which was able to muster two thousand five hundred students. The University of Louvain, later on, had as many as forty colleges attached to it, whilst, before the Reformation, Europe could boast of as many as sixty-six universities—sixteen of which belonged to Germany.*

Such was the marvellous influence of knowledge in the middle ages. Nor was the enthusiasm of individuals of short duration. In these days, a lad has finished his education at twenty-one: in those days he had not done much more than begun it. The mind, through the drill of the schools, was fit and ripe for manly thought, for abstract speculation, and for grasping, with firm

* These numbers, after all, are not so extravagant, compared with the monks of old. In one city of Egypt, Oxyrinchus, there were ten thousand monks; S. Antony left fifty thousand. Posthumus had five thousand; two thousand followed Martin to the grave. (See *Atlantis, No. III., p.* 12.) Then, in Rome alone, in the census of Easter, 1869, there were over two thousand clerks, and two thousand nuns, and about three thousand religious—nearly eight thousand persons dedicated to God.

hold, the form of truth. No pains were spared to obtain good professors, and to economize them. Even in meditative Cluny, there was a ten years' course: three years of *logicalia*, three of *literæ naturales et philosophia*, and five of theology. It was not at all unusual for a man to spend ten years over philosophy. Men studied philosophy and theology at Paris fifteen or sixteen years, and continued scholars till between thirty or forty years of age.* Grown men, and men with wives and families, were not ashamed—were proud, to sit by the side of striplings, and learn the wisdom of the schools. Then, they finished their education by attending different centres, and travelling to different countries—for instance: Innocent III. was at Rome, Bologna, and Paris; Alexander V., shone both at Paris and at Oxford;† John of

* Luther speaks of the honour in which learning was held, when he says:—"Formerly, masters of art were honoured—one carried lighted flambeaus before them. It was a great festival, when Doctors were made. One went round the city on horseback, and put on one's best clothes. All that is no more, but I wish the good customs were revived." (Michelet, *Mem. de Luth.*, *T. III.*, 107.)

† Even the monks of the ninth and tenth centuries saw the advantage of this, and went to different centres of monastic learning. S. Abbo, Rabanus, Walafrid, S. William, Gerbert, S. Wolfgang, Lupus, Fulbert, and many others, might be mentioned. John of Salisbury's account of himself is very characteristic:—"Cum primum adolescens admodum, studiorum causa migrassem in Gallias, anno altero postquam illustris rex Anglorum Henricus, leo justitiæ, rebus excessit humanis, contuli me ad peripateticum palatinum, qui tunc in Monte Sanctæ Genovefæ clarus doctor, et admirabilis omnibus præsidebat. Ibi, ad pedes ejus, prima artis hujus rudimenta accepi, et pro modulo ingenioli mei, quidquid excidebat ab ore ejus, tota mentis aviditate excipiebam. Deinde, post discessum ejus, qui mihi præproperus visus est, adhæsi magistro Alberico, qui inter cæteros opinatissimus dialecticus enitebat, et erat revera nominalis sectæ acerrimus impugnator. Sic ferme toto triennio conversatus in Monte, artis hujus præceptoribus usus sum Alberico, et magistro Roberto Meludensi; ut cognomine designetur, quod meruit in scholarum regimine (natione siquidem Angligena est); quorum alter ad omnia scrupulosus, locum quæstionis inveniebat ubique." (*Metalog.*, *Lib. II.*, *Cap. X.*, *p.* 867.)

Salisbury, studied under many masters; so of Vacarius, Lanfranc, and many others.

It was only in process of time that the true division of science began to be understood. At first, all things were taught together. By degrees, men saw from Aristotle, that method and order, conduce to clearness and grasp. It was only in the middle of the thirteenth century, that theology was made a separate faculty; that medicine was divorced from art, and law from theology. The Rector could be chosen only from amongst the Artists. Their privileges were numerous. For, if their vacation only lasted one month in summer-time, they seem to have possessed all, and more than all, the privileges of citizens, without being subject to their responsibilities. They seem to have held somewhat the same relation to the students, that townsmen do to soldiers quartered on them during war; with this difference, that the soldier is under strict discipline; whilst the student was hardly under any discipline at all.* It can well be conceived how independent—nay, overbearing, so vast and powerful a body of young men and

* Michelet, speaking of the University, says:—"Ce corps formait une rude et forte démagogie, où quinze ou vingt mille jeunes gens de toute nation se formaient aux exercices dialectiques, cité sauvage dans la cité qu'ils troublaient de leurs violences et scandalisaient de leurs mœurs. C'était là toutefois depuis quelque temps la grande gymnastique intellectuelle du monde. Dans le treizième siècle seulement, il en sortit sept papes et une foule de cardinaux et d'évêques. Les plus illustres étrangers, l'Espagnol Raymond Lulle, et l'Italien Dante, venaient à trente et quarante ans s'asseoir au pied de la chaire de Duns Scot. Ils tenaient à honneur d'avoir disputé à Paris. Pétrarque fut aussi fier de la couronne que lui décerna notre université que de celle du Capitole." (*Hist. de France, Tom. IV., p.* 5—6.)

professors could easily become. De Vitry says that their bitterness and contentions were the result of three causes, viz.: because they belonged to different sects, and so reviled and irritated each other; because of the school-disputes, which were fruitful parents of hatred, envy, and, sometimes bloodshed—and even death; and because of their different temperaments and nationalities, which were ever a standing excuse for indulging the instincts of the animal. Certainly, there could not have been better ingredients for mixing up into a quarrel, if the view they held of each others characteristics was founded upon fact. The Englishman, was a sot; the Frenchman, effeminate and proud; the German, furious and obscene; the Norman, vain; the Picard, a spendthrift; the Burgundian, stupid and brutal; the Lombard, a miser and a coward; the Roman, violent, seditious, and a thief; the Sicilian, cruel and tyrannical; the Brabantine, a man of blood, and an incendiary; the Fleming, prodigal, a glutton, and soft as butter.* It is not astonishing that, with such

* "Non solum autem ratione diversarum sectarum, vel occasione disputationum sibi invicem adversantes contradicebant; sed pro diversitate regionum mutuo dissidentes, invidentes et detrahentes, multas inter se contumelias et opprobria impudentur proferebant, Anglicos potatores et caudatos affirmantes; Francigenas superbos, molles et muliebriter compositos afferentes; Teutonicos furibundos et in conviviis suis obscoenos dicebant; Normannos autem inanes et gloriosos, Pictavos proditores et fortunæ amicos; hos autem qui de Burgundia erant, brutos et stultos reputabant; Britones autem leves et vagos judicantes, Arturi mortem frequenter eis objiciebant; Lombardos avaros, malitiosos et imbelles; Romanos seditiosos, violentos et manus rodentes; Siculos tyrannos et crudeles; Brabantios viros sanguinum, incendiarios, rutarios et raptores; Flandrenses superfluos, prodigos et commessationibus deditos et more butyri molles et remissos appellabant." (Vid. Launoy, *de Schol. Celeb. Opp.*, *T. IV., p.* 71.)

elements as these in a state of constant friction, there should have been little peace, and periodical explosions. Then, when it is considered how the application of the faculties in search of truth, and the exercise of the reason in logical display, heats the brain, and renders the whole being full of a nervous excitability: when it is remembered with what brutal loyalty some of the half-barbarians of these days maintained the teaching of their master, and held to creation of the fantasy with much more keenness than they would have held to life: when it is remembered that the living voices of the most eloquent men were continually ringing in their ears, and often carrying them away in the flow of their impetuous rhetoric against some other professor, who was, very probably, acting exactly a similar part in another school: when it is remembered that there was little self-control in those days, that they were days of singular enthusiasm, of emotion, of passion, of ecstatic display, and maddening life, some notion may be formed of the moral position of those thousands who poured into Paris from every country of Europe.* Many

* Peter the Cantor, in his advice to those who discuss in the schools, gives some little notion of the excitement discussion must have produced. "Item *II., ad Tim. II.*: Non oportet servum Dei litigare, ut obstrepat studio altercandi, erroremque suum tragico defendat hiatu: 'sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, cum modestia corripientem, et disputantem' . . . Ad summam totius summæ, tardiloquum, rariloquum, submissa voce loquentem te esse jubeo. *Caput enim movere, brachia intorquere, digitos extendere, pedes supplodere, totumque corpus concutere, quid aliud est nisi quædam similitudo insaniæ, et te similem pugili ostendere?*" (Pet. Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum, Cap. V., n.* 11—12, *p.* 34—35.) Here is an example of too great quickness, and too much delay:—"Exemplo quoque Aristotelis, ad

almost killed themselves by over-work; and the tiny light—when the morning broke upon the city—could be seen flickering from their windows, as they still pored over the books which they had opened with the setting sun. Others despised study altogether. They expressed the reaction, against the overstrain, of intellectual life.* They went about talking loud, and boasting that it was absurd to take lessons in logic and in learning; that teaching was waste of time, and of no account at all; that man was quite sufficient for himself; that if he had talent enough to go to school, he had ability enough to make his own logic; and that if he was too dull to frame his logic for himself, he was far too stupid to do any good at school. It may be imagined how eager scholars, whose hearts and intelligences were engrossed by the fascinating problems of the schools, would be irritated and maddened by these coxcombs; for the Cornificii were only too glad to put a bilious student in a passion, and then turn round and laugh at him. The Cornificii, we

nullam, etiam facilem, quæstionem sibi propositam, respondentis, nisi datis induciis. Unde, et cum ei proponeretur quæstio dificilis, Theophrastus, juvenili calore adhuc imbutus, quæstionem illam se soluturum promisit. In cujus solutione cum deficeret et multum erubesceret, ait ei Aristoteles: 'Opus est tibi fræno.' Alii vero discipulo, scilicet Eudemo (qui cum nimis morose, et non nisi cum induciis diutinis sibi proposita solvebat), ait Aristoteles: 'Tibi opus est calcaribus.' Venam tamen ingenii habebat divitem." *(Ibid. p.* 36*).*

* "Alii autem Cornificio similes ad vulgi professiones easque profanas relapsi sunt parum curantes, quid philosophia doceat, quid appetendum fugiendumve denuntiet; dummodo: rem faciant, 'si possunt, recte, si non quocunque modo.' Exercent fœnebrem pecuniam, alternis vicibus rotundaverant, adæquantes. Nihil enim sordidum putant, nihil stultum, nisi paupertatis angustias, et solas opes ducunt esse fructum sapientiæ." *(Metalog., Lib. I., Cap. IV., p.* 831.)

imagine, were the most rollicking, independent, useless set that ever drank or sang—that ever disputed for the sake of pastime, and frittered away their time in the amusements of the gay city. They would be troubled by no dyspeptic melancholy; they would not be peevish, as is the sickly student who passes his days and nights in poring over parchment as yellow nearly as himself. The violence of the students sometimes led to strange results. In the time of Gregory IX., a fatal brawl took place in a tavern, and much blood flowed. The authorities interposed. The University resented the interference. It was maintained that the civil authority had no right to meddle. It was for the University to settle its own quarrels, and punish its own misdeeds. Redress was demanded. None was forthcoming. So students and professors at once, *en masse*, left Paris, and went off to Rheims, Angers, Toulouse, Orleans, Italy, and Spain, and left the "Mistress of the World" almost a ruined and a silent city.* The Pope looked on this as a calamity. He impressed upon King Louis the importance of

* "In der That zogen damals Lehrer und Schüler von dannen, nach Rheims, Angers, Toulouse, nach England, Italien und Spanien. Man hatte sich einstimmig zugeschworen, nicht eher wiederkehren zu wollen, bis die von der Regentin-Mutter Blanca verweigerte Genugthuung erfolgt sei. Gregor's IX. Intervention vermittelte endlich die Sache, an deren Beilegung ihm aus höheren Gründen gelegen war, weil er die Theilung der Universität als eine Calimität für die Wissenschaft erachtete. Er bat und ermahnte den inzwischen zur Regierung gelangten Sohn der Regentin-Mutter, Ludwig IX., er möchte sich den Studirenden geneigt erweisen, und ihnen die Privilegien seines Grossvaters Philipp August erneuern, was von Seite des Königs, der mit dem Papste gleicher Gesinnung über die Sache war, bereitwillig geschah." (Werner, *Vol. I., p.* 105.)

conciliation. Louis took Pope Gregory's view. The professors and students were recalled, and the work went on as busily as before. But Gregory would no longer suffer the students to carry arms. The Bishop of Paris was empowered to punish and arrest; but the like liberty was not conceded to the Chancellor. Other decrees, relating to the better order and greater safety of the University, were issued at various intervals, and many privileges were accorded to the students.*

But fortunately for science and religion, there were in Paris other students, besides those who represented the element of disorder, and human passion. In the midst of this heaving ocean, which was seldom calm, and at times lashed into tempestuous fury, there were islands, centres of stability, where the thunder of the ocean could scarcely be heard; at least, against which the sea might beat, but certainly to break. These centres were the monastic convents, where men advanced in know-

* The frequent "reforms" which were necessitated in the University speak for the pressure of evil influence to which it must, almost of a necessity, have been subject. It was reformed in 1215, 1278, 1366, 1452. Petrarch speaks with great severity of the state of things at the University in his day: -"Erant olim hujus scientiæ [theologiæ] professores; hodie, quod indignans dico, sacrum nomen profani et loquaces dialectici dehonestant, quod nisi sic esset, non hæc tanta tam subito pullulasset seges inutilium magistrorum . . . Philosophi, . . . ut de theologis nunc dicebam, ad verbosam nudamque dialecticam sunt redacti." *(Opp. fol. Basil, Epist., var. XXXI., p.* 1021.) Again: "Hæc est vera philosophia, non quæ fallacibus alis attollitur et sterilium disputationum ventosa jactantia per inane circumvolvitur, sed quæ certis et modestis gradibus compendio ad salutem pergit." *(Ibid.)* Once more: "Juvenis . . . cathedram ascendit . . . nescio quid confusum murmurans. Tunc maiores certatim ut divina locutum laudibus ad cœlum tollunt; tinniunt interim campanæ, strepunt tubæ, volant annuli, finguntur oscula, vertici rotundus ac magistralis biretus apponitur; his peractis descendit sapiens, qui stultus ascenderat." *(De Vera Sapientia, Lib. I., p.* 324.)

ledge, in proportion as they sunk in humility, and rose in love. * There were exceptions, but to speak broadly, they were the instruments of power, against the mass of humanity, that was heaving and sinking, and swaying to and fro, in the outside world. The founders of these colleges were keenly alive to the immense danger, for young men, in the proximity of so much corruption.† The plaintive cry of those simple monks, is the voice of the old method, expiring away. Peter of Cells complains bitterly ;‡ Matthew of Paris, that keen observer, sees how the tide is turning ; and Philip, Abbot of Goodhope, expresses the full feeling of that school, when he exclaims, "Blessed is the man, not who hath heard Master Anselm, or who hath studied at Paris, but to whom Thou, O Lord, dost teach Thy law!" Those who bent to the pressure of the times felt quite as keenly. The regulations for students coming to study at Paris were very stringent. It was strictly forbidden, for instance, in the Cluny convent, for a student to go into the city without an express permission, and, even then, always in the company of a master.

Robert of Sorbon gave a very interesting instruc-

* Gerson even, in his letters to the scholars of the College of Navarre, speaks with deep feeling of the influence of the religious bodies :—"O utinam," he says, "omnes et benigna recordatione secum tractarent quanta qualisve jactura spiritualis est et fuit, tot hactenus sermones tot locutiones, tot salubres instructiones in universitate et alibi inde cessasse." (*Ech., I., p.* 270)

† "Les tournois et les foires étaient cependant infestés par les prostituées. A Paris, plus qu'ailleurs, on en voyait circuler dans les rues, le col tout estendut, les cornes levées, semblant par leur démarche dire à tout venant 'Vés me ci, vés me ci ; qui a mestier de un tel cors?'" (*MS. lat.* 16,498, *Sermon sur Sainte Madeleine, quoted by* De La Marche, *p.* 414.)

‡ *T. IV., Epist.* 10.

tion *(De Conscientiâ)* concerning what the student should do to profit by his study. This is a *resumé*:—

"The scholar, who would profit by his position, ought to observe six essential rules:—

1.—"He ought to dedicate one certain hour, to one specified piece of reading, as S. Bernard advises, in his letter to the brethren of Mont-Dieu." *

2.—"To fix his attention upon what he is going to read, and not to pass on lightly to something else. There is the same difference, says S. Bernard, again, between reading and studying, as between a host and a friend—between a salute exchanged in the street, and an unalterable affection."

3.—"To extract, each day, one thought—one truth of some sort, and to engrave it in the memory with especial care. Seneca has said, '*Cum multa percurreris in die, unum tibi elige quod illâ die excoquas.*'"

4.—"To write a *resumé*—for unwritten words are blown away like dust before the wind."

5.—"To join with his companions in the "disputations," or in familiar conversations—this practice is even of greater service than reading, because it results in clearing up all doubts, and all the obscurities which have been left by reading on the mind, '*Nihil perfectè scitur nisi dente disputationis feriatur.*'"

* Convent of the Chartreux in Champagne.

6.—"To pray—for this is, in point of fact, one of the best means of learning. S. Bernard teaches that reading should excite the affections of the soul, and that such influences should be turned to advantage in elevating the heart to God, without, on that account, interrupting study. . . . . In the acquisition of knowledge, the pleasures of the flesh must be abstained from, and creature-comforts must not be embraced. There were at Paris two masters, bound together, of whom one had seen much, read much, and remained bent day and night over his books—hardly did he take time to say a single *Pater*. This man had only four disciples. His companion had a worse-furnished library, was less carried away by study, hearing mass every day before giving his lesson: and, nevertheless, his school was full. 'Now, how do you manage?'—the first asked him. 'It is simple enough,' the second replied, smiling—'God studies for me; I go to mass, and when I return, I know by heart all that I ought to teach.'" *

"Meditation is not only becoming in the master: the good student ought to take a walk in the

* The discipline in the Colleges which were established about the middle of the thirteenth century, was a very great help in forming the clerical mind:—"Or, la discipline des colléges tendoit non seulement à l'instruction des écoliers qu'on y entretenoit que nous appelons boursiers, mais à régler leurs moeurs et les former à la vie cléricale. Ils vivoient en commun, célébroient l'office divin, avoient leurs heures réglées d'étude et de divertissement, et plusieurs pédagogues ou régens veilloient sur eux pour les conduire et les contenir dans leur devoir: c'était comme de petits séminaires. Enfin cette institution, et tout le reste de la police des universités fut si généralement approuvée, que tous les pays du rit latin suivirent l'example de la France et de l'Italie; et depuis le treizième siècle on vit paroître de jour en jour de nouvelles universités," (Fleury, *Cinquième disc. sur l'Hist. Eccl., p.* 195—196.)

evening on the banks of the Seine, not to play, but to repeat his lesson, or to meditate."*

Robert ends by blaming those who content themselves with incomplete instruction, and know not how to utilize their knowledge.

"Grammar," he says, "forges the sword of the word of God; rhetoric polishes it; and, finally, theology makes use of it. But there are some scholars who are always learning to fashion it, and to point it, and keep on sharpening it till they have sharpened it all away: others, keep it shut up in the scabbard, and when they want to draw it out, they themselves are old, and the iron is rusty, and they can make nothing of it.—With regard to those who study, in order to become dignitaries, and prelates, they are very much deceived, for they hardly ever obtain the end of their ambition."

But to revert to the Dominicans. S. Dominic had his eye fixed on Paris, from the first. He sent seven brothers there, divided into two parties: the first, being three Spaniards; the second, three Frenchmen, and an Englishman. They rented a house in the middle of the city, close to the gate of the Episcopal Palace. They were all, except Matthew, utter strangers to the town, and had it not been for the Englishman, whose name was Lawrence, they would have abandoned their foundation in despair.

Now, John of Saint Alban, who was physician

* He alludes to walks resembling that of Pré-aux-Clercs, which, on account of their misbehaviour, was shut to the students in 1215.

to the King, and connected with the University—and a man of considerable influence, had founded in the "*Magnus Vicus Sancti Benedicti*" an *hospitium* for pilgrims.* The chapel was dedicated to S. James, the favourite Apostle of Spain. Somehow, John got to hear that members of a new institute had made their way to Paris, and that they professed to preach the Gospel of Christ, in imitation of the Apostles of the primitive Church. He saw them, was excessively impressed, and at once handed over to them the half-ruined pilgrim-house dedicated to S. James† (1218.) In 1221, he legally transferred it to them: the University, at the request of Pope Honorius, transmitting to the friars the right to the land and house, with the condition that yearly, the day after S. Nicholas, a solemn mass should be sung for the living members of the University; and a solemn requiem, on the day after the Purification, for its departed members. For a master, the same offices were performed as if he had been a member of the community. If a theologian died, during his professorship at the University, he could claim to be buried in the Chapter-room: a professor of any other faculty might be buried in the cloister. Thus, from the beginning, the Dominicans came into contact with the University. Indeed, from the first,

* The name of "Benedict" was soon changed into that of "Dominic," by the activity of the friars.

† The convent was suppressed in 1790. The building, having been used in turns for a prison, a school, and barracks, has been lately done away with altogether.

they attended the theological schools of the church of Paris. Though excessively poor, they soon made themselves known. S. Louis looked upon them with great regard, for he saw that their poverty was the poverty of Christ. He built them a convent after a time, chose three confessors from amongst their body; and, at his death, left them a portion of the library he had collected at the Sainte-Chapelle. But, before this, students came to hear them, and several joined the convent. In the year 1219, they could muster as many as thirty in community, one of which was the famous preacher, and friend of Saint Louis—Henry Marburg. Here, they worked steadily, with pen and ink-horn, and copy-book. Here, they weighed, and studied, the Lombard, the Bible, and the Gloss.* Novices were taught Latin grammar, and logic; and disputations —unlike Monte Cassino—could be heard echoing in the cloister. Meditation was made a counterbalance to the excitement of study; and the friars, who mostly had been professors in the schools, were particularly cautioned not to become too eager after learning, or to be carried away by the applause and temptations of the schools. Saint Dominic himself visited them, and "set in order a regular house, with cloisters, dormitory, refectory," and, especially, cells for study. Honorius called them "The Brethren of the Order of Preachers studying the Sacred Page in Paris." They were watched

* Every student had a right to three books—a Bible; the *Ecclesiastical History*, of Peter Comestor; and the *Sentences*.

over with extreme care, and were guarded with great strictness. The *Magister Studentium* had a certain discretionary power, and could allot cells to them for private study; could give them lights—for reading in the night; and other privileges. Prayer, holy office, humiliation, contemplation, silence, love—these influences maintained the even balance of the mind. The course of studies, at one time, was very strictly confined to theological works; it was decreed that students should not make a study of the books of heathens and philosophers, even though they might look into them from time to time:* nor study the arts which were called "liberal,"

* "Quoniam circa studentes diligens est adhibenda cautela, aliquem specialem fratrem habeant sine cujus licentia non scribant quaternos: nec audeant lectiones, et qui circa eos in studio corrigenda viderit corrigat; et si vires ejus excedat, prælato proponat. In libris gentilium philosophorum non studeat, et si ad horam suscipiat, seculares scientias non addiscat, nec artes quas liberales vocant: nisi aliquando circa aliquos magister ordinis, vel capitulum generale, vel prior provincialis, vel capitulum provinciale voluerit taliter dispensare; sed tantum libros theologicos tam juvenes quam alii legant. Ipsi vero in studio taliter sint intenti, ut de die, de nocte, in domo, in itinere legant aliquid vel aliquid meditentur et quidquid poterunt retinere corde tenus nitantur. Curet prior provincialis, ut si habuerit aliquos utiles ad studendum qui possint et in brevi esse apti ad regendum, mittere ad studium ad loca ubi viget studium extra suas provincias, de diffinitorum capituli provincialis vel majoris partis eorum concilio et assensu . . . Tres autem fratres mittantur Parisios de qualibet Provincia ad studendum . . . Statuimus ut qualibet provincia fratribus suis missis ad studium ad minus in tribus libris teneatur providere, videlicet in Biblia, Historiis Scholasticis et Sententiis, et ipsi in his tam in textu quam in glosis studeant et intendant . . . Circa eos autem qui student taliter, dispensetur a prælato, ne propter officium vel aliquid aliud de facili a studio retrahantur, vel impediantur. Locus vero proprius secundum quod a magistro studentium videbitur statuatur: in quo post prandium vel vesperas vel alio etiam tempore prout vacabit ad dubitationes vel questiones proponendas vel collationes faciendas ipso præsente conveniant, et uno quærente seu proponente alij taceant ne loquentem impediant . . . In cellis vero scribere, legere, orare, dormire, et etiam de nocte vigilare ad lumen possunt qui voluerit propter Studium . . . Nullus fratrum nostrorum legat in Psalmis vel Prophetis alium sensum litteralem nisi quem sancti approbant et confirmant. Libri ordinis seu fratrum non venduntur, nisi prætium eorum in alios libros seu scripta convertatur. Nulla enim scripta facta vel composita a fratribus aliquatenus publicetur, nisi per fratres peritos, quibus magister ordinis vel prior provincialis commiserit, diligenter fuerint examinata." (*Constitutiones Fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum S. Dominici, dist.* 2., *Cap. XIIII. De Studentibus, p.* 49 *ad* 51.)

unless the Master of the Order, or a General Chapter, or the Provincial Prior, should see fit, in certain cases, to grant a dispensation—"Let none," says the decree, "be they young or otherwise, read any but theological books." * After three years at Paris, the young men could return to the convent where they had made their vows.

It was in this convent of S. James, that Albert and Thomas wrote their Commentaries on the "Sentences." † Here, S. Thomas came, at the end of his life, to write his *Summa* against the Gentiles. Cardinal Hugh of S. Caro—a contemporary of Lawrence the Englishman—selected the Dominicans of S. James to assist him in making his concordance of different Bible texts, so that the work became known as the "*Concordantia Sancti Jacobi.*" ‡ A little later, Richard de Bury speaks of the immense activity and labours of these men—"*Qui diversorum voluminum correctionibus, expositionibus, tabulationibus, ac compilationibus indefessis studiis incumbebant.*" §

No doubt, the great results which flowed from

* The old inscriptions on the books in their library show how they prized them: for instance:—

"Iste liber est Sancti Jacobi Parisiensis de ordine Predicatorum. Quicumque eum ab eadem ecclesia alienaverit aut subripuerit, sive titulum istum deleverit, anathema sit. Amen."

† The fact that John Romain Colonna (before 1285) composed a book, *De Viris Illustribus Ethnicis et Christianis*, shows that some of the Dominicans were allowed to pick "les fleurs adulterines du paganisme." (*Hist. Litt. XIX.*, 392.)

‡ A l'époque de la Révolution, le monastère des Jacobins couvrait tout l'espace compris entre les rues des Cordiers, Saint-Jacques et Sainte-Hyacinthe; mais, bien que la bibliothèque comptât réellement alors plus de cinq cents ans d'existence, elle ne possédait encore que 14,000 volumes imprimés, et environs 250 manuscrits." (Franklin, *Vol. I.*, *p.* 195.)

§ Philobiblion, *Cap. VIII.* See Franklin, *p.* 192.

the Dominican labours are due, in great part, to the system they adopted. A greater portion of knowledge, in those days, entered through the eye and the ear, than has been the case in our education. In the first place, the lectures were given in large halls. In the middle, generally, stood the chair of the master, with another seat below, and in front of him, for the bachelor, who was going through his training.* The walls of the lecture-room were often covered with inscriptions from the Fathers, or from Scripture—for instance : "*Ama scientiam Scripturarum, et vitia carnis non amabis. Qui addit scientiam, addit dolorem. Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum—*"† and so on. Around the hall, and across it, benches were placed for the students. If there was not room, they got into the hall as well as they could, and sat on the ground. In Paris, the students often sat on the straw which was under their feet. There were no writing-desks, or conveniences for putting down the lectures. The teaching was principally done by question and answer, by exposition, repetition, and disputation. Sometimes, the professor's chair had an

* "A Ratisbonne, dans l'aile d'un bâtiment qui faisait autrefois partie du couvent des frères prêcheurs, on montre une salle qu'on appelle la *salle Albertine*, et où, paraît-il, Albert le Grand aurait solennellement enseigné la théologie. Dans cette salle se voit une sorte de trône en bois sculpté, avec les figures de saint Vincent Ferrier, d'Albert le Grand et de saint Thomas grossièrement tracées sur les planches de chêne." (Vid. D'Assailly, *p.* 187.)

† See Sighart's *Albertus Magnus, Sein Leben und sein Wissenschaft, Kap. V., p.* 32, *note.*

inscription on it, to keep the mind sober, like that on the chair of Albert the Great—"*Timete Deum et date illi honorem, quia venit hora judicij ejus:*"—though possibly this chair may be of later date.* Neither the master nor his assistant used a book; no reading was allowed; professors might have the text, perhaps, before them, but nothing more; occasionally, a student might, with permission, take a few notes; many, especially if they had memory and parts, would commit the lectures to writing on their return from the school. Some were able to take down almost *verbatim* the lectures of the masters. Like the ancient Greeks,† medieval students—at all events, students of the thirteenth century—made use of a kind of shorthand, which, after they had taken down the master's lecture, they turned into the *littera legibilis*, at their leisure. Doctors and masters themselves, were sometimes in the habit of writing their works or lectures in shorthand; and their admirers or disciples, who knew how to read their characters, threw their compositions into the common form for the benefit of the public. Thus, it appears, S. Thomas wrote his "*Contra*

* The following shows how careful the Dominicans were to keep the principles of religion before the minds of the students.—"Les *collations*, d'après la chronique de Frères Prêcheurs écrite par Humbert de Romans, furent introduites dans les écoles de Paris par le second général de l'ordre, Jourdain de Saxe: 'Le bienbereux Jourdain, ajoute Echard, voyant que les étudiants n'entendaient la parole sainte que le matin, et que, les jours fériés, ils passaient le reste de leur temps à flâner (*pro libito vagari*), obtint qu'on leur fît en outre ces instructions de soir dites dès lors collations. De là vient que dans la plupart des recueils des XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siécles, chaque sermon est suivi d'une collation.'" (De La Marche, *p.* 212.)

† For instance, see Herodotus, *Lib. II.*, *c.* 26. Again: "Quod ad te de decem legatis scripsi, parum intellexisti quid δια σεγειον (signis) scripseram. (*Ad Atticum Epis.*, *XXXII.*)

Gentiles," as well as his "Exposition on Isaias." * Some young men, in the time of Albertus Magnus, are spoken of as excessively ready with their smartness in taking down a lecture. †

Then the bachelor who was working under the eye of a master, had to teach the Introduction to the Books of Aristotle, or the "Sentences of the Lombard:" and to take the students through their repetitions and disputations. But even he was not permitted to have a book. ‡ This, no doubt, had something to do with the influence of the schools. The power of an individual mind, the moral weight, the tone and inflection of voice, the glance of the eye—the whole bearing of the professor, if he be a superior man, must, of a necessity, act with great force upon the mind of

* At the end of an autograph MS. of the *Contra Gentiles* we find these words:—Ligentur omnes (*i.e.*, the pages) sicut stant in ista charta, et procuretur aliquis, si inveniri possit, qui sciret legere istam litteram, quia est de littera fratris Thomæ." Again in a MS. of the Laurentian Library at Florence:—"Et sic terminatur sententia et expositio ad litteram super Isaiam, secundum fratrem Thomam de Aquino; quam transtulit ad *Litteram legibilem*, cum complemento auctoritatum, frater Jacobinus Astensis de Provincia Lombardiæ, tunc temporis in studio generali Neapolitano."

† In the time of Albert there were those who "lectiones suas, summo studio prius compositas, memoriter proferbant, ac ea ratione qua sermones dicuntur, quasi nullus scripto exciperet; quas tamen quidam auditorum celeri ad scribendum manu pollentes excipiebant, quæ dicebantur reportatæ, vel reportationes, quas plures a me visæ sunt inter Codices MS. Sorbonæ." (P.P. Quetif et Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis, FF. PP., II., p.* 163.)

‡ Is it not one of the misfortunes of the present day, that there is much less opportunity, in the schools, for practising accuracy of expression, and for learning it from able men, than was the case in the middle ages? What is more conducive to retaining knowledge, and learning how to make use of it, than the practice of frequent expositions, trusting the memory and not the book, and exercising the readiness of the mind in improvising language, that will accurately convey the results of careful thought. To train the mind, is useful to a man; to train the tongue, is useful to his neighbour. A man, or at least a student, does not know for certain that he has mastered a subject till he has either written upon it, or spoken on it.

youth. It makes the difference—so well understood, and so philosophically spoken of, by some mediæval writers—between dead and living words. A profound knowledge of Scripture is what was most sought after. On it, rested the fabric of theological knowledge. It was carefully explained in its various senses, and the love of the marvellous, tended to make the allegorical method of interpretation—by which men seemed to sink into the mysteries of God—the most common and most esteemed. Some young men were kept exclusively to this, and were denominated "*Biblici*." The middle age was one of great simplicity. Men oftentimes studied the Scriptures for years, and nothing else, with great energy and earnestness. The "Sentences of the Lombard" were also expounded *viva voce* from the chair, and this went on for several years, the students going by the name of the "*Sententiarii*." *

The abandonment of Paris, by the students and professors, in 1229, left all the professorial chairs completely empty. William of Auvergne began to be apprehensive that the study of theology would come to an end altogether. It would be better, he thought, to give a chair of divinity to the Dominicans, than to have none at all. So he invited the brother of S. James to fill that honourable post. Having

* "En passant, du livre des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, sorte de recueil, jadis fameux, des opinions des Pères de l'Eglise sur mille questions *quodlibétiques ;* sur les *vérités* de dogme ou de tradition, ou plutôt sorte de tremplin indéfiniment élastique sur lequel ne recula devant aucun étalage d'équilibre périlleux et de souplesse la brillanta école des *théoriques*." (D'Assailly, *p.* 189—190.)

some exceedingly able men amongst them, the Order closed with the offer. When the students and professors returned to Paris, they found the children of S. Dominic in the theological chair. The friars continued lecturing, and even possessed themselves of another chair (1230), to the great disgust and envy of the members of the University. The secular elements came to an agreement amongst themselves, that no religious community should have more than one chair in the University. The Dominicans would by no means consent to carry this resolution into effect. For several years, they had been in quiet possession of these chairs, and no opposition had been made to them; and, since they had right on their side, and taught with eminent success, they did not intend to move, simply to satisfy the spitefulness of party feeling. They were left, for the time, alone. It was afterwards, in a contention which will be touched upon, that they lost their hold upon the University.

CHAPTER XVII.

PARIS.

THE UNIVERSITY.

PART II.

Had the philosophies and theologies of the Arabians remained in Arabia, or been confined to Spain, there would have been no call to treat of them in this volume. But that terrible intellectual pestilence which came out of India and Egypt — which was partly imported from Greece, which was rampant in Bagdad, Mecca, and Damascus—was carried from Spain, to France and Italy.* Those

* "Man sieht mit Staunen, wie hoch diese Strömung innerhalb der christlichen Schule selber schon angewachsen war; neben dem Gewimmel von religiösen Secten, welche ein mit Lehre und Verfassung der herrschenden Kirche schlechthin unverträgliches Ideal der Christlichkeit verfolgten und die äusserste Machtanstrengung der Kirche nöthig machten, erhob inmitten der von der Kirche gegründeten und überwachten Schule der unverholenste Unglaube sein Haupt, und sand in den zu ihrer Vertretung berufenen Lehrern seine Schutzredner und Vertheidiger. Und wie innerhalb der Schule, so sah es auch ausserhalb derselben im Leben aus; der Zusammenstoss der christlichen und arabischen Cultur, die durch die vielseitige Begegnung und Berührung der drei Religionen, Christi, Mosis und Muhamed's, wachgerufenen Regungen eines Indifferentismus, der sich in vergleichender Betrachtung über alle drei Religionen zugleich zu stellen versucht fühlte, das Gefühl des Druckes und unwillkürlichen Widerstrebens, welches minder fromme Gemüther angesichts der noch immer mit imposanter Majestät allgebietenden Kirche empfanden, die bei den fortwährenden Kämpfen der Kirche mit dem Kaiserthum stets wach erhaltenen politischen Leidenschaften der Ghibellinenpartei machen solche Erscheinungen und Manifestationen des Unglaubens und Weltsinnes, wie sie im dreizehnten Jahrhundert zu finden, vollkommen erklärlich." (Werner, *B. I., Fünftes Capitel, p.* 570—571.)

learned men, who, with such ardour, hurried off to Moorish academies, Jewish colleges, and Spanish universities, instead of taking home a new illumination of the human mind, carried back with them, in reality, an infection which was to taint with its deadly poison the highest seats of learning in Italy and France. The Arabs seem to have invaded, and almost taken possession of the schools of Paris. The practices of dialectical fence, and the overweening yearning after natural science, made men abandon the more serious studies of theology, and they became so blasted with intellectual conceit, that, if what we read be true, not only the judgments of the Holy See, but the anger of God himself, visited some of the professors with terrible severity. The startling history given by Bulæus, of Simon of Tournay, and his disciple Silo, are too well known to require repetition.* Then, when the Glosses of such men as Theophrastus, Aphrodisius, and Philoponus, came into the hands of the teachers in the schools—full of all manner of detestable philosophy, and yet, somehow, by a certain charm, recommending themselves to their eager intellects, a new peril made itself evident. Aristotle was dangerous enough, when rightly understood; but Aristotle, tinged with the fatal doctrines of Eastern superstition—with the pantheism, mysticism, Gnosticism, and mate-

* These are the words made use of by Simon, according to Matthew of Paris, *Ann.* 1201, *p.* 206:—"O Jesule, Jesule, quantum in hac quæstione confirmavi legem tuam et exaltavi: profecto si malignando et adversando vellem, fortioribus rationibus et argumentis scirem illam infirmare, vel deprimendo improbare."

rialism of Arabia, was more than a danger — it was, absolutely, in many cases, a destruction. The blasphemous teachings of the Eastern mind, appear to have had a certain unaccountable attraction for the professors, and the students. Theology was neglected; intellectual excitement became the order of the day; men in high place gave a cry of warning. The Pope Gregory IX., himself, declared that his soul was filled with bitterness in contemplating such a state of things.* Curiosity, vanity, love of mere physical science, absorbed men's hearts and minds.† It was but a natural consequence that, when the queen of sciences was put on one side to gratify the greed of novelty, men would rise up, and boldly tread under foot, what others secretly contemned. Blasphemous tenets were taught scientifically from the chairs. Amalric of Bena, a

* "Tacti dolore cordis intrinsecus amaritudine repleti sumus absynthii, quod sicut auribus est nostris intimatum, quidam apud vos spiritu vanitatis ut uter distenti positos a patribus terminos profana transferre satagunt novitate, coelestis paginae intellectum S. S. Patrum studiis, certis terminis limitatæ, quos transgredi non solum est temerarium sed profanum ad doctrinam philosophorum naturalium inclinando, ad ostentationem scientiæ, non profectum auditorum, ut sic videantur non Theodidacti seu Theologi, sed potius Theophanti." (Bull., *Greg. IX.*, *An.* 1228. Bulæus, *III.*, *p.* 657.)

† See *Metalog.* of John of Salisbury, *Lib. I.*, *Cap. III.*, *p.* 828 ; *Lib. II.*, *Cap. VI.*, *p.* 862 ; *Cap. VIII.*, *p.* 865. Also, see *Polycraticus*, *Lib. VII.*, *Cap. VII.*, *p.* 649 ; *Cap. XIV.*, *p.* 670. *Stephan. Epis. Tornacensis (1200) in Epist.* 251, *ad Cœlestinum*, *III.*, says :—"Lapsa sunt apud nos in confusionis officinam sacrarum studia literarum, dum et discipuli solis novitatibus applaudunt, et magistri gloriæ potius invigilant quam doctrinæ ; novas recentesque summulas et commentaria firmantia super theologia passim conscribunt, quibus auditores suos demulceant, detineant, decipiant, quasi nondum suffecerint sanctorum opuscula Patrum, quos eodem Spiritu sacram Scripturam legimus exposuisse, quo eam composuisse credimus Apostolos et Prophetas. Disputatur publice contra sacras constitutiones de incomprehensibili Deitate, de incarnatione Verbi Dei verbosa caro et sanguis irreverenter litigat ; individua Trinitas in triviis secatur et discerpitur ; ut tot jam sint errores quot doctores, tot scandala quot auditoria, tot blasphemiæ quot plateæ." (See Gieseler, *Vol. III.*, *p.* 295.)

professor of logic and theology (1205), fearlessly taught, in his public place, that human nature could be identified with the Divinity; that the Eternal Father became incarnate in Abraham; the Eternal Son in Mary; and the Holy Ghost in us; and that all things, in reality, are one; because all things, in reality, are God.* Nor was he alone. David of Dinanto taught, as his first principle, "*Quod omnia sunt Deus*"—that God is the primary substance of everything. If such teachings as these were to continue, the Christianity of thousands of young minds would be thrown into fearful jeopardy. The high authority of the Church had to interfere. David was condemned at the Synod of Paris (1209). The same Synod commanded the bones of Amalric to be dug up, and to be buried in unconsecrated ground—ten of his disciples were burnt alive, and others condemned to prison for life† —whilst Aristotle's books on natural philosophy, and the comments on them, were forbidden. But

* See Krönlein *Amalrich von Bena und David von Dinanto: Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1847, *I.*, *p.* 288.

† "Dampnavit (Innocentius III.) amarlricum carnonensem cum sua doctrina, sicut habetur in decretali. Dampnamus, qui amalricus asseruit ydeas quæ sunt in mente Divina et creari et creare, cum secundum beatum augustinum nihil nisi eternum atque incommutabile sit in mente divina. Dixit etiam quod ideo finis omnium dicitur Deus, quia omnia reversura sunt in eum, ut in Deo immutabiliter quiescant, et unum individuum atque incommutabile, in eo manebunt. Dixit enim Deum essentiam omnium creaturarum et esse omnium Dixit etiam quod in caritate constitutis nullum peccatum imputabatur. Unde sub tali spe pietatis sequaces ejus omnem turpitudinem libere committebant. Asseruit etiam quod si homo non pecasset in duplicem sexum perditus non fuisset, nec generasset, sed eo in quo angeli multiplicati sunt, multiplicati fuissent et homines, et quod post resurrectionem, uterque sexus adjunabitur sicut ut asserit ut fuit prius in creatione, et talem dixit christum fuisse post resurrectionem, qui omnes errores inveniuntur in libro, qui intytulatur, peryphysion, qui ponitur inter alios libros perysios dampnatos, et dicitur liber amalrici qui amalricus combustus fuit perysius cum sequacibus suis." (Martinus Polonus, *Cod. Sæc. XIII. Peplenus evulg. a* P. Klimés, *Prag.*, *p.* 145.)

even this did not check the virulence of the poison. The East had entered, not only into Aristotle's natural speculations, but into his metaphysics. Robert Courçon, the Papal Legate, in 1215, had sufficient grounds for forbidding the Aristotelian metaphysics to be read, as well as the writings of Mauritius Hispanus—whom some say was no less a man than Averroës.* But the tradition of a false principle clings to a school, and blinds scholars and professors. The faculty of arts seems to have been most damaged. Albertus Magnus, though at this period a feeble old man, had to write his "*Liber Determinativus Adversus Parisienses.* The schools were in great peril. Not only blasphemous and false doctrines were maintained publicly, but the articles of Christian faith were discussed, proved faulty, and rejected with scorn, and, in their place, the rankest and crudest forms of pantheism were professed. In many private schools, heresy was freely circulated. S. Thomas says that, in his time, some taught that the *intellectus agens* was nothing less than God Himself; and that followers of Averroës lectured in the public schools—which is equivalent to saying, that Christianity was shovelled on one side, and that the hideous blasphemies of Eastern dreamers were

* "D'ailleurs" says De La Marche, "s'il y a des fanatiques d'Aristote, les censures ecclésiastiques ne sont pas le seul remède employé pour refroidir leur belle passion : afin de montrer l'impuissance de la science humaine réduite à elle-même, on peint son représentant le plus illustre monté comme une bête de somme par la femme d'Alexandre. Le ciseau comme la parole reproduit cette scène légendaire, et la popularité de l'anecdote au moyen-âge semble une raillerie de l'enthousiasme des scolastiques." (*p.* 434.)

set up in place of the revelation of Jesus Christ.* It is almost inconceivable that the state of Paris could have been so bad. For a man to teach *ex professo* in an university city, in a Catholic country, and in the ages of faith, the most revolting tenets of the East, is something that is difficult, all at once, to realize. Amongst other theses, these were maintained :—that the will is not free ; that there is but one intellect for all men ; that all lower things are under the necessary influence of the heavenly bodies ; that the world is eternal ; that there never was a first man ; that God cannot bestow immortality ; that the soul corrupts ; that God does not know individual things ; that the acts of man are not governed by a Divine providence—and many others, equally startling. † William of Auvergne was bound to censure a string of propositions, which were taken from the worst Arabic commentators on Aristotle, or from that deadly book, "*De Causis*," which had so baneful an influence in the middle ages. Shortly after this, a strict decree

* Lecky, speaking of the influence of Averroës, says :—"Among the Mahommedans, the panic was so great, that the theologians pronounced logic and philosophy to be the two great enemies of their profession, and ordered all books on those dangerous subjects to be burnt. Among the Christians, St. Thomas Aquinas devoted his genius to the controversy, and for two or three centuries, most of his great works in Christendom bore some marks of Averroës . . . . The three principal figures in Orgagna's picture of Hell, in the Campo Santo, at Pisa, are Mahomet, Antichrist, and Averroës." (*Rise of Rationalism, Vol. I., Cap. I., p.* 53, *ed.* 2.)

† "Quod intellectus hominum est unus et idem numero.—Quod voluntas hominis ex necessitate vult et eligit.—Quod omnia, quæ in inferioribus aguntur, subsunt necessitati corporum cœlestium.—Quod mundus est æternus. — Quod nunquam fuit primus homo. — Quod anima, quæ est forma corporis, secundum quod homo, corrumpitur corrupto corpore.—Quod anima separata post mortem non patitur ab igne corporeo.—Quod liberum arbitrium est potentia passiva, non activa ; et quod necessitate movetur ab appetibili.—Quod Deus non cognoscit singularia.—Quod Deus non cognoscit aliud a se.—Quod humani actus non reguntur providentia divina.— Quod Deus non potest dare immortalitatem vel incorruptionem rei corruptibili vel mortali."

was issued, to prevent discussion of points of doctrine and philosophy amongst the Artists, but without much effect, to judge from propositions taught but shortly afterwards—for instance:—that the teachings of theologians are founded on fables; that the philosopher is the only wise man of this world; that there is no more excellent state than to be called a philosopher; that continency is not necessarily a virtue; that the world is eternal; that a future resurrection is not to be believed in by a philosopher, because it cannot be investigated by reason; and many more propositions, equally false and destructive.* Nor were these deadly

* "Quod Deus non potest facere plures animas in numero.—Quod Deus nunquam plures creavit intelligentias quam modo creat.—Si non esset sensus, forte intellectus non distingueret inter Socratem et Platonem, licet distingueret inter hominem et asinum.—Quod intelligentia, animus vel anima separata nusquam est.—Quia intelligentiæ non habent materiam, Deus non posset plures ejusdem speciei facere.—Quod intellectus est unus numero omnium, licet omnino separetur a corpore hoc, non tamen ab omni.—Quod motus cœli sunt propter animam intellectivam.—Anima separata non est alterabilis secundum philosophiam, licet secundum fidem alteretur.—Quod scientia magistri et discipuli est una numero.—Quod intellectus agens non est forma corporis humani.—Quod inconveniens est ponere aliquos intellectus nobiliores aliis; quia cum illa diversitas non possit esse a parte corporum, oportet ut sit a parte intelligentiarum.—Quod non fuit primus homo, nec ultimus erit.—Quod mundus est æternus.—Quod impossibile est solvere rationes philosophi de æternitate mundi.—Quod naturalis philosophus simpliciter debet negare mundi novitatem, quia nititur causis et rationibus naturalibus; fidelis autem potest negare mundi æternitatem, quia nititur causis supranaturalibus.—Quod creatio non est possibilis, quamvis contrarium non sit tenendum secundum fidem.—Quod corpora cœlestia moventur principio extrinseco, quod est anima.—Quod non contingit corpus corruptum redire unum numero, nec idem numero resurget.—Quod resurrectio futura non debet credi a philosopho, quia impossibilis est investigari per rationem.—Quod nihil plus scitur propter scire theologiam.—Quod sermones theologi sunt fundati in fabulis.—Quod fabulæ et falsa sunt in lege christiana, sicut et in aliis.—Quod lex christiana impedit addicere.—Quod sapientes mundi sunt philosophi tantum.—Quod non est excellentior status quam vacare philosophiæ.—Quod non est curandum de fide, si dicatur aliquid esse hæreticum.—Peccata contra naturam, utpote abusus in coitu, licet sint contra naturam speciei, non tamen contra naturam individui.—Simplex fornicatio, utpote soluti cum soluta, non est peccatum.—Continentia non est essentialiter virtus.—Perfecta abstinentia ab actu carnis corrumpit virtutem et speciem.—Pauper in fortunis non potest agere in moralibus, &c." (Vid. Bulæus, *III.*, *p.* 433—434—671.)

heresies confined to Paris. Being the centre of learning, it is but natural that its teachings should have exerted their influence throughout civilized Europe. The doctrines of the Arabs, and the heresies springing from them, had to be combated in Ireland, as early as the ninth century. In England, the pantheistic bias of the East is clearly evident, particularly in the teaching of the Franciscans at Oxford, regarding the human soul. Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned a set of propositions, which had had the run of Oxford—similar to those which were branded by authority at Paris (1277). Avicenna seems to have had great influence on some of the theologians of S. Francis. Roger Bacon declares that it was the traditionary teaching of the Oxford schools, that the active intellect exists separate from the soul of man; and, moreover, that it was generally held, that the active intellect was, in reality, identical with God.* William, Bishop of

* "Baco ergeht sich im Lobe der arabischen Peripatetiker; Avicenna sei der Erste gewesen, der über die Aristotelische Philosophie wieder Licht verbreitet habe; der Grösste nach ihm sei Averroes. Die Averroistische Philosophie, anfangs wider Gebühr unbeachtet und vernachlässiget gelange nunmehr bei den Einsichtsvollen zu allgemeiner Anerkennung, obwol sie in einzelnen Puncten zu bemängeln und in anderen zu ergänzen sei. Die Berufung Baco's auf Robert von Lincoln hatte allerdings sehr guten Grund, es gab zur Zeit keinen entschiedeneren Realisten als Robert. Dass er aber auch den allerdings sehr realistisch gesinnten Wilhelm von Auvergne zu seinem Meinungsgenossen machen wollte, beruhte auf einem augenscheinlichen Missverständniss." (Werner, *Cap. V.*, *p.* 569.)

The following, from Bulæus, is sufficiently significant:—"In eodem concilio (1270) decretum est, ut monerentur Rector Universitatis et Procuratores Facultatis Artium, ne paterentur in scholis philosophicis agitari res fidei, ne imbecillioribus adolescentum animis ratio dubitandi de mysteriis inscrutabilibus instillaretur. Quamobrem sæpius ob eam rem congregata Facultas tandem statuto memorabili, quod anno sequenti edidit, voluit omnes professores a suo consortio et ordine resecari, qui contra statuta peccarent. (*III.*, *p.* 397; *Cf.*, Werner, *p.* 568.)

Paris—he maintains—publicly declared before the University of Paris—and was supported by no less an authority than Robert of Lincoln, and Adam of Marisco—that the active intellect could not be a portion of the soul. Marisco, on being asked—"What, then, is the active intellect?" replied, "The chariot of Elias," meaning either God or an angel.*

So corrupted had the University become at one period, that it limited the number of its doctors in theology to eight. The infection spread, from the learned and the students, amongst the general population. Several fanatics of low rank had to be burnt, because they went about protesting that the most depraved of mankind had an equal chance of salvation with S. Peter and S. Paul, on the principle that, since the intelligence of mankind was one, all mankind would be where that

* "The mediæval schools," says Dr. Newman, "were the arena of as critical a struggle between truth and error, as Christianity has ever endured; and the philosophy, which bears their name, carried its supremacy by means of a succession of victories in the cause of the Church. Scarcely had universities risen into popularity, when they were found to be infected with the most subtle and fatal forms of unbelief, and the heresies of the East, germinated in the West of Europe, and in Catholic lecture-rooms, with a mysterious vigour upon which history throws no light. The questions agitated were as deep as any in theology; the being and essence of the Almighty were the main subjects of the disputation, and Aristotle was introduced to the ecclesiastical youth as a teacher of Pantheism. Saracenic expositions of the great philosopher were in vogue, and when a fresh treatise was imported from Constantinople, the curious and impatient student threw himself upon it, regardless of the Church's warnings, and reckless of the effect upon his own mind. The acutest intellects became sceptics and misbelievers; and the head of the Holy Roman Empire, the Cæsar Frederick the Second, to say nothing of our miserable King John, had the reputation of meditating a profession of Mahommedanism. It is said, that in the community at large, men had a vague suspicion and mistrust of each other's belief in Revelation. A secret society was discovered in the universities of Lombardy, Tuscany, and France, organized for the propagation of infidel opinions; it was bound together by oaths, and sent its missionaries among the people in the disguise of pedlars and vagrants." (*Lectures on University Subjects*, *p.* 229—300.)

one universal intelligence was : and hence good and bad would live an equal life. Even ecclesiastics—ribald clerks, with tonsure, and priest's habit—scoured the country, and travelled about amongst country towns and villages, proclaiming to the ignorant people, that all souls were merged in one, and that, therefore, it was a delusion to preach the doctrine of future reward or punishment. Though S. Thomas turned the tide, it was not till long after his time, that these phantasms were thoroughly destroyed.*

From all this, it is evident that the University of Paris—whose vocation it was to teach the world—was deeply tainted with the most frightful intellectual corruption, and that the plague, which had been brought by the Moors into Spain, had seized upon the centre from which radiated the light of science, sacred and profane. It was not a mere surface attack, or passing epidemic, but a deep-seated corruption that had taken possession of men's minds, and had to be met, combated, and overcome. Islam, and Christ, could not live together in harmony, for Christ must reign, or the moral and intellectual degradation, which springs from a false philosophy, must eat out the heart and intellect of men.

What added to the excitement of this period, was, the influence of the world of spirits upon the

* The General Council of Vienna in 1311, and the General Council of Lateran (V.) as late as 1513, had to condemn the opinion, that all men together have but one soul.

See Bull of Leo X., read during the fourth session of Lateran :—"Reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse aut unicam in cunctis hominibus, et hæc in dubium vertentes." (See Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux*, *p.* 203).

imagination.* This is not the place for speaking about the truth of those marvels. True or false, the present point is, that they were believed in, and had all the effects, at all events, of reality—for instance: a recluse, at Bonn, saw a light through a chink in her cell, which looked over a churchyard; she went to the window, and perceived a woman, surrounded by a blaze of glory, hovering over a grave, and heard a voice saying—"This is the Mother of Christ, come to take away the martyr." We read of people seen in the air, writing by some celestial light. Thomas of Cantimpré saw, in 1246, just before S. Louis started for the crusades, a luminous cross, eight cubits long, standing in the air. William of Auvergne heard distinctly, voices, weeping and sobbing, when his sister died. John of Salisbury relates how, when a boy, a magician tried to use him as an instrument of his dark art. When Robert of Lincoln died (1253), the Bishop of London heard sounds like the deep toll of some superhuman bell, and some friars, who were journeying that night, heard in the air the harmonious sounds of bells. Innocent III., seems to prophesy his own demise, in his allocution, at the opening

* No doubt, ignorance and superstition did their part:—"L'abus dans la vénération des reliques," says Fleury, "dégénéra en superstition; mais l'ignorance du moyen âge en attira de plus manifestes: comme cette divination nommée le sort des Saints, dont Grégoire de Tours rapporte tant d'exemples, et avec un sérieux à persuader qu'il y croyoit; comme ces épreuves, nommées le jugement de Dieu, soit par l'eau, soit par le feu, soit par le combat singulier, qu'Agobard condamnoit si fortement, mais qu'Hincmar soutenoit, et qui furent en usage si long-temps: comme l'astrologie à laquelle on voit qu'ils croyoient, principalement aux effets des éclipses et des comètes." (Fleury, *Troisième Discours sur l'Hist. Eccl.*, *p.* 91.)

of the Lateran Council. Balls of fire, chalices surmounted by Hosts, half-moons, stars, aërial crucifixes, all manner of strange sights, and awful interpositions, were continually spoken of. The *Magnum Speculum* is full of them; Matthew of Paris, John of Salisbury, Cæsar of Heisterbach (1240)—in fact, all the voluminous writers of the middle ages, carry one into a state of things, in which the spirit-world was far more mixed up in human affairs, than it is in our days.* Then, the actions of men themselves were often very startling. Alanus de Insulis was struck dumb (they say), for not having invoked the Blessed Virgin at the beginning of a sermon.† Fulk, coming to

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* "In every department of thought, and of knowledge, there was manifested a vague disquietude, a spirit of restless and feverish anxiety, that contrasted strangely with the preceding torpor. The long slumber of untroubled orthodoxy was broken by many heresies, which, though often repressed, seemed in each succeeding century to acquire new force and consistency. Manichæism, which had for some time been smouldering in the Church, burst into a fierce flame among the Albigenses. Then it was that the standard of an impartial philosophy [!] was first planted by Abelard in Europe, and the mind of the learned distracted, by subtle and perplexing doubts, concerning the leading doctrines of the faith. Then, too, the teachings of a stern and uncompromising infidelity flashed forth from Seville and from Cordova; and the form of Averroës began to assume those gigantic proportions, which, at a later period, overshadowed the whole intellect of Europe, and almost persuaded some of the ablest men that the reign of Antichrist had begun. At the same time, the passion for astrology, and for the fatalism it implied, revived with the revival of pagan learning, and penetrated into the halls of nobles and the palaces of kings." Again: "In an age which was still grossly ignorant and credulous, the popular faith was necessarily full of grotesque superstitions. . . . . These superstitions had once consisted, for the most part, in wild legends of fairies, mermaids, giants, and dragons. . . . . About the twelfth century, they began to assume a darker hue, and the imaginations of the people revelled in the details of the Witches' Sabbath, and in the awful power of the ministers of Satan. . . . . The imaginations of the people were riveted upon the subject. A contagious terror was engendered. Some, whose minds were thoroughly diseased, persuaded themselves that they were in communion with Satan." (Lecky's *Rise of Rationalism, Vol. I., Chap. I., p.* 52—53.) While quoting Mr. Lecky to confirm what I say, in the sense I say it, I separate myself entirely from him in every other connection.

† See De La Marche, *p.* 271.

Paris as an illiterate man, and then being waited on by professors, and by scholars with note-books in their hands, ready to take down the extraordinary wisdom that poured from his lips;*—John of S. Giles, the famous university professor, preaching to an immense audience in S. James's, suddenly, after speaking of perfection, descending the pulpit, and, in the presence of the astonished multitude, begging for the habit of religion, are simply specimens of what I mean.† Brother Guerric, the first prior of the Dominicans at Metz, was converted by a few simple words. One day, as he was studying at his window, in Paris, he heard some one singing this refrain, in the streets below, which at once made him enter into himself:—

"Tempus vadit,
Et ego nil feci;
Tempus venit,
Et ego nil operor."

Such occurrences were frequent. The minds of men seem to have been excessively excited by the effects of the new learning; and by the supernatural influences that worked so strangely upon

* De Vitry, *Hist.*, *Tom. IV.*, *Lib. II.*, *Cap. II.* Peter the Cantor, his former master, Alberic of Laon, Robert de Courçon, and Stephen Langton, were amongst those who placed themselves under his direction.

† Franciscans used to travel the country, with horns, to summon the people, and though often excessively ignorant, by their earnestness, stirred up men's hearts to great excitement. It is related of one of these friars, in 1233, that he used to sound his horn, and then sing out thrice, "Allelujah." The people would sing out "Allelujah" in reply; and then he would cry out—"Benedictu, Laudatu, Glorificatu tu Patre, Benedictu, Laudatu, et Glorificatu tu Spiritu Sanctu," and all would respond with a shout—"Allelujah Gloriosa Donna!" Bishop Philip Berryer transported people with fanaticism by his preaching. The Dominican, Siger of Flanders, suddenly converted, by a sermon, Blessed Margaret of Ypres, and several inhabitants of Lille. Women burnt their ornaments in a public place, later on, at the word of Thomas Corrette. (*Hist. Litt.*, *XXIV.*, 379.)

them. The legend of Alanus de Insulis is a fair type of this state of things. He was one of the most famous professors of the University. On a certain day, he promised his pupils to give them a perfect knowledge of the Blessed Trinity.* The day before the lecture, while walking by a solitary stream, he saw a little boy, trying to fill a trench of sand with water. "What are you doing, my sweet child?" said the professor. "I am going to put the river into my trench," he replied. "Do you think you will succeed?" said the philosopher. "Before you keep your promise," was the reply. "What have I promised?" asked Alanus. "You said you would explain the Trinity of God" Alanus was terrified and overcome. He saw his pride. On the morrow, a vast crowd had assembled, and Alanus ascended the pulpit, and having uttered these words, "*Sufficiat vobis vidisse Alanus*," came down, hurried out of the church, went off to Citeaux, and became a shepherd lay-brother.

* In his observations on the thirteenth century Du Pin says:—"Il y eut dans ce Siècle de deux sortes d'erreurs contre la Religion, et l'Eglise eut deux sortes d'Adversaires à combattre, Les premiers étaient des Heretiques manifestes qui renversoient les principes de la Religion Chrêtienne en attaquant ouvertement l'Autorité, les Sacremens, les ceremonies, et la discipline de l'Eglise. Les autres étoient des Theologiens temeraires, qui voulant se distinguer en soûtenant des opinions subtiles et nouvelles, avançoient des propositions scandaleuses, temeraires, erronées, contraires à la Tradition de l'Eglise et à la Foy de Jesus-Christ. . . . A l'égard des Theologiens temeraires qui avançoient des erreurs contre la saine doctrine, on ne trouva pas de moïen plus propre pour en arrêter le progrez, que de les faire censurer par les autres Theologiens; de les faire revoquer par ceux qui les avoient avancées, et d'empêcher qu'elles ne fussent enseignées dans les Ecoles. Ce fut là l'origine des Censures des Facultez, qui commencerent à être en usage dans ce Siècle, et devinrent tres frequentes dans les suivans." (Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bib., Tom. X., Chap. X., p.* 171. *Ed. MDCC.*)

After many years, he came to Rome, to take charge of the horses of the Abbot, who went there to attend the Council against the Albigenses. As a great favour, the Abbot permitted him to sit during the council, at his feet. At one moment, the heretics appeared to triumph. Alanus rose up from beneath the Abbot, and, to his intense surprise, bowed, and said—"*Jube Domine Benedicere!*" "Madman, what art thou doing?" said the Abbot. "*Jube Domine Benedicere!*" meekly replied the brother; and so he went on, till the Pope commanded him to speak out. Then he began, and with such marvellous keenness of dialectical skill did he press the enemy, that, overcome with fury, the heretics exclaimed, "*Aut Diabolus est aut Alanus.*" "*Non sum ego Diabolus, sed Alanus!*" gently replied the man of genius. From this time forth, the clerks were in attendance on him, to write down his dictated wisdom.* Endless stories might be repeated, to prove the extraordinary activity, power, passion, and fermentation of the human mind before, and during, and some little time after, the period of S. Thomas of Aquino. This leaven runs through,

* Alanus *(Doctor Universalis)* was a native of Flanders (not to be confounded with Alanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in the previous century), and lived a long time in England. He taught theology, at Paris and Montpellier. A number of knights, drawn by his renown as a teacher, came to him on one occasion, and asked him this question—"What is the greatest mark of courtesy?" He proved to them, it was liberality in good works. He then asked them a question—"What is the greatest proof of rudeness?" Being the contrary they ought easily to have answered it. They were unable. Alanus answered for them, and the answer was to the point—"It is to be always taking away the goods of the poor." He wrote a *Summa de Arte Prædicandi*. Du Pin doubts if he ever joined the Cistercians. (Vid. *Nouv. Bib., Cap. IV., p.* 60.)

and tinges, with its unearthly colouring, the mass of humanity in the middle ages.* It is possible, also, that the extraordinary ignorance of history and geography which generally prevailed, tended to develop the faculties of wonder and admiration, and to prepare the mind for almost any marvel that might be announced.† When the keenness of the vision into things unseen, is not checked by the practical realities of creation, it is a comparatively easy thing to lose the just balance of the mind. When we are assured that Francus was son of Hector, and that the Franks came over from Troy; that the history of Spain begins with Japheth; that of England, with Brutus; and that of Scotland with Fergus; when historians always begin history from the creation of the world, pointing out Babylon, which had been destroyed centuries before, as existing—now identifying it with Cairo, and now with Bagdad; when Priam is dressed in ermine, with armorial bearings; when Nabuchodonosor is favoured with a seneschal, and surrounded

* Sometimes the excitement turned to desperate fanaticism. For instance :—"Le mysticisme," as Michelet calls it, "répandu dans le peuple par l'esprit des croisades, avait déjà porté son fruit le plus effrayant, la haine de la loi, l'enthousiasme sauvage de la liberté politique et religieuse. Ce caractère démagogique du mysticisme, qui devait se produire nettement dans les jacqueries des siècles suivants, particulièrement dans la rèvolte des paysans de Souabe, en 1525, et des anabaptistes, en 1538, il apparut déjà dans l'insurrection des *Pastoureaux*, qui éclata pendant l'absence de Saint Louis. C'étaient les plus misérables habitants des campagnes, des bergers surtout, qui, entendant dire que le roi était prisonnier, s'armèrent. S'attroupèrent, formèrent une grande armée, declarèrent qu'ils voulaient aller le délivrer. . . . Ce qui est certain, c'est que ces bergers se montraient partout ennemis des prêtres et les massacraient : il conféraient eux-mêmes les sacrements." (*Hist. de France, Vol. III., Liv. IV., p.* 434—435.)

† Stephen of Bourbon seems to have acquired about the best knowledge of history. See his catalogue in his *De Materiis Prædicabilibus*. De Vitry, also, must not be overlooked.

by a court of barons—and when names are clipped, and altered, to suit the peculiar ear of the historian; and all manner of liberties are taken with fact; and allegory and invention are served up in the place of proofs—we can partly understand how the mind, living so much upon fantasy, became excessively impressionable to the eloquence of rhetoricians, to the brilliancy of debate, and to the action of the marvellous, in both the plane of magic and religion.*

It will be well now, for a passing moment, to turn to another Order—to which reference has already been made, and with which S. Thomas of Aquin had an intimate relationship—that is, to the Franciscans. When S. Thomas came to Paris, they had been some time settled in the city, and were in a very flourishing condition.† Sometimes, as many as seven hundred friars were in Paris at one time. The halls in their convent were

* Speaking of the ignorance of the period, Fleury says of the writers:—"Je n'y trouve ni distinction du pluriel et du singulier, ni de construction uniforme: en un mot, aucune régularité. De-là vient qu'ils défiguroient si fort les noms étrangers, et que nous trouvons Toldres Liascres dans Villehardouin pour Théodore Lascaris: dans le Florentin Malespini, Palioloco pour Paléologue, et Chirigoro pour Grégoire: enfin dans d'autres plus modernes, Cécile pour Sicile. Il est encore important de savoir qu'en ces temps-là les laïques, même les plus grands seigneurs, n'avoient pour la plupart aucune teinture des lettres, jusqu'à ne savoir ni lire ni écrire. Ensorte que, s'ils vouloient faire une lettre, ils appeloient un clerc, c'est-à-dire, un ecclésiastique, auquel ils disoient leur intention; et qui l'écrivoit en latin, comme il jugeoit à propos: puis quand on avoit reçu la réponse, il falloit de même la faire expliquer." (*Disc. Cinquième, sur l'Hist.*, *p.* 198.)

† The Franciscans (Cordeliers) came to Paris about the year 1217, but they were only fully installed in the reign of S. Louis. They were suppressed in 1790. Their Library, in 1787, contained seventeen thousand six hundred and fourteen volumes. King Louis left them (and the Dominicans) his books; "Libros vero nostros, quos tempore decessus nostri in Francia habebimus . . . . legamus fratribus Prædicatoribus et fratribus Minoribus Parisiis. . . ." (*Testamentum Ludovici, IX.*: vid. A. Du Chesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, *Tom. V.*, *p.* 438.)

particularly fine. The greater school was not exceeded by any other in the University. It was seventy-six feet long, forty-eight feet broad, and had eleven large windows. Two lectures were given every morning : one, on speculative theology ; the other, on various points requiring explanation ; and in the afternoon, there was a lecture on Holy Scripture. From four to five in the evening, the Fathers held discussions, affirming, denying, and clearing the subject-matter, whilst it was open to any one to contend against them, or answer their objections. In this seminary, two hundred and twenty-two youths were educated. Every night, two of the younger brethren repeated, in the graceful hall of the seminary, portions of the Divine Office : and on festivals, all were required to be present together in the church. Here there were four schools : one for grammar, another for rhetoric, one for logic, and the fourth for the "Sentences" of the Lombard, and the Physics of Aristotle. It was to these lowly Franciscans that that celebrated Paris doctor, Alexander of Hales, betook himself, in consequence of his tender love to our Blessed Lady, hoping thus, not merely to secure his own salvation, but to labour, in a mortified life, for the good of others. He appears to stand in the same relation to the friars of S. Francis, in which Albert stands to the Dominicans. Here, too, S. Bonaventure, the dear familiar friend of our S.

Thomas, received his illuminations, and helped to build up the Church of God.*

The first Dominican who publicly professed theology in Paris, was that enthusiastic Englishman, of whom mention has been made, John of S. Giles.† So high a reputation had he acquired, during his career of doctor of theology, and the Paris students clamoured so loudly for his reappearance in the chair after he became a Dominican, that the friars were constrained to consent to his giving public lectures. His was not a local reputation : having taught in three or four foreign universities, his name was famous throughout the learned world. It was in this school that the great encyclopedic writers, Alanus de Insulis, and Vincent of Beauvais, laboured over their gigantic tasks. Here, that humble religious, afterwards known as Innocent V., was trained. Here, Roland of Cremona, and Hugh of S. Caro, accomplished the difficult task of maintaining that high name for wisdom, which S. James's had acquired through the genius of John of S. Giles. When S. Thomas arrived at Paris, John of Paris occupied one of the Dominican chairs, and Albert was sent, as bachelor, to occupy the other—for, according to a

* The Museum Dupuytren, in the Rue de l'Ecole-de-Médecine, exactly opposite the Rue Hautefeuille, is now in the refectory of what was the Franciscan convent. The convent occupied all the space as far as the Rue Antonie-Dubois : the Ecole Pratique and Chimique and the Ecole-de-Médecine, occupy the place of those vast buildings.

† Some say that it was John of S. Giles who was the first to introduce the scholastic method amongst the Dominicans.

special statute, the chairs had respectively to be occupied, by a Frenchman, and a foreigner.

In the natural course of things, our Saint would have had to be presented by the General Chapter, or by the General of the Order, to some master in the schools—as, in fact, he was presented to Albert by the General. With the master, he would go through the "Sentences" of the Lombard. After a year's drill, he would be presented to the Chancellor, by the Prior of the Paris house, in the presence of all the actual professors of the University. The *magister* then took an oath that he was competent to teach, upon which, the Chancellor would confer on him the *Licentia Docendi.** But a stiff trial had to be given him before he actually began his work—that he might give a clear proof to the entire University, that he was fit to instruct others in theology and philosophy. The *Magister Licentiatus*, as he was styled, would have to hold a solemn disputation in the Episcopal Aula. Hence, of one who had passed through

* Fleury gives the Dominican course thus :—"Celui qui étoit nommé bachelier par le général de l'ordre ou par le chapitre, commençoit par expliquer le maître des sentences dans l'école de quelque docteur, ce qu'il faisoit pendant une année : à la fin de laquelle le prieur du couvent, avec les docteurs, qui professoient actuellement, présentoit ce bachelier au chancelier de l'église de Paris, et ils assuroient avec serment, qu'ils le jugeoient digne d'obtenir la licence, c'est-à-dire, la permission d'enseigner comme docteur. Après quelques examens publics, et quelques autres formalités, le bachelier était reçu docteur, et continuoit la seconde année d'expliquer le livre des sentences dans son école, car chaque docteur avoit la sienne. La troisième année le nouveau docteur tenoit encore son école ; mais il avoit sous lui un bachelier qui expliquoit les sentences, et qu'il présentoit à la fin de l'année pour la licence, comme on l'avoit présenté lui-même. Tout le cours du doctorat s'achevoit en ces trois années, sans préjudice des actes qu'il falloit soutenir de temps en temps : ce qu'il y avait de bon, est que personne n'étoit reçu docteur qu'après avoir enseigné publiquement." (*Cinquième Disc., sur l'Hist. Eccl., p.* 194—195.)

that ordeal, it was said—*aulam suam habebat.* If he passed with credit, he became Laureate. Now, he might teach a school himself, and the *Magister Laureatus*, consequently, having been trained by an experienced professor, commenced to comment on the "Sentences" of the Lombard. This, he would continue doing for twelve months. After that time, just as, two years before, he had read the "Sentences" under a master, so now, some young man reads the "Sentences" under him, whilst he—thorough master of his subject, experienced in the technicalities of disputation, and well-seasoned in the schools—holds *disputationes generales*, upon any difficult points that may turn up.* Besides this, he would also handle the *Quodlibeta.* On the completion of his third year, he would present the bachelor, who had had the advantage of his experience—just as he himself had been presented—for his licentiate. Thus it was, that the efficiency of the teaching body was maintained. These

* D'Assailly gives this picture of the master and disciple :—"Qu'on imagine donc une salle basse, un carré long ; au milieu d'un des plus petits côtés du carré, la porte d'entrée ; puis, en face de la porte, à égale distance des deux angles, une chaire de forme particulière, très-profonde et très-haute. Cette chaire éveille à la fois l'idée d'un trône et d'une de ces chaises moitié siége, moitié prison, où l'on enferme encore quelquefois les enfants, dans les campagnes. Le meuble en question pouvait contenir deux personnes, le docteur, l'aspirant au grade de licence. Le premier, le docteur, dominait le public et, bien entendu, son disciple ; le second, le futur docteur, assis aux pieds du *magister*, prenait des notes ou feuilletait les livres de la loi sur une tablette. Que faisait le docteur? Le docteur expliquait le texte, qu'il chargeait aussi son subordonné de développer. Quelquefois encore une question subtile étant mise sur le tapis, il lui laissait engager l'argumentation avec un des simples écoliers, quitte à intervenir, en temps et lieu, dans le débat. Il s'interposait alors entre les deux champions, à la façon de ces prévôts d'armes qui, dans les duels entre *Burschen* de Bonn ou d'Heidelberg, parent les coups de pointe illicites ou trop dangereux." (*Albert le Grand: Mouvement des Ecoles, p.* 186—187.)

grades were not gone through as a matter of form. To succeed in the grand disputation in the Aula; to lecture before a crowd of the keenest minds, without a book *—the students all the while marking every word—required talent and readiness of logic; memory, and power of analysis; besides presence of mind, and sufficient fluency of speech. When it is remembered what William of Champeaux had to suffer from Abelard, and what Abelard himself had to suffer from his opponents, some idea may be formed of the requisites of a doctor, lecturing publicly before all the learning of the Paris world. The Dominicans were excessively particular about efficiency.† Unless a man had formerly lectured with *éclat*, or was a person of evident distinction, they were loth to place him in the chair.‡ At first, the majority of

* Men, from youth, seem in those days to have given themselves to the work of study, and of forming and developing their minds with an earnestness which is no longer known. Trade, and speculation of another kind, making money, and living for amusements, seems to have taken the place of the ancient intellectual interests and ambitions. The air, in those days, though it may have been tainted with dangerous elements, still had that catholic quality about it which seems to have braced men's intellects, and to have impregnated them with a love of abstract truth, and to have drawn them off mere self-seeking, and griming in mud and earth. When grasping for money took the place of chivalry and contemplation, then science lost the greater portion of her votaries.

† John of Salisbury quotes these lines written by an old monk of Chartres, describing very prettily the conditions favourable for acquiring knowledge:—

"Mens humilis, studium quærendi, vita quieta,
Scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena,
Hæc reserare solent multis obscura legendo."

‡ "Declarantes etiam quod illi qui per Bullas aut Brevia apostolica, sine licentia et favore Reverendissimi Magistri vel Capitulorum Generalium promoti sunt, vel de cætero promovebuntur ad quoscunque gradus in Theologia, sive Biblicatus sive Baccalaureatus sive magisterii, nullis libertatibus, exemptionibus, gratiis, preeminentiis hujusmodi graduatis ab ordine concessis gaudere possunt sed solum pro simplicibus conventualibus haberi debent. Mandantes Præsentibus conventuum, et omnibus fratribus nostri ordinis sub pœna *Gravioris culpæ*, ne tales sic per saltum et furtivé graduatos pro graduatis habeant, aut eos graduatos nominare præsumant." (*Const. apud. Font.* 290.)

those who joined the Order, were experienced professors, who had made their reputation, and at the calling of Jordan and others, had left the dangers of the University, for the security and peace of religious life. Reginald, Jordan, Henry, Roland, Humbert, Raymund, Conrad, John of S. Giles, and more than can be mentioned, were of this class.

Albert went through his course in the ordinary way: in the second year, being master with John of Paris; and in the third, *Primarius Regens* with Stephen of Auxerre, who had succeeded John. It was under the influence of these men, but, especially, of Albert, that S. Thomas finished his education. Wadding has endeavoured to prove that S. Thomas had studied under that brilliant commentator, Hales the Minorite. But Touron, and Bareille, have shown, conclusively, that Alexander had died before S. Thomas reached Paris, and that, some little time before his death, he had ceased to attend the schools.* If

* See Wadding, *T. I., ad. an.* 1245; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl., Liv. LXXXII., n.* 15; Baillet, *Jugements des Sçavants, Tom. I., p.* 110.

Hales' epitaph runs thus:—"Hic jacet frater Alexander de Hales, qui obiit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo quinto, duodecimo Kalendas Septembris, Gloria Doctorum decus et Philosophorum."

Bareille's words are these:—"On a vu de quelle manière Thomas d'Aquin fut attaché à l'école de frère Albert, dans l'ordre de saint Dominique. Suivant ce que nous avons dit en nous appuyant sur les monuments historiques les plus certains, Thomas ne vint étudier à Paris que vers la fin de l'année 1245; or, des autorités non moins indubitables attestent que le docteur Alexandre de Halès était mort le 21 du mois d'août de la même année. Si l'on ajoute à cela qu'il avait cédé sa chaire quelque temps auparavant, quelle possibilité restera-t-il de lui donner Thomas d'Aquin pour élève? Il suffit, au reste, à la gloire du docteur irréfragable d'avoir vu saint Bonaventure assis sur les bancs de son école." (*Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, p.* 125.)

he had studied under a Franciscan at all, it would have been under John of Rochelle, who succeeded Alexander, and who was the master of S. Bonaventure.

But we left our Saint under the tuition of Albert, at Paris—I now must carry on his history during the quiet time of his pupilage.

At this period, his favourite book was Cassian—as at Cologne—and the writings of S. Augustine.* His biographers relate an anecdote of him which is also told of Lanfranc. He was reading in the refectory. The Prior, thinking he had made a false quantity when he had not, corrected him. Thomas, with great humility, pronounced the word wrong out of obedience. On some of the friars expressing their surprise at this, he said to them, "It makes little difference how a word is pronounced, but it is of great importance for a religious to practise humility and obedience." When at table, he knew not what he eat.

* "Wie in der Wissenschaft, so hatte er während dieses dreijährigen Aufenthaltes zu Paris in den Tugenden des inneren Lebens zugenommen. Sein Lieblings-und Erholungsbuch waren Cassian's Collationen, deren er sich nach seinem eigenen Geständnisse dazu bediente, um durch Betrachtung und Beschauung sein wissenschaftliches Streben zu beschwingen und zu vertiefen. So in sich versenkt gieng er öfter vom Mittagstische, ohne zu wissen, was als Speise aufgesetzt worden; die ascetischen Pflichten des klösterlichen Lebens erfüllte er auf das strengste, die Uebung des Gehorsams war dem kindlich demüthigen und anspruchlosen Wesen des sanftesten Jünglings eine ganz zur Natur gewordene Tugend. Als er bei Tische einst vorlas, bedeutete ihm der Obere, dass, er ein ohnehin richtig betontes Wort anders auszusprechen habe; Thomas gehorchte. Nach Tische bemerkten ihm einige Mitschüler, er hätte den Fehler, welchen der Corrector gemacht, nicht nachsprechen sollen; er aber erwiderte: Es liegt wenig daran, ob ein Wort so oder anders ausgesprochen werde; aber sehr viel ist daran gelegen, dass ein Ordensmann jederzeit bereitwilligen Gehorsam übe." (Werner, *B. I., Cap. II., p.* 108; *Cf.* Bareille, *Chap. XII., p.* 123.)

Abstraction, contemplation, silence—these composed the atmosphere in which he dwelt.*

It is often the custom of good men to moralize upon the beauty of peace and gentleness—on the charm of solitude and silence; but they do not often go beyond this; they do not often sink into the depth of the human spirit, and seek to discover the hidden spring which produces the great effect. He alone, who has lived to God and to himself, can fully realize the strength and vigour produced within the soul, by prayer, silence, solitude; by dwelling under One Eye alone, and communing with One Only Spirit, and by opening out the whole man—the entire being—like a flower to the sun —towards the light and warmth that is produced by heaven. Great souls, souls made of fine and noble elements, have it in them; it is their nature, when alone, to seek Him who is above, and to find their freedom and their companionship with the world that is unseen. Open the life of any saint; speak to any man who has really given himself to God. Ask him of his silent, solitary hours—whence come all his sweetness and his spiritual light—and he will have but one answer to give. It comes from basking and living in the sun, and by letting the spirit expand itself, and grow, with its own spontaneous rectitude, towards

* Most of the great contemplative or learned saints were thus affected. S. Anselm, we are told, would swallow, at table, without knowing what it was, anything that was put before him. His disciples pushed pieces of bread under or by his hands, and thus, without knowing it, he would eat and make a meal.

Him who made it; from Whom it originally came; and to Whom, finally, it will have to go. Ask the gentle, silent, young Aquino, how he spent his time. —He spent it drinking in the brightness of heaven, and filling himself with the strength of God. But this is a digression.

Nothing has been handed down, of any moment, regarding the teaching of S. Thomas at Paris during this period. Albert was in the height of his reputation. The days of Abelard and William of Champeaux seemed almost to have returned. Neither the accommodation at S. James's, nor the hall attached to the University, was large enough to contain the crowds of students. It has been said, in another place, that, on account of want of room, Albert was forced to lecture in a square still pointed out to strangers, near Notre Dame, and which, ever since that day, has been known as Place Maubert *(du Maître Albert)*.—Albert, having finished his course, took his Doctor's cap.

The success of the Dominican professors at Paris, induced the friars to extend the field of their labours. The same year in which S. Thomas finished his studies (1248), a General Chapter was held at Paris.* Here it was ruled that four new

* "In demselben Jahre, in welchem Thomas seine Studien in Paris beendete (1248), wurde zu Paris ein Ordenscapitel gehalten und beschlossen, neben der theologischen Schule zu St. Jacob vier neue Schulen zu errichten, in welchen eben so, wie in Paris, Lehrer und Schüler im umfassenderen Betriebe der heiligen Wissenschaft herangebildet werden sollten. Als die Orte dieser neuen Schulen wurden ausersehen: Bologna für die lombardische Ordensprovinz, Montpellier für die Provence, Oxford für England, Cöln für Deutschland. Nach Cöln wurden Albert und Thomas beordert, ersterer als oberster Regent der Schule; der dreiundzwanzigjährige Thomas als zweiter Lehrer und *magister studentium*." (Werner, *B. I., Cap. III., p.* 109.)

schools should be started, on the model of S. James's :—Bologna, for the Lombard Province; Montpellier, for Provence; Oxford, for England; and Cologne, for Germany. In spite of Albert's great fame at Paris, both he and Thomas were ordered to Cologne. Albert was to take the chair, re-arrange the studies, and be Regent; whilst Thomas—who was not twenty-three—was to be second professor, and "*Magister Studentium.*"

The old city of Cologne, which was frequented by pilgrims from all the world, was moved, when the return of Albert and Thomas was announced. Albert's name, his ancient reputation, and his new dignity, attracted crowds. Thomas had as yet to make his powers known.

CHAPTER XVIII.

S. THOMAS MADE BACHELOR.

It was not long before the young "*Magister Studentium*" acquired a brilliant reputation at Cologne. Here it was that he began to make a name which eventually became more than European. It is natural that his sheer purity and saintliness should draw young men around him. But he had other attractions. He possessed the keenest of minds, the most capacious of memories; he could, with facility, take up any tangled skein, unravel it, and, with a mastership that might make ordinary men despair, display its whole complexity in such a manner, that the student could, with the greatest ease, take in the entire bearing of the question.*

* "Il suffit de dire en passant, . . . qu'on ne croyoit pas qu'il y eût rien de si elevé, ou de si obscur, soit dans les matières de Théologie, soit dans les livres des anciens Philosophes, qu'il ne rendit aisé, ou intelligible. Les questions les plus épineuses, les plus capables d'arrêter l'esprit par leur obscurité il les mettait toujours à la portée de ses auditeurs." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. I., p.* 98—99.)

He lays down the principle, thus, himself:—"Peritia docendi requirenda est, ad quam quinque pertinent, scilicet apertio, brevitas, utilitas suavitas et maturitas. Aperta debet esse doctrina ut ab omnibus intelligatur. *In lib. Prosperi de Vita contemplativa*, dicitur 'tam apertus debet esse sermo docentis, ut ab intelligentia sua nullos quamvis imperitos excludat. Utendum est pleno sermone, ut nummo, ubi est publica forma.'" *(De Erud. Princip., Vol. XVI., Lib. V., Cap. IX., p* 432.)

His distinctions, even compared with those of Albert, were so new, his arguments so ingenious, that all were dazzled at his great ability. It was in the school of Cologne that he first gave evidence as a teacher, of that depth, balance, and expansion which, in after life, made him the weightiest of authorities on the most momentous of religious questions. In his treatment of the Lombard, and in handling of Scripture, he had ample opportunity for displaying his many-sided gifts.*

Nor did he confine himself to teaching in the schools. He preached and wrote.† His first pieces were "*De Ente et Essentia*," and "*De Principiis Naturæ*;" in which, following the leadership of Albert, he lays down fundamental principles of philosophy — principles which were afterwards developed, and which thread his entire teaching in

* "Si diede pure ad interpretare alcuni libri della Sacra Scrittura, ed a sporre l'opera del Maestro delle Sentenze. In questo suo officio, comechè egli avesse ventidue anni e non più, trapassò di gran lunga l' aspettazione, che altissima si avea di lui, e venne in tanta fama che pel nobile desiderio di udirlo, e maestri e discepoli a gran numero traevano a quella città."

"Chi volesse entrare ne' particolari delle sue lodi, a pezza non finirebbe; dirò senza più che la scholastica filosofia (e dimostrativa era allora la filosofia, quale appunto debb' essere) non mai aveva fatto di sè tanto bella e maravigliosa mostra, quanto fece per opera di Tommaso. Al mirare ch' e' facea col suo perspicacissimo senno per entro la natura delle cose e al vederne di tratto ogni rispetto, al suo pronto levarsi ai più alti principii della scienza, al ricchissimo tesoro delle sue cognizioni, alla perfezione del suo metodo non che alla inimitabile efficacia del suo riciso parlare tutti rimaneano a guisa di attoniti, nè poteano riaversi dello stupore. E veramente i più dotti scolastici e' lasciossi di lungo spazio addietro massime in ordine al modo che perfettissimo teneva nell' addottrinare." (Gibelli, *Vita, Cap. XIII., p.* 50—51; *Cf.* Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. I., p.* 98.)

† Here is a specimen of the French language, as used in the thirteenth century, on the words :—*Erat tunica inconsutilis :* "ço estoit une cote, ço dist senz custure, e dessore estoit contoissue par tot; ço done il à entendre que fu bien ovrée, e signifie le concorde e le carite de seinte glise." (See A. Lecoy, De La Marche's, *La Chaire Française, p.* 169.)

metaphysics. He also composed several minor papers which point to his mastery of Aristotle; to the frame-work which he afterwards put together for sound scholastic teaching; and to the subtlety, lucidity, and grasp of his intelligence. His two first pieces contain the germ of a future system, and are remarkable productions for a youth of twenty-two.*

No doubt, the Saint's practice in teaching, and the accuracy he acquired by writing from an early age, were of great assistance to him in developing his powers. Then, he possessed another gift, very valuable in the middle ages, particularly so in the thirteenth century, and more especially useful to a religious man—a changeless calmness and self-possession. Partly, through education—through the vicissitudes of life; greatly, by character; partly, through breadth of mind; and principally, through grace—he possessed his soul in patience. He, if any man, could say—*Anima mea, in manibus meis semper:* for it was never known, even under the most trying provocation, that he lost his gentle self-control.† His

* "Malgré la préoccupation d'un début dans l'enseignement oral, Thomas trouva le temps de se livrer au travail de la composition. C'est alors qu'il écrivit le *Traité des principes de la nature*, celui *de l'Etre et de l'essence*, et plusieurs autres ouvrages où se trouvent dilucidées avec autant de netteté que de profondeur, les notions les plus abstraites de la métaphysique et de l'ontologie. Ses premiers écrits sont, en effet, de la même époque que ses premières leçons. Il essayait à la fois de ces deux organes de la pensée, la parole et l'écriture, dont il devait désormais se servir sans relâche pour répandre sur l'esprit humain des torrents de lumière et de vérité." (Bareille, *Cap. XIII., p.* 132; *Cf.* Tolom. da Lucca, *Hist. Eccl., Lib. XXII., Chap. XXI.)*

† Disputing at Paris, on one occasion, with John of Pisa the Minorite, say the Bollandists: "Quantunque dictus Joannes exasperaret eundem Fratrem Thomam verbis ampullosis et tumidis, nunquam tamen ipse F. Thomas restrinxit verbum humilitatis; sed semper cum dulcedine et humanitate respondit: et idem faciebat dictus F. Thomas in omni disputatione quantunque acuta et solerti." (Boll., *Cap. IX., n.* 77, *p.* 710.)

humility and sweetness came out strikingly when arguing in the schools.* Though his opponent, in the heat of disputation, might forget himself, Thomas not so. He answered meekly, and with benevolence—steadied by the light from which his every action sprang.

On one occasion, when a certain student arrogantly defended a thesis, of which he knew the Saint disapproved, he was suffered to proceed without remark. Asked why he did not check the youth, the Saint replied that he could not bring himself to put the young man to shame. Next day, emboldened by the silence of the previous evening, the student continued his argument with still greater arrogance. The Saint now thought it time to interfere. So, with infinite sweetness, yet with crushing power, he put a few questions, made some distinctions, and upset the student with such ease, first on one point, then on another, that the whole school was in an uproar of admiration. Both the youth and his companions were thus taught a lesson of gentleness and power, which they did not easily forget. †

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* F. Leonardus de Caieta testifies thus of S. Thomas :—"Fuitque homo magnæ humilitatis et patientiæ ; ita quod nunquam videbatur turbari ab aliquo ; ac etiam magnæ sobrietatis et vigilantiæ." (Boll., *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 75, *p.* 709.)

† "In crastinum autem cum ad idem in aula Domini Episcopi coram eisdem Fr. Thomas cum studentibus convenisset, et eædem quæstiones fuissent et determinationes per Licentiandum sine correctione aliqua repetitæ ; Frater Thomas cum omni moderamine dixit ; Magister, ista vestra opinio salva veritate, teneri non potest, quia est contra tale concilium : unde oportet vos aliter dicere, si non vultis a concilio discordare. Tunc aliter dicere cœpit, sed opinionem in sententia non mutavit. Contra quem iterum arguens, et Concilium contra ipsum adducens, compulit ipsum suum confiteri errorem, et petere humiliter a prædicto

On another occasion, he was preaching to a crowded congregation at S. James's. It was Palm Sunday. During the discourse, an official, sent by the Senate of the University, walked up the church. He beckoned to the Saint to stop, and then read out, before the astonished people, with S. Thomas standing silent in the pulpit, an offensive document, drawn up by the secular party, in opposition to the Friars Preachers. When the man had finished, and the congregation had recovered from their surprise a little, S. Thomas proceeded with his sermon, with the same calmness with which he had commenced it. No human influence, however sudden or distressing, seemed to have any power over his extraordinary mind.*

Corrado de Suessia, who knew him intimately, gave a most interesting testimony on oath to the simplicity and purity of his life. He declared him to be "a man of holy life and honest conversation, peaceful, sober, humble, quiet, devout, contemplative, and chaste: so mortified, that he cared not what he eat, or what he put on. Every day he celebrated, with great devotion, or heard, one or

Doctore scire plenius veritatem. Tunc Frater Thomas dixit: modo bene dicitis, et docuit ipsum quod erat pro veritate tenendum. De quo Magistri omnes admirati sunt de tranquillitate mentis ejus et verbi, qui sic arguebat adversarium, quasi doceret discipulum, et quod tantæ scientiæ subito proposuisset mirabile documentum, ut suum locum teneret, et debitum solveret occulta scilicet virtus animi, et veritas manifestata Magistri." (Boll., *Cap. V.*, *n.* 27., *p.* 666.)

* "In disputationibus, quibus consueverunt homines aliquando modum excedere, semper inveniebatur mitis et humilis, nullis verbis gloriosis et ampullosis utens, et sic erat abstractus a temporalibus ampliationibus, quod in mensa dum comedebat, semper habebat oculos ad superiora, et ponebatur coram eo scutella, et removebatur pluries ipso non sentiente." (Boll. *Cap. IX.*, *n.* 77., *p.* 710.)

two masses; and, except in times proper for repose, he was ever occupied in reading, writing, praying, or preaching. I saw him," says Corrado, "leading the above life."* To this was joined a great confidence in spiritual illumination. "His science," says Raynald, "was not acquired by natural talent, but by the revelation and infusion of the Holy Ghost, for he never set himself to write, without having first prayed and wept. When he was in doubt, he had recourse to prayer, and with tears he returned—instructed and enlightened in his uncertainty." † A letter, attributed to the Saint, gives his views on the temper of a Christian student. It is addressed to a certain "*In Christo Carissimus Joannes.*" John is not to plunge all at once into the sea of science, but to approach it by degrees, as water does along the beds of rivers, beginning with easy things, and then advancing to more difficult ones; talking too much must be avoided; purity of conscience, prayer, and solitude, are to be cultivated; John is to be amiable to all, familiar with none, for familiarity produces contempt, and

* "Homo sanctæ vitæ, et conversationis honestæ, pacificus, sobrius, humilis, quietus, devotus, contemplativus, et castus; ita quod reputabatur virgo; et in cibo et potu fuit tantæ sobrietatis, quod singularitates ciborum non petebat, nec etiam curabat de cultu vestimentorum, et omni die cum magna devotione aut ipse celebrabat aut audiebat unam aut duas missas, et præter naturalis quietis horas semper vacabat aut lectioni, aut Scripturis, aut orationi, aut prædicationi. Vidi eum facientem prædictam vitam." (Boll., *Cap. V.*, *n.* 47, *p.* 699.)

† "Ejus scientia non fuerat a naturali ingenio acquisita; sed per revelationem et infusionem Spiritus Sancti: quia nunquam ponebat se ad scribendum aliquod opus, nisi præmissa oratione et effusione lacrymarum; et quando in aliquo dubitabat, recurrebat ad orationem, et perfusus lacrymis de ipso dubio revertabatur clarificatus et doctus: et hoc testimonium retulit ipsi testi, et multis aliis publice." (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 58, *p.* 704.)

stands in the way of study; he is to avoid mixing up with the affairs of seculars; he must shun vain conversations, and walk in the footsteps of the saints; he must not concern himself whence good comes, but treasure it up in his memory; he must try and know what he does, and try and understand all he hears; rid his mind of doubts, and fill the chamber of his intelligence with knowledge; and never aim at knowing what is beyond his reach.*

It was about this period that S. Thomas was ordained priest. It is mortifying that no certain information can be procured, regarding the time at which it took place. To him, it must have been an occasion of extreme joy, and overwhelming awe. His treatise on the dignity of the Christian priesthood; his illuminated Tract on the Blessed Sacrament; and his writings on the Mass; besides other references to the Real Presence, manifest the temper of his mind. † All his biographers lay

* It may be interesting to give this letter in full:—"Quia quæsisti a me, in Christo mihi charissime Joannes, qualiter te studere oporteat in thesauro scientiæ acquirendo: tale a me tibi super hoc traditur consilium, ut per rivulos non statim in mare eligas introire, quia per faciliora ad difficiliora oportet devenire. Hæc est ergo monitio mea et instructio tua. Tardiloquum te esse jubeo, et tarde ad locutorium ascendentem: conscientiæ puritatem amplectere, orationi vacare non desinas, cellam frequenter diligas, si vis in cellam vinariam introduci. Omnibus te amabilem exhibe, nihil quære penitus de factis aliorum, nemini te multum familiarem ostendas, quia nimia familiaritas parit contemptum, et subtractionis a studio materiam subministrat. De verbis et factis sæcularium nullatenus te intromittas. Discursus super omnia fugias: sanctorum et bonorum imitari vestigia non omittas; non respicias a quo audias, sed quicquid boni dicatur, memoriæ recommenda. Et quæ agis et audis, fac ut intelligas: de dubiis te certifices, et quicquid poteris in armariolo mentis reponere, satage sicut cupiens vas implere. Altiora te ne quæsieris. Illa sequens vestigia frondes et fructus in vineam Domini Sabaoth utiles, quamdiu vitam humeris proferes ac produces. Hæc si sectatus fueris, ad id attingere poteris quod affectas." *(Opusc., LXI., Vol. XVII., p. 338., ed. Parmæ.)*

† "Io per me non sarò ardito di por mano a descrivere quale e' fosse la prima volta che celebrò a messa; lingua mortale non può ritrarre in carte

stress on his great devotion while celebrating. He was frequently rapt in spirit whilst at Mass, when the tears would spring to his eyes, and flow copiously.* This happened to him also at other times. During Compline, at the words, "*Ne projicias nos in tempore senectutis cum defecerit virtus mea*," he was frequently thus carried away.† After he had said Mass, he prepared his lectures, and then went to the schools. Next, he wrote, or dictated to several scribes; then he dined, returned to his cell, and occupied himself with Divine things till time for rest; after which he wrote again, and thus ordered his life in the service of his Master.‡

The duty of preaching, also fell upon him.§ A

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cosa, che tanto senta del divino; dirò solo che internato con tutta la mente e con tutto il cuore in Dio era sì raggiante d' amore, che parea un comprensore anzi che un viatore. Chi legge faccia da sè ragione dello stato di quell' anima nobilissima ed eccelsa; e a questo effetto consideri ben addentro le sublimi e stupende cose che questo Angelo delle scuole tutto acceso in fuoco d' amore venne scrivendo sopra l'Augustissimo Sacramento e sopra l'eccellenza e dignità del Sacerdozio." (Gibelli, *Vita*, *Cap. XIV.*, *p.* 55.)

"Erat enim præcipue devotus ad sacrosanctum Sacramentum Altaris; de quo quia concessum ei fuerat profundius scribere, donatus est ei devotius celebrare." (Boll., *Cap. VI.*, *n.* 30, *p.* 667.)

* "*Consueverat* autem frequentius rapi in Missa tantæ devotionis affectu ut totus perfunderetur lacrymis, qui tanti Sacramenti sacris absorbebatur mysteriis, et reficiebatur ex donis." (Id. *Cf.*, *Sum. Theolog.*, *P. III.*, *q. XXII.*, *Art. I.*, *sqq.* Opusc., *De Offic. Sacerd.*, Opusc., *Exposit.* Missæ, &c.)

† "Visus fuit etiam frequenter, cum cantaretur ille versus in Completorio quadragesimali tempore: *Ne projicias nos in tempore senectutis, cum defecerit virtus mea.* (Ps. 70, 9.) quasi raptus et in oratione absorptus multis perfundi lacrymis, quas de oculis videbatur educere piæ mentis." (Boll., *Cap. VI.*, *p.* 667—668.)

‡ "Post auditam ipsam Missam exutis vestibus statim ascendebat cathedram: post descensum cathedræ ponebat se ad scribendum, et dictandum pluribus scriptoribus: postea comedebat, et deinde redibat ad cameram, et se divinis occupabat usque ad quietem: et post quietem scribere assumebat, et sic totam vitam suam ordinabat ad Deum." (Boll., *Cap. IX.*, *n.* 77, *p.* 710.)

§ The Dominicans had a spacious place for lecturing and preaching in, for: "Aux jours solennels, l'Université, n'ayant pas de demure fixe ni de local assez vaste, empruntait pour ses orateurs la chaire des écoles

man so filled with the Spirit of God would, almost of necessity, manifest the passion which ruled supreme. His reputation, even at this period, was great enough to draw a large congregation into the Dominican Church. His learning, his piety, his extraordinary gifts, then his nobility, and his commanding, yet gentle appearance, must have produced a deep impression.

But, before speaking of his sermons in particular, a general view of "preaching" in the thirteenth century will not be unacceptable.

Sacred eloquence, from the time of the Apostles, till the fourth century, consisted principally in homilies and in popular harangues. Then, we come upon the days of the great columnal Fathers, whose eloquent thoughts have a power still to move men's hearts, and whose methods influenced those lesser lights who followed them. S. Basil, S. Gregory, S. Chrysostom, and S. Augustine—looking back even from our day—occupy a position which could be filled by no other four. They were succeeded—worthily indeed, but were not approached—by S. Gregory the Great, S. Isidore of Seville, and Venerable Bede: just as, in turn, S. Gregory, S.

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dominicaines de la rue Saint-Jacques." (*Hist. Litt.*, *Chap. XXIV.*, *p.* 314.)

Maurice de Sully gives an interesting account of the first preachers of Christianity:—"Sains Thomas prééça en Inde le major, sains Bartholomeus en Inde le menor, sains Simons en Perse, sains Phelipe en Sycile, sains Johans en Ayse, sains Jakes li graindres en Espaignes, sains Jakes li mendres en Judée, saints Pieres en Lombardie, sains Pols en Gresse, sains Andrels en Archadie; et il et lor desciple menèrent la créance de la crestienté par tot le monde." (*Sermon du* 20e *Dimanche après Pentecôte.* De La Marche, *p.* 1.)

Isidore, and S. Bede were succeeded, but were not surpassed by Alanus of Farfa, Rabanus, Heric, Alcuin, and Paul Warnefrid. The scale of excellence seems gradually to diminish, till we come to such stirring times as the Crusades, or to days of contest against the violence of heretics, which, from the very nature of the case—from the force of circumstances—caused earnest men to speak with vigour and with enthusiasm, if not with the elegance and polish of academicians. There was Ralph Ardent, for example, now almost forgotten, who anticipated the great Dominicans in his eloquence and power; then, S. Bernard, and Peter the Hermit, whose unction and earnestness, and fire, are well known, as exerting a great sway over the masses—and Hugh of S. Victor's, and Comestor, and Fulk, of whom mention has been made before; and Maurice de Sully, and John of Nivelle—mighty orators in their day, but now forgotten with the rest—bringing us down to the great revival in the Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominic.*

James de Vitry, Maurice de Sully, and William of S. Amour, say quite enough about the boldness

* "Wir besitzen noch theils Homiliensammlungen, theils nur einzelne Reden und Auslegungen aus der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters von dem hl. Galius, Alcuin, Haymo von Halberstadt, Rhabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Ratherius von Verona. Als eifrige Prediger glänzten in der nachfolgenden Zeit: der hl. Petrus Damiani, der hl. Anselm, der hl. Norbert, Ivo von Chartres (I. Carnotensis), Gottfried von Vendôme, Gottfried von Bordeaux, Hildebert von Mans (H. Cenomanensis) u. A. Der hervorragendste Redner des Mittelalters war aber unstreitig der grosse hl. Bernhard (1091—1153), der durch die Salbung wie das Feue seines Wortes wieder ganz an die hl. Väter erinnert und aussordentliche Erfolge feirte." (*Das Kirchliche Predigtamt*, von Nikolaus Schleiniger, *Zweite Auflage, Einleitung, p.* 22.)

of such heretics as the Catharites, and the Vaudois, to give a clear notion of the energy with which the children of S. Dominic would follow out their special vocation. The preaching of the Word of God, with school learning, was their one object in life. They opposed with fire and eloquence, the truth of the Gospel against the errors and blasphemies of fanatical performers, who, in the streets, or in the country places, would collect the simple-minded around them, and pour into their ears all manner of detestable teaching.

The language in which, at this period, sermons were preached, was French; that is, when given out from the pulpit. Even when written in Latin—and this was generally the case—they were delivered to the people in the people's tongue. S. Bonaventure is said to have preached in French.* S. Bernard, even, preached his Crusades in the vulgar tongue. Jordan of Saxony, and John of Wildeshusen, also, preached in French. In 1213, the Abbot of Jumièges had to explain the Gospel in French for the sake of the less instructed *(simplicioribus fratribus)*. But, as a rule, the clergy were addressed in Latin. It was not thought complimentary to do otherwise. The epitaph of Abbot Notker (998) shows what the custom was, even as early as his time.† Some

* "Licet ego," says S. Bonaventure, "nesciam bene loqui gallicè, non tamen propter hoc verbum Dei quod debeo proferri in se minus valet. Ideo non curetis de hoc, dum tamen me intelligere possitis." (De La Marche, *p.* 236.)

† "Vulgari plebem, clerum sermone latino
Erudit, et satiat magni dulcedine verbi."
(D. Bouquet, *Cap. X.*, *p.* 286.)

Then, again, the translator of Robert Lincoln says:—"Lingua romana coram clericis saporem suavitatis non habet." (De La Marche, *p.* 234.)

had a fancy for making sermons in rhyme—*sermones rimatos*—which seem to have had a strange attraction for many amongst the people.

The sermon generally took place—if it were an ordinary Sunday, and the preacher addressed the people in an instruction—after the Gospel, as is still the custom to this day.* But special sermons, preached on state occasions, such as at marriages or funerals, were delivered after Mass. There were sermons *in mane*, in the morning; and *post prandium*, after dinner. Then there were Collations, or Conferences, which were generally delivered by the same person who spoke to the congregation in the morning. The people were arranged, with the men on one side, and the women on the other, and ladies of distinction came to church, preceded by their valets, carrying cushions for them to sit upon during the discourse. The preacher was in the habit of addressing the people as "*Fratres*," "*Fratres Carissimi*," "*Bele Gens*," "*Bele Segnors*," "*Douce Gent*," "*Signor et Dames.*" Sometimes, if the preacher said something offensive, or made use of unsound or heretical expressions, there were not wanting those who would interrupt him,

* Schleiniger speaks thus of the influence of schools on preaching:—"Einen bedeutenden Einfluss auf allmähliche Wiederbelebung der Beredsamkeit übten, sich immer schärfer ausprägend und weiter verpflanzend, die Scholastik und Mystik; jene, indem sie mehr Schärfe und Gründlichkeit in die Beweisführung brachte (von der Scholastik rührt besonders die mehr planmässige Anlage und die Frequenz der Eintheilung her); diese, indem sie der Schattenseite der scholastischen Methode, der Trockenheit und Spitzfindigkeit, entgegenarbeitete und der Beredsamkeit mehr Gemüth, ungekünstelte Einfachheit und Salbung vermittelte." (*Predigtamt*, *p.* 22.)

and call him to order.* Robert of Sorbon gives a very interesting account of an instance of this. A learned clerk preached before the King of France. During his sermon, he went on to say that all the Apostles, at the moment of the Passion, abandoned Christ, and that faith became extinguished in their hearts; the Blessed Virgin, alone, kept it, from the day of the Passion, to that of the Resurrection, in commemoration of which, in the Holy Week of penance, at matins, all the lights, one after the other, are put out, except one, which is reserved for making blessed fire at Easter time. A solemn ecclesiastic, of higher rank, rose up to reprehend him; for the Apostles, according to this censor, had abandoned Jesus Christ in body, but not in heart. The preacher was about to retract, when the King, (Louis) getting up in his turn, intervened. "The proposition is not false," he said: "it is to be found clearly expressed in the Fathers: bring me the Book of S. Augustine." The book was brought, and the King pointed out a passage in his Commentaries on the Gospel of S. John, where, in point of fact, S. Augustine expresses himself in these

* According to S. Thomas, the priest should aim at practising what he preaches. Frigerio sums up his teaching beautifully thus:—"Avvisava il Santo, dover concorrere nell'evangelico predicatore alcune conditioni, che si leggono sparse ne'suoi componimenti, da noi quì compilate. Dicea dunque, che non dee mettersi veruno a questa alta impresa, se non è sciolto da ogni affare secolaresco, e soggiogate in prima le proprie passioni coll' acquisto delle christiane virtù: di che grande insegnamento ne diede il nostro divin Maestro, il quale dopo l'intrapresa austerità nel diserto, e dopo le tante vittorie di satanasso riportate, immediatamente cominciò a predicar'il Vangelo: *Vt doceret*, dice egli nella Somma, *post carnem edomitam oportere alios ad prædicationis officium transire.*" (*Lib. III., Cap. V., p.* 153; *Summa, Pars. III., qu. XLI., art. III., ad.* 1.)

words :—"*Fugerunt, relicto eo corde et corpore.*" * Sometimes, if the preacher said hard things about the ladies — like S. Bernard's saying that the first time a woman opened her mouth, she upset the whole world—the women rose up, and protested, before the congregation, against the unfairness of such imputations. Nepotism, riches, pluralities amongst the clergy, cheating in trade, usury, immorality, and vanity and love of dress, and of adorning their heads, especially amongst women—were constant subjects for the preacher.

Of course, sometimes, the congregation would not properly attend to the discourses. At one time, complaints were made that the men left the church just as the sermon began, and only came back when it was over. Cesarius of Arles, to put a stop to this kind of abuse, had the doors of the church closed after the Gospel.† Robert of Sorbon, with the same end in view, adopted different means.‡ One Easter Sunday, he told

* "Besonders günstig war fur das Predigtwesen die Einsetzung des Dominicaner ('Prediger') und Franciscanerordens, die sich beide eifrig mit Verkundigung des göttlichen Wortes befassten. Unter die berühmtern geistlichen Redner aus dem zwölften bis fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, gehören der hl. Dominicus, Thomas von Aquin, Bonaventura, Antonius von Padua, Philippus Benitius, Bernardin von Siena, Vincentius Ferrerius, Thomas von Villanova, Laurentius Justiniani . . . Gerson . . . der hl. Johannes Capistranus . . . Berthold von Regensburg . . . Tauler . . . Suso," &c. (See Schleiniger, *p.* 23.)

† Martène, *Antiq. Eccl., Rit. I., p.* 380.

‡ Still, during the thirteenth century, the influence of popular preaching was very great. Speaking of the work of S. Francis and S. Dominic, De La Marche says:—"A partir de ce moment la prédication populaire prend un essor rapide, une extension énorme. Les nouveaux venus excitent chez les autres une louable émulation, et bientôt le sermon en arrive, comme nous le verrons, à tenir une place des plus importantes dans la vie publique et privée. Dans le domaine des monuments écrits, cette ardeur se traduit par une fécondité jusque-là inouïe, qui a fait dire aux auteurs de *l'Histoire littéraire:* 'L'innombrable amas des sermons latins ou français

his congregation that he would be short, like the Gospel of the day: "I know," he said, "that on this day you must have a short sermon, and a long dinner. But it is to be hoped that the Mass is not too long for you."*

When the preacher found some of his congregation asleep, he did not experience much difficulty in addressing himself to them pretty directly.† Many anecdotes are given to this effect. For instance, the preacher would cry out: "He who sleeps in the corner there, does not know the secret I am going to tell you." Another, seeing persons fast asleep, left the immediate subject of his discourse, and said, with a loud voice, "Once upon a time, there was a king called Arthur," upon which, the sleepers awoke, and the orator said to them, not without irony, "When I speak of God, you sleep; but immediately I talk of fables, you

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dont les anciennes bibliothèques sont encombrées ne pourra être débrouillé qu'à l'aide du loisir qui attend les histoiens d'une époque moins heureuse.' On peut appliquer déjà au XIII^e^ siècle l'observation que fait à propos du suivant M. Victor Le Clerc: 'Tout discours est presque un sermon: parler c'est prêcher. L'art de la prédication est tout l'art de la parole.'" (*Les Prédicateurs*, *p.* 13.)

* "Surrexit, non est hic. Hoc est verbum breve, et faciemus de ipso brevem sermonem, si poterimus; quia benè scio quòd hodiè vultis brevem sermonem et longam mensam: sed utinam, non brevem missam." (De La Marche, *p.* 203.)

† It cannot well be denied that in the latter half of the thirteenth century, sacred oratory fell so low that there was some excuse for men at times failing to keep up their attention. Even the Dominicans and Franciscans became so carried away with Aristotle, that the fulness and fire of the pulpit gave way to the dry, formal methodism of the dialectical disputant. Towards the year 1260, the influence of Scotist subtlety and affectation seems to have influenced, more or less, every pulpit. Inspirations, *élan*—the real flow of the soul, such as we meet in S. Francis of Assisi, and his immediate disciples, was dried up. Logic-chopping, and cutting ideas into snips, and arbitrary lengths, little suited the requirements of the rhetorician; indeed, even the name itself of "rhetoric," so Daunou says, could not be found in the course of studies drawn out for the public schools.

awake." De Vitry's plan was to cry out, "He who sleeps there in that corner, does not know my secret!" And on another occasion, when an old woman was asleep, "Would you have me speak of the honest woman? I will talk, then, of the old woman fast asleep there. . . . . Those who sleep at sermons, take good care not to sleep at table."

With regard to subject-matter, sermons depended upon the state of society, and the different classes into which men were divided.* There were sermons *ad cleros*, and *ad populum;* then, sermons *ad status* addressed to the different wants of various sections, *e. g.: Dolentes de morte propinquorum, Majores civitatis, Familiæ divitum, Mulieres meretrices.* Then there was the *dilatatio*, or the method of spinning out, and making the most of a few ideas; and the *sermo communis*, or common sermon, which was so constructed as to fit in with almost any occasion, and was intended to prevent the preacher ever being taken by surprise.

Of Englishmen, Stephen Langton, and S. Edmund, were both noted for their preaching: the former, on account of his powerful voice, was

* De La Marche speaks of the following subjects as preached upon by S. Thomas:—"Les morceaux que nous avons rencontrés sous son nom dans les recueils du temps sont, avec celui là, [*Attendite à falsis prophetis*] un sermon pour la fête du pape Saint Grégoire, sur le texte, '*Ecce vigil et sanctus descendit*,' un autre pour le premier dimanche après l'Epiphanie, sur l'évangile '*Puer Jesus proficiebat ætate*,' suivi également d'une collation; un autre enfin sur l'Eucharistie, prêché le Jeudi-Saint, en consistoire, devant Urbain IV. et ses cardinaux. On se rappelle que ce pape fut l'instituteur de la fête du Saint-Sacrement. Il mourut en 1264: le dernier sermon est donc antérieur à cette date." (*Les Prédicateurs, Première Partie, p.* 115.)

called *Stephanus Linguæ-tonantis;* the latter was famous for his zeal. But of all, whether secular or religious, the Dominicans were, without doubt, the great preachers of the thirteenth century. In 1273, sixty preachers were employed in the principal churches of Paris, and of them, exactly one half were Dominicans. In the early part of the century, the style of preaching was earnest, simple, and natural. There must have been eloquence and fire, to have effected what the Dominicans achieved. Later on, the manner changed, the method became too dry and scholastic, and the spirit of analysis that did so much harm to theology, entered into sacred eloquence.

But it is time to return to the preaching of S. Thomas. His sermons can be judged by what he has written, and by the history of their effects.* His biographers speak of their simplicity, depth, and balance. Several anecdotes, related by Touron, prove the power he possessed over his audience. On one occasion, in a sermon on the Passion, in S. Peter's, during Lent, he so vividly brought

* Miracles were amongst the wonders he worked :—"Volle anche il Signore autorizzare il gran ministro della sua divina parola con opere della sua onnipotenza, cioè co'segni e miracoli, come si videro nella primitiva Chiesa : siche predicando l'ottava di Pasqua nella mentovata Basilica, udillo una donna, che lungo tempo già pativa d'un profluvio di sangue, senza poter' a tanto male riparare. Sentissi costei eccitare in questa predica alla divotione del Santo, e come quell' altra del Vangelo si persuase, che, se havesse potuto accostrarsegli, e baciarli la sacra veste, rimarrebbe incontanente sana ; ne fu la speranza lontana dall'effetto, poiche finita la predica, baciandogli il lembo della cappa, *confestim stetit fluxus sanguinis ejus,* come della mentovata già disse S. Luca : e predicando per ogni parte il miracolo, si pose a seguirlo sino al convento di santa Sabina, dove Tomaso fe ritorno." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. V., n.* 4., *p.* 150.)

home to the congregation the sufferings of the Cross, and drew so touching a picture of the compassion, mercy, and love of Christ, that his words were interrupted by the passionate crying of the people. Then, on Easter Sunday, his sermon on the Resurrection filled the congregation with such jubilant triumph, that with difficulty they were restrained from giving public expression to their feelings.*

It was not after the modern fashion, that the Saint preached. His power did not proceed from violence of manner, fierce gesture, theatrical display, or artificial warmth. There was nothing of brute-oratory about him. The exaggerated and excited method of announcing the 'Gospel,' imported from the Continent—and which might suit the market-place, but ill-beseems the dignity of the pulpit—was unknown to the great Dominican. Doubtless, he felt that the truth of God is too sublime to admit of much human heat in its expression; that a loud manner does not tend to make proof more cogent; and that the Spirit of the Gospel is gentle, calm, and self-possessed; yet firm, earnest, and commanding.† Tocco says that he preached a

* "Laonde un venerdì santo, mentreche nella Basilica Vaticana ragionava sopra la passione del Salvatore, commosse sì fattamente gli uditori, che tutti in lagrime si risolvevano, dove nella seguente predica della domenica di Resurrettione sentissi ciascuno riempiere di santo giubilo ed allegrezza. Predicò anche per lo spatio di dieci anni in Napoli, e quivi per una intera quaresima spiegò l'oratione Dominicale, sicome in altro tempo quadragesimale, la salutatione Angelica con gli occhi chiusi e con la testa alzata verso il Cielo." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. V., n.* 3, *p.* 150.)

† "Et quia sic erat Doctor mirabilis elevatus ad Deum, sic caritate diffusus ad proximum, prædicationes suas, quibus placeret Deo prodesset populo, sic formabat, ut non esset in curiosis humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed

Lent at Naples on the one text "*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum,*" and that, during the whole time, he was seen to keep his eyes closed in the pulpit, and his head in such a position as if he were looking into heaven.* Yet it does not follow because his eyes were closed, that he did not give full expression to his thoughts. Bourdaloue recited his master-pieces with his eyes shut; but as Schleiniger assures us, he by no means was wanting in animation and variety of manner. Our Saint preached ten years in Naples, as well as in Paris, Rome, Cologne, and other places. The people reverenced his word as if it had come direct from the mouth of Christ. "*Tam reverenter audiebatur a populo,*" says Tocco, "*quasi sua prædicatio prodiret a Deo.*" †

The sketches he has left of his sermons are a

in spiritu et virtute sermonis, qui evitatis in prosecutione sermonis quæ curiositati potius quam utilitati deserviunt, in illo suo vulgari natalis soli, quod propter continuum mentis raptum mutare non potuit, proponebat et prosequebatur utilia populo, subtilitates quæstionum scholasticæ disputationi relinquens." (Boll., *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 49., *p.* 673.)

* "Joannes Blasii Judex . . . vidit ipsum (S. Thomam) per totam unam quadragesimam prædicantem oculis clausis, contemplativis et directis ad cœlum." (Boll., *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 70., *p.* 708.)

"Con gli occhi chiusi e con la testa alzata verso il cielo." (Frigerio, *L. III.*, *Cap. V.*, *p.* 150.)

† And no wonder, if what the Bollandists relate of the Saint is true, viz.: "Non audebat aliquid dicere, nisi quod Deus dedisset eum implere." (*n.* 49, *p.* 674.)

"Des sermons sans nombre qu'il prononça dans le cours de son ministère, nous ne possédons que des analyses courtes et décharnées, qu'on pourrait comparer dans un certain sens à ces rapides souvenirs que Bossuet avait coutume de tracer, en descendant de la chaire où son génie venait d'éclater avec tant d'ampleur et de magnificence. On retrouve néanmoins dans ces notes abrégées du Docteur angelique, l'empreinte ineffaçable de sa large pensée, l'inflexible rigueur de sa méthode, un admirable emploi de l'Ecriture, l'inaltérable pureté de l'enseignment religieux, et cette guerre surtout qu'il n'a cessé de faire aux vices, à la dépravation du monde: tout le conduit à ce dernier but, le panégyrique d'un saint, comme la meditation d'un mystère, comme un discours direct de morale évangélique." (Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas D'Aquin*, *Chap. XV.*, *p.* 163.)

valuable index to his method. In the fourth Opusculum (according to the Parma edition), there are one hundred and forty-two skeleton-sermons for Sundays, and eighty-three for festivals. The former, on the Gospels; and the latter, upon our Lord, and upon the Saints — forming a very complete and useful set of discourses, even for the present day. Whether our Saint confined himself to these "notes" and extemporized the words, cannot be known with any certainty. Probably, having great practice in speaking, and in writing, he felt no difficulty in clothing his thoughts in appropriate language; and with his prodigious memory, a very meagre skeleton would suffice.* In the notes, he divides the meaning of his text into three or four grand divisions; and each of these he subdivides into three or four portions. The divisions are expressed with exceeding brevity, and yet, with so good a choice of words, that the whole pith becomes evident at a

* "Si nous nous renfermons dans le cercle des compositions qui émanent indubitablement de Saint Thomas, nous trouverons peut-être le théologien plus remarquable que l'orateur; mais cependant l'orateur y gagnera encore. Pour se former de ses prédications une opinion juste, on peut prendre comme type le sermon du troisième dimanche après la fête de Saint Pierre, qui a pour texte cette parole de l'evangile :—'*Attendite à falsis prophetis.*'" Then the words are given in a note thus:—"Inveniuntur aliqui qui student in philosophiâ et dicunt aliqua quæ non sunt vera secundum fidem; et cùm dicitur eis quod hoc repugnat fidei, dicunt quod philosophus dicit hoc; sed ipsi non asserunt, imo solum recitant verba philosophi. Talis est falsus propheta sive falsus doctor: quia idem est dubitationem movere et eam non solvere, quod eam concedere . . . . Ille cisternam aperit qui dubitationem movet de iis quæ spectant ad fidem; cisternam non cooperit qui dubitationem non solvit . . . Videte, charissimi: multi fuerunt philosophi, et multa dixerunt de his quæ pertinent ad fidem, et vix invenietis duos concordare in unam scientiam; et quicumque aliquid veritatis dixit, non dixit eam sine mixtione falsitatis. Plus scit modo una vetula de his quæ ad fidem pertinent quam quondam omnes philosophi," &c. (De La Marche, *p.* 114—115.)

glance. To each division, or subdivision, is attached a text to the point from Holy Scripture, with the proper reference. The skeleton is so well organised that, when once fixed in the mind, there is no difficulty in diversifying each portion into one very clear and consecutive discourse. To those who seek for plans of sermons, these notes would be very suggestive. One often sees "notes" for sermons, but not often such as these, where the divisions are in keeping with the subject, and form a portion of its unity; and do not represent a heterogeneous admixture of unharmonious ideas.*

Here is a specimen taken at random of the method of the Angelical.

HOMILY CXXXIII.

THE INNOCENT.

"That you may be sincere and without offence, unto the day of Christ."—*Philip.* i. 10.

The Apostle in this Epistle exhorts us to three things. Firstly, to the avoidance of sin: "That you may be sincere." Secondly, to all love: "Filled with the fruits of justice." Thirdly, to the possession of a right intention: "Unto the glory and praise of God."

I. On the *first* head, it must be noted, that three commands are given. (1) That we should seek after purity of mind: "That you may be sincere." "Blessed are the clean of

* Sometimes, the outline is as brief as this:—"Quadruplicem gratiam debemus mortuis, 1° eos debetis obsequiis sepelire. Eccl., 38: *Fili, in mortuum produc lacrymas* . . . . ; 2° pro eis orare: 3° pro eis eleemosynas facere . . . ; 4° pro eis sacrificium altaris offerre. Exemplum Gregorii in fine dialogorum, . . . qui pro monacho quodam fecit dicere triginta missas." (*Ibid. p.* 114.)

heart; for they shall see God." (2) That we should avoid doing injury to our neighbours: "Without offence: giving no offence to any man." (3.) That we should persevere in both courses: "Unto the day of Christ," *i.e.*, till after death; when the day of man is ended, the day of Christ begins. "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved." The Gloss treats of this under the word "sincere;" signifying the avoidance of works of corruption, with respect to ourselves, and of giving offence with respect to our neighbours, and perseverance in this course till the day of Christ.

II. On the *second* head, it is to be noted, that the Apostle likewise gives three commandments. (1) He exhorts to rectitude of mind: "The fruits of justice." S. Anselm defines justice to be that rectitude of will which is preserved for its own sake. (2) To the having a delight in that which is good: "The fruits of the spirit are peace, joy, longanimity, goodness, benignity, meekness, faith, modesty, continency, chastity." (3) To the having perfection in good, "being filled:" "Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect."

III. On the *third* head, it is to be noted, that in every action we should, in a threefold manner, direct the eye of our intention to God:—(1) So as to believe that every good thing comes from Him, as if from the fount of all good, through Jesus Christ: "Of his fulness we all have received, and grace for grace; for the Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." "Without Me you can do nothing." (2) So as to make God to be praised and honoured in all our actions: "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father, who is in heaven. (3) So that the reward of eternal glory may be given to us for our desire to work: "Unto the glory and praise of God." "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where the rust and moth consume, &c. . . . . But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."

HOMILY CXXV.

TRUE AND FALSE RICHES.

"I give thanks to my God always for you, for the grace of God that is given you in Jesus Christ; that in all things you are made rich in Him." 1 *Cor.* i. 4—5.

The Apostle in giving thanks that they were enriched "by Him," indicates that there are certain riches which are to be desired; and in threatening the rich, Christ shews that there are certain riches which are to be avoided. Whence we learn that there are *temporal* riches, *spiritual* riches, and *eternal* riches. Of temporal riches, it is said: "If riches abound, set not your heart upon them." Of spiritual riches: "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord," and "Glory and wealth shall be in his house." Of eternal riches: "With me are riches and glory; glorious riches and justice." "With me are riches," *i.e.*, the better goods; "And glory," *i.e.*, ineffable; "glorious riches," *i.e.*, such as are exalted; "and justice," *i.e.*, such as is according to merit.

I. In the *first* place it is to be noted, that *temporal* riches are to be despised chiefly for four reasons. (1) On account of their uselessness: "He that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them," *i.e.*, the fruit of eternal life. "Riches shall not profit in the day of revenge." That is, temporal riches do not avail for the salvation of man in the day of judgment; "But justice shall deliver from death;" *i.e.*, the good works of justice deliver from eternal death. "Set not thy heart upon unjust possessions; and say not, I have enough to live on. . . . . For it shall be of no service in the time of vengeance and darkness." "We brought nothing into the world, and certainly we can carry nothing out." (2) On account of the necessity of leaving them: "They have slept their sleep; and all the men of riches have found nothing

in their hands." "The riches which he hath swallowed, he shall vomit up, and God shall draw them out of his belly." (3) Because they lead the unjust possessor to perpetual poverty: "The rich man when he shall sleep, shall take nothing with him: he shall open his eyes, and find nothing. Poverty like water shall take hold on him." (4) Because the contempt of them leads to eternal life: "And everyone that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess everlasting life."

II. On the *second* head, it is to be noted, that by riches man sins in four ways. (1) By acquiring them unjustly: "He that heapeth together riches by usury and loan, gathereth them for him that will be bountiful to the poor." "He that oppresseth the poor to increase his own riches, shall himself give to one that is richer," that is, to the world, "and shall be in need." (2) By possessing them avariciously: "Riches kept to the hurt," *i.e.*, to the peril of the owner, "are lost with very great affliction." (3) By being badly spent: "Give not thy substance to women," *i.e.*, to the corruptions of sin; "thy substance," *i.e.*, thy body and the riches of temporal things. Mystically it signifies do not contaminate your whole store of virtue by the corruptions of vice. "The younger son gathering all together, went abroad into a far country, and there wasted his substance living riotously." (4) By trusting in them, and becoming proud of them: "He that trusteth in his riches shall fall," *i.e.*, from eternal life. Gloss: "He who thirsts after present goods, neither thinks nor reflects on the future, so that in the end he will lack eternal riches: 'Charge the rich of this world not to be highminded, nor trust in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God . . . to lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on the true life.'"

III. On the *third* head, it is to be noted, that *spiritual* riches are knowledge and virtue; "The riches of salvation,

are wisdom, and knowledge: the fear of the Lord is his treasure." "Through fear sin is driven out." "They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts, and in His sight will sanctify their souls." "The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord . . . . For he that is without fear, cannot be justified." Discretion and honest conversation are the result of knowledge; for it is by knowledge that man knows what is due to God, to his neighbour, and to himself. God teaches us this knowledge, being weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts of pleasures and desire. Isaias by the Holy Spirit, the Lord, asks, saying, "Whom shall he teach knowledge? And whom shall he make to understand the hearing?" And then He answers, "Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts." It is strange, when man finds bitterness and burning in these breasts, that he does not withdraw from them. As S. Augustine says, "Oh Lord, Thou hast mingled my delights with bitterness that I might seek to live without bitterness." Thou, O man, if thou wishest to be taught by the Lord, separate thyself from these breasts, because it is said—"Wisdom shall not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins." But by wisdom the love of God enters into the soul; hence S. Bernard says, "Let a man learn what he will;—I will not call him wise, who will not fear nor love God."

On the *fourth* head, it is to be noted, that these *spiritual* riches are to be sought for three reasons. (1) On account of their immensity: "For she is an infinite treasure to men! which they that use become the friends of God." "For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom." "She is more precious than all riches, and all the things that are desired, are not to be compared with her." Gloss: "Charity is to be preferred not only before earthly, but also before heavenly riches; nay, even before the very sight itself of the angels, so that none need dread poverty who have acquired the riches of wisdom." (2) On account of their utility: "The ransom of

a man's life are his riches; but he that is poor beareth not reprehension." "Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire." "Beareth not." Gloss: "Let him who wishes to redeem his soul from future wrath gather together the riches of good works; for if he lack these, he will not be able to bear the reprehension of the just Judge. There the poor shall not be rebuked, but they shall partake of the blessing of the inheritance." (3) On account of their dignity: "The crown of the wise," *i.e.*, the eternal crown in reward of their virtue, "is their riches," *i.e.*, true riches, and not earthly gain; whilst "the folly of fools is imprudence." Gloss: "Though they have a certain emolument as their riches, the wise will still share in the eternal crown, on account of their virtues: whilst the stupidity of fools is most glaring in this, viz., that through improvidence they sacrifice eternal gains for present satisfaction." For imprudence is often called improvidence.

V. On the *fifth* head, it is to be noted, that *eternal* riches are to be sought for three reasons. (1) On account of their truth, for they are true riches: "If, brethren, you wish to be truly rich, love true riches," S. Bernard. (2) On account of their joyousness: "The saints shall rejoice in glory: they shall be joyful in their beds." "His eyes shall see the King in His beauty." (3) On account of their eternity: "But the just shall live for evermore." "And of His kingdom there shall be no end." "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where the rust and moth consume, and where thieves break through and steal." The Lord sheweth by these three (rust, moth, and thieves), that there is no safety in the possession of earthly riches; for there are certain things which rust devours, such as silver and gold, and other metals. There are others which not the rust, but the moth destroys and eats, such as silken and precious garments; there are other things which neither rust nor moth eat, but which thieves steal and dig up, such as gems and precious stones; whence it is manifest how uncertain are the goods of life, and the possession of all things. The Lord persuades us to

lay up to ourselves treasures in heaven, saying, "Lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven: where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through, nor steal." But how can any one lay up treasures in heaven, unless by first making riches in time? By rust, moth, and thieves, we may understand spiritual wickedness. By rust pride is signified: for pride, when it takes possession of the soul, turns it from the "path of justice." As rust shews itself openly, so pride ever spreads itself abroad after human praise. By the moth envy is signified: for like the moth it destroys what it fixes itself on, and gnaws it to pieces. By thieves evil spirits are understood, who are on the watch to dig up and steal the treasures of the soul. In heaven there is no rust; for there is no place there for pride, since the devil and his followers were cast down from thence. In heaven there is no moth, no envy, because no one there will envy the happiness of another. In heaven there are no thieves or demons, because they with their chief have fallen from thence. S. Chrysostom says: "There is one only thief who steals the treasure laid up in heaven, and that thief is vain-glory." *

Whilst Thomas was thus occupied, Frederick II. was carrying out his policy of violence in Italy. His excommunication, and the way he had been abandoned by the Italian nobility, added to his exasperation. In his striving after the dominion of the world, and in his endeavour to usurp power belonging to the Holy See, he treated with brutal cruelty those who did not fall

* (*Opp., Vol. XV. Opusc., IV. Serm. CXXV. De Dominica Decimaoctava, ex Epistola, p.* 183—184.) Compare *The Homilies of S. Thomas Aquinas*, by John M. Ashley, B.C.L. :—A very miserable translation, and in many parts utter rubbish.

in with his unscrupulous ambition. Many noblemen, outraged by his arrogance, and fearing the spiritual weapons of the Church, openly declared against him, and sided with the Guelfs. This was the case with the two rough brothers of the Saint, who, through the prayers of the Angelical, were brought to see the error of their past course. The loving heart of Thomas never forgot them. No sooner did he become a priest, than he offered the Holy Sacrifice, with many tears, begging the Lord to change them into other men. They turned against their powerful relation, and espoused the cause of the Pope. Frederick then destroyed their stronghold at Aquino, and they died at last in the cause of truth. In reward for his earnest prayers, and tears, and simple faith, S. Thomas was favoured by a heavenly revelation, which assured him that his brothers had received forgiveness.*

After four years at Cologne, our Saint received orders to prepare to take his degrees at

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* "Tommaso, che sempre con gran fervore avea supplicato a Dio per la vera prosperità di tutti i suoi, in tanta sventura disciolto in lagrime si afflisse in aspre penitenze, e instantemente pregò il Signore che si fiera persecuzione tornasse a tutti in materia di merito; lo pregò che si armassero di virtuosa costanza i fratelli, e portassero pazientemente il peso dell'infortunio; lo pregò che volessero delle loro cose più dilette anzi di se medesimi far sacrificio a Lui che è assoluto Signore e dominatore de' dominanti; a Lui, da solo il quale è la vera gloria, la vera felicità. Nè a sole preghiere si stette contento; tutto ciò che per lui si poteva ad alleviamento de' loro mali, tutto e' mise in opera; nè restò mai di venirli sostenendo colla virtù delle sue confortatrici parole."

"Ai modi, ch'egli ebbe adoperati conseguitò, la mercè di Dio, il desiderato effetto. Landolfo e Rinaldo a tanta calamità aprirono gli occhi dell' intelletto, tornarono al cuore, a fede si abbandonarono a Dio, comportarono ad espiazione de loro falli il furiare di quel Superbo, e venuta la loro volta conchiusero santamente la vita. Tanto inestimabile tesoro ad una famiglia si è l'avere un santo!" (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. XV., p.* 58; Vid. Boll., *Cap. VIII., p.* 671—672; Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. III., p.* 105—109; Bareille, *Chap. XIV., p.* 144.)

Paris. This move was made, no doubt, with full deliberation. The Superiors of the Dominicans were merely carrying out a preconceived plan for strengthening the Order. And how was this best achieved? By placing their most promising subjects at Paris, and by earning so unmistakable a name for depth, accuracy, and brilliancy of teaching, that men would be constrained to acknowledge their superiority. Jealousy might be strong, but never so powerful as to overset an institution which, according to the unanimous voice of learned scholars, held the palm for doctrine in the most deeply theological university in the world.

Albert, and Cardinal Hugh of S. Caro, were instrumental in getting our Saint to Paris.* Albert had had a life-long experience of the difficulties which beset a professorship; of the qualifications required for success; and of the work which had to be accomplished in the future—a work requiring something more than learning, viz.: tact, temper, coolness, and caution. He saw all these qualities combined, in an unusual degree, in Thomas of Aquino, and founded on a basis of supernatural love. Then, Hugh had been present when the

* "Post hæc autem cum Frater Thomas sic mirabiliter in scientia et vita proficeret, et Magistro Alberto ex commissione Reverendi Patris, Fratris Joannis Magistri Ordinis incumberet, ut Parisiensi studio de sufficienti Bacellareo provideret; Magister prædicti sui discipuli prævidens velocem in doctrina profectum, persuasit per litteras magistro ut de Fr. Thoma de Aquino pro Bacellareo in prædicto studio provideret, describens ejus sufficientiam in scientia et vita. Quem cum non statim duceret acceptandum, adhuc sibi in gratiis ignotum; suasu Domini Hugonis Cardinalis ejusdem Ordinis, cui erat de ipso per litteras intimatum, prædictus Magistro ipsum in prædicti studii Bacellareum acceptavit; scribens ei, ut statim Parisios se conferret, et ad legendum sententias se pareret." (Boll., *Cap. III., n.* 15, *p.* 661; *Cf.*, Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. IV., p.* 110; Bareille, *Chap. XIV., p.* 148; Gibelli, *Capo XVI., p.* 60.)

young man implored the Holy Father to let him follow Christ in humility and poverty—and had not forgotten it. He had watched, ever since that occasion, the career of the young Dominican, and became more firmly convinced, every day, that he was destined to perform some great service for the Church.

Thomas, when he had heard his fate, was much concerned. His pronounced distaste for honours and position, made him wish to be left alone.* But, in obedience to authority, he set out on his journey from Cologne, and begged his way to Paris. Some say he stopped at Louvain, but of this, the evidence is insufficient. It is certain that he passed through Brabant and Flanders, and preached before the Duchess Margaret.† Probably, the Duchess

* "Qui [*i. e.* Thomas] præ humilitate de se semper humilia sentiens, hanc promotionem voluisset renuere, nisi oportuisset Magistri litteris obedire." *(Ibid.)*

"Tommaso, che di sè niun conto tenea, recò in mezzo tutte le considerazioni che mai gli caddero in animo a dovere rimuovere il Generale dalla presa risoluzione; ma tutto fu indarno. Per virtù di perfetta obbedienza, facendo dell' altrui volere il suo, mossesi di Colonia per alla volta di Parigi." (Gibelli, *Capo. XVI., p.* 60; see Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. IV.*, 110—111.)

† "So berichtet Carle a. a. *p.* 80, *u.* 450, nach Feuillade, einem anderen Biographen des heiligen Thomas. Touron nennt *s.* 127, statt der Gräfin Margarita von Flandern die Gemahlin des Herzogs Heinrich III. von Brabant, Alix oder Adelaide von Bourgogne." . . . Vgl. von Kampen, *Geschichte der Niederlande, Hamburg*, 1831; *Bd. I.*, § 99, *n.* 100." (Werner, *Vol. I., p.* 113.)

"C'est peut-être ici qu'il faudroit placer un fait rapporté par quelques Historiens modernes, qui assurent que notre Saint fut appellé en Brabant, pour les affaires qui regardoient les Chanoines d'un Chapitre, dans les archives duquel on voit encore aujourd'hui, dit-on, les actes de cette visite, avec les réglemens, qui furent faits and signés de la main du Serviteur de Dieu. Comme les plus anciens Auteurs n'ont point parlé de ce fait, non plus que du voyage de S. Thomas à Louvain, nous n'en pouvons rien dire de positif. Il est vrai cependant que dans son retour d'Allemagne eu France, il visita la Duchesse de Brabant, Adélaïde, ou Alix de Bourgogne, Epouse d'Henri III., Duc de Brabant, surnommé *le Débonnaire.* Cette Princesse, que les Historiens appellent quelquefois Comtesse de Flandres, étoit illustre, & par ses vertus, & par toutes les qualités de son esprit." (Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. IV., p.* 111.)

was acquainted with his family; and since she encouraged men of letters, possibly she had heard of his reputation, as a teacher in the schools. She conceived the warmest admiration for his saintliness and genius; and, subsequently, was in the habit of consulting him in her difficulties relating to the well-being of her people.

Not only the Duchess, but the learned men of Paris had been told of his successes during his four years at Cologne; and he was received by them with marks of unusual distinction.

There were many young Dominicans, who, if age counted for much, had a greater claim to be sent to Paris than Thomas of Aquino. But they were all passed over by the General: and Thomas, on account of his talents and activity, was admitted—though below the legal age—amongst the Bachelors (1248).

But it was not at his own request that he was promoted. On the contrary, his deep humility, and the greatness of the responsibility, tempted him to refuse the proffered honour. However, holy obedience constrained him to obey. The Dominican professors of theology at this time were Hugh of Metz, and Elias Brunetus.* It was as teacher

* "Oeffentliche Lehrer der Theologie aus dem Prediger-Orden waren damals Hugo von Metz und Elias Brunetus; in der Schule des Letzteren übernahm Thomas das Amt des zweiten Lehrers, und erklärte der Vorschrift gemäss die heilige Schrift und die Sentenzen des Lombarden. Seine Erfolge übertrafen jede Erwartung; die Zahl seiner Zuhörer wuchs mit jedem Tage, und bald drang der Ruf seines Namens über die Gränzen Frankreichs. Eine gute Zahl seiner kleineren Schriften, deren Abfassung in die Zeit seines diessmaligen Aufenthaltes zu Paris fällt, wurde durch Bitten und Anfragen entfernter Personen veranlasst." (Werner, *Vol. I, Drittes Capitel, p.* 114.)

in the school of Elias, that S. Thomas, according to the custom, now began to expound the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the Lombard. He was no sooner made Bachelor, and it became his duty to speak, than his silence abandoned him.

The quiet, meek young man—so mortified, so recollected—began to let flow that fountain which had been filled with "the waters of wisdom" during his long and deep meditations.* His influence over young men was very remarkable. It far surpassed—as will be seen—that of any other master. As no other, he could inflame the minds of his disciples with an ardent love of study. They were conscious that his teaching had something about it of another world: and the feeling crept over all, and finally mastered them, that he spoke as one "having power." The opinions which he formed at that early age, with few exceptions, he committed to writing; and held them, and defended them, with little change, in his maturer years.† From his youth, he

* "Factus autem Bacellareus, cum cœpisset legendo effundere, quæ taciturnitate deliberaverat occultare; Deus tantam ei infudit scientiam, et in labiis ejus tanta divinitus est effusa doctrina; ut omnes etiam Magistros videretur excedere, et claritate doctrinæ scholares plus cæteris ad amorem scientiæ provocare. Erat enim novos in sua lectione movens articulos, novum modum et clarum determinandi inveniens, et novas reducens in determinationibus rationes: ut nemo, qui ipsum audisset nova docere, et novis rationibus dubia definire, dubitaret, quod eum Deus novi luminis radiis illustrasset, qui statim tam certi cœpisset esse judicii, ut non dubitaret novas opiniones docere et scribere, quas Deus dignatus esset noviter inspirare." (Boll., *Cap. III.*, *n.* 15, *p.* 661.)

† "Et quia ad subtilitatem ingenii sequitur judicii certitudo, dum intellectus, potest subtilitate capere valeat etiam quod verum est judicare; quod ideo conveniens fuit, ut prædictus Doctor, sicut subtilis ingenii fuisse dicitur, sic et certi judicii, fuisse evidentissime judicetur nam opiniones et rationes, quas adhuc Bacellarius adinvenit, paucis exceptis, Magister effectus scripsit, tenuit, et defendit." (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 41., *p.* 170.)

had dedicated himself to wisdom as his spouse. The Bollandists say that this spouse of his drew him to herself in such a manner, that nothing could overcome a mind which, in the possession of one reality, possessed everything.* Only one thing he asked for—that was wisdom.† Even in conversation, his mind clung to its One only Rest—though speaking to man, his eye was fixed on God.‡

Rainald, his confessor, knew, for certain, that the Saint gained everything by prayer. On one occasion, during class, the conversation fell on the great Angelical. Rainald burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Brothers, my master forbade me, during his life, to tell the wonderful things he did:—one thing I know of him, that it was not human talent, but *prayer*, that was the secret of his great success.§ He never discussed, read, wrote, or dictated, without begging

* "Sic enim divina sapientia quæ melior est cunctis opibus, quam sibi a juventute sponsam acceperat, ipsum inebriaverat caritate, ut nullum mundanum ejus mentem alliceret, qui in uno bonorum omnium sufficientiam possideret." (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 43, *p.* 170—171.)

† "Exemplo Salomonis nihil aliud, quam Dei sapientiam, quam amabat, in oratione petebat." (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 31, *p.* 668.)

‡ "Nullum vitæ tempus esset vacuum, quod non esset sacris actionibus occupatum. Ita quod si aliquando pro consolatione Fratrum vel aliarum venerabilium personarum cogeretur dimisso studio in locutorio consedere, a profectu virtutis et studii, etiam illa hora modica non vacabat. Nam expeditis his, quibus oportuisset propositis respondere aliquod historiale aut morale ad ædificationem breviter disserebat, reliquum si superfuisset tempus, priusquam ad cameram suam completa locutione redisset, surgens a loco cum quibuscumque sedisset, sicut non advertens divinis intentus, discurrens per claustrum vel hortum, consuetum tempus suis meditationibus et speculationibus expendebat; sic iterum ad orandum paratus, quasi non dimisisset oraculum, cujus nulla occupatio immutabat affectum: quia nec aliis delectabatur ejus affectio, nisi his revelationibus, quas impetrasset orando." (Boll., *Cap.* 6, *n.* 30, *p.* 668.)

§ "Inter quæ fuit, quod scientiam suam, quam præ aliis mirandum habuit, non humano ingenio, sed orationis merito acquisivit. (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 31, *p.* 668.)

with tears, for illumination." Tocco says that he thus acquired all he knew.* This was his daily prayer :—"Grant me I beseech Thee, O merciful God, ardently to desire, prudently to study, rightly to understand, and perfectly to fulfil that which is pleasing to Thee—to the praise and glory of Thy Name."† When a child, if conversation did not turn on God, or on matters which tended to edification, the Angelical would go away.‡ He wondered how men, especially religious men, could talk of anything but God, or holy things.§ He was "*Miro modo benignus in animo, qui totus suavis erat in verbo et liberalis in facto.*"‖ He wept for the sins of others as if they had been his own—yet so spotless was his mind, that he could hardly bring himself to think that man could sin. No one could look on him in conversation without receiving the grace of a special consolation.¶ To meet his eye and to hear his voice, was to warm the heart and to elevate the soul.

* Boll., *Cap. VI.*, *n.* 31, *p.* 668.

† "Concede mihi, quæso, misericors Deus, quæ Tibi placita sunt, ardenter concupiscere, prudenter investigare, veraciter agnoscere, et perfecte implere, ad laudem et gloriam Nominis Tui."

‡ Boll., *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 49, *p.* 672—673.

§ "Admirabatur autem plurimum, ut ejus ore frequentius est auditum, quomodo aliquis, et præcipue religiosi, possent de alio nisi de Deo loqui, aut de his quæ ædificationi animarum deserviunt." (*Ibid.*, *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 49,, *p.* 673.)

‖ Boll., *Cap. VI.*, *n.* 37, *p.* 669.

¶ "Iste sanctus difficulter crederet, quod homo peccaret, similes sibi omnes vel meliores æstimans in innocentia vel natura ; cum constitisset aliquem ex infirmitate peccasse, sic alienas deflebat culpas, ut proprias : illius imitatus exemplum, qui per compassionem ut propriis urebatur incendiis in defectibus alienis. Ex qua benignitate caritatis miranda affectus ex solo ejus corporali aspectu videbatur oriri ut nemo ipsum aliquamdiu alloquendo et conversando potuisset aspicere, a quo non contingeret gratiam specialis consolationis haurire." (Boll., *Cap. VI.*, *n.* 37, *p.* 669.)

The young professor had reason to throw himself earnestly into his work. Though ever dwelling in the unseen kingdom, as is evident from his history, he was keenly alive to the tendency of the intellectual world around him. His saintliness, his character, and his parts, seem to have pointed him out as destined to sway the philosophical and theological teachings of an age, in which the human mind appeared to be in a very dangerous state of flux. The rationalism of the Abelardine school—the corroding mysticism of the East, and depravity of morals—had to be faced, and to be withstood. Thomas fixed himself, therefore, on the immovable basis of authority, and grounded his teaching on the monastic methods of the "Sentences" of Peter the Lombard.* It can hardly be doubted that the surprise caused by his distinctions, and the admiration created by his novelty in argument, proceeded, in great measure, from his vivid appreciation of the work he had to do—of the enemy he was

* It is a both curious and interesting fact, that the disciples of Albert and S. Thomas, in comparing their two masters, should have attributed to each respectively, what I should call, attributes of activity and *quies*. Prantl thus quotes the *Manuale Scholarium*, *p.* 14. "*Cam.* — Scio magistrum, qui Albertum, quem vocitant doctorem magnum, imitatur; illius sequar doctrinam. *Bart.*—Et quasi minor sit beatus Thomas, reputas? *Cam.*—Res illa me latet, verum nomen Alberti præstantius est. *Bart.*—Certe non, quia sanctitate gaudet beatus Thomas. *Cam.*—Certum est, quia plures fuerunt sancti simplicitatem præ se ferentes si quidem mea conjectura est, tantum ex operibus, sc. devotione et jejunio, abstinentia sanctitatem obtinuisse, dominum vero Albertum scientiæ propter excellentiam meruisse magnitudinis nomen; cernisne, quod jam præconium ad philosophiam splendidius sit? *Bart.*—Velim me esse cum sancto Thoma. *Cam.*— . . . Insuda jejuniis ceterisque præceptis ad beatam vitam ducentibus, et eris comes ejus vitæ sanctitatisque particeps; . . . ex studio artium hoc non percipitur, sed ex contemplatione divina. *Bart.*—Nihil prodest, verba evomere; mea sententia fert, claram esse doctrinam beati Thomæ. *Cam.*—Neque ego repugno, quamquam Albertum præfero." (*Logik. Vierter Band*, § *XXII.*, *p.* 185.)

contending with, and of the powers by which, alone, that enemy could be overthrown. Frigerio says he was looked upon, "*quasi divino oracolo*"—as a heavenly oracle.* He followed Albert, but his teaching was more incisive, more definite, and more strictly to the point.

It will be seen, later, how he met dominant errors, and gained the confidence of those who naturally would have looked upon him with jealousy or suspicion. Many of his disciples became distinguished men. Ægidius Romanus, of the Colonna family, was his pupil for eleven years, and became famous for his acquaintance with theology, philosophy, and law. Ægidius was a vehement defender of Thomistic traditions, and wrote voluminously on morals, and scholastic theology.† Eventually he

* "Omnes magistros videretur excedere, et claritate doctrinæ, scholares plus cæteris ad amorem scientiæ provocare. Erat enim novos in sua lectione movens articulos, novum modum et clarum determinandi inveniens, et novas reducens in determinationibus rationes: ut nemo, qui ipsum audisset nova docere, et novis rationibus dubia definire, dubitaret, quod eum Deus nova luminis radiis illustrasset, qui statim tam certi cœpisset esse judicii, ut non dubitaret novas opiniones docere et scribere, quas Deus dignatus esset noviter inspirare." (Boll., *Cap. III.*, *n.* 15, *p.* 661.)

"Ma si dispose, poi mosso dall 'ubidienza, di accettare il carico; perciò si partì da Colonia, & se nè andò in Parigi ad interpretar i quattro libri delle sentenze di Pietro Lombardo, & giunto il Santo in Parigi, cominciò ad esseguire l'officio di Bacellieri; & tosto, che la sua dottrina fù conosciuta, concorsero innumerabili scolari ad ascoltarlo, & lo stimavano come se fosse un divino oracolo, & come, che la dottrina era ammirabile, et la vita essemplare, divenne a tutti gratissimo. In questo tempo cominciò a scrivere, & commentar i quattro libri delle sentenze: dove così eccellente divenne, & con tanta copia di scienza, & con sottilità di questioni, & con varie distintioni, & con profondità di dottrina, che tutti giudicavano, che la sua dottrina li era divinamente dal Spirito Santo inspirata più presto, che naturalmente acquistata: egli usava nelle sue lettioni un methodo particolare: & allegava ragioni tanto vive, per confermare i suoi detti, che perciò ciascuno giudicava, che'l suo intelletto fosse illuminato pel dono particolare di Dio." (Vita, *p.* 16.)

† He may be called the forerunner of the great Thomistic theologians of the sixteenth century. To give a few of their names will show the energy of the revival:—"Da begegnen uns zuerst," says Werner, "die strengen Thomisten aus den Schulen des Prediger-Ordens: Dominicus Soto,

joined the Augustinians, was made General, then Archbishop of Berry, and acquired the title of "*Doctor Fundatissimus.*"

S. Thomas assisted others besides his own pupils —sovereigns, cardinals, bishops, superiors of Orders, and professors, besides inquisitive young men, wrote to him for advice, and for solutions to their difficulties. For instance, a professor, of Venice, sends him a paper of thirty-six articles, to which he desires a response in four days.* The Saint answers him

1560; Petrus Soto, 1563; Martin Ledesma, 1574; Bartholomäus Medina, 1581; Johannes Vincentius 1595; Baltasar Navarretus, 1600; Raphael Ripa, 1611; Ludwig de Montesinos, 1621; Didacus Nunez de Capezudo, 1624; Thomas Torres, 1630; Joseph a St. Maria, *c.a.*, 1625; Didacus Alvarez, 1635; Joh. Gonzalez, *c.a.*, 1636; Gregor Martinez, 1637; Michael Zanardi, 1642; Johannes a St. Thoma, 1644; Franz Manca Prado, 1636; Joh. Paulus Nazarius, 1646; Marcus Serra, 1647; Gregorius Cipullus, *c.a.*, 1644; Hacquet, 1660; Franz Aurauxo, 1654; Caspar Ruyz, *c.a.*, 1654; Joh. Martinez Prado, 1668; Contenson, 1674; Joh. Martinez de Prado, 1668; Peter Godoy, 1677; Gonet, 1681; Hyacinth Parra, 1684; Franz Perez, *c.a.*, 1690; Franz a Jesu Maria, 1677; Cornejo de Pedrosa, 1618; Franz Suarez Villegas, Matthäus Orlandi, 1695; Petrus de Aragon, *c.a.*, 1580; John Puteanus, 1623; Petrus de Lorca, 1606; Alphons Curiel, 1609; Hieronymus Perez, *c.a.*, 1555; Franz Zumel, 1607; Petrus de Cabrera, 1600; Ludovicus Caspensis, *c.a.*, 1641; Raphael Aversa, 1657; Diotelavius, *c.a.*, 1610; Gaspar Ram, *c.a.*, 1612; Michael de Palacios, *c.a.*, 1560; Sebastian Perez, 1593; Wilhelm Estius, 1613; Franz Sylvius, 1649; Jos. Wiggers, 1639; Toletus, Melchior de Castro, 1599; Molina, 1650; Gregor de Valentia, 1603; Gabriel Vasquez, 1604; Ægydius Lusitanus, 1608; Petrus de Arrubal, 1608; Benedict Pereira, 1610; Johann Salas, 1612; Franz Zuñiga, 1614; Franz Suarez, 1617; Franz Albertin, 1619; Leonhard Less, 1623; Martin Beccanus, 1624; Joh. Ragusa, 1624; Didacus Granadus, 1634; Alphons de Araujo et Pennafiel, 1657; Adam Tanner, 1632; Johann Præpositus, 1634; Diego Alarcon, 1634; Hieron, Fasolus, 1639; Augustin Bernol,, 1642; Augustin von Rom, 1643; Caspar Hurtado, 1646; Jo. Martinez Ripalda, 1648; Franc. Amicus, 1651; Franc. ab Oviedo, 1651; Joh. Castillo, 1683; Franz Lugo, 1652; Bernardin Villegas, 1653; Franz Suarez, 1659; Roderich Arriaga, 1657; Joseph Angles, Lychet, Franz Aretinus, Poncius, 1560; Peter Coninck, 1573; Franz Herrera, *c.a.*, 1590; Franz de Ovando, *c.a.*, 1580; Mastrius, *c.a.*, 1600; Franc. de Pitigianis, *c.a.*, 1600; Johann de Rada, 1608; Theodor Smising, *c.a.*, 1600; Philipp Faber, 1630; Anton Hiquæus, 1641; Angelus Vulpes, 1647; Caspar Sghemma, 1657; (*S. Thomas, B. III., Erstes Buch, p.* 143—149.) Werner also gives, in a foot-note, the several works written by the above-named theologians.

* "Lectis vestris litteris, in eis inveni articulorum multitudinem numerosam, super quibus a me vobis responderi infra quatriduum vestra caritas postulabat. Et licet essem in aliis plurimum occupatus, ne tamen deessem

with great courtesy, saying how occupied he is, still promising to do his bidding. Each question is first stated by S. Thomas, and then he gives the answer as briefly as is compatible with clearness. He is asked whether the angels move the heavens; whether they do so "*suo imperio*;" if there were any method of proving this infallibly; and whether these spirits belong to the order of heavenly Virtues. The answers given by S. Thomas show how great an influence the writings of the Areopagite had had upon him. Then Br. Gerard of Besançon, a Dominican, writes asking six questions, which hardly show that Br. Gerard had either a very practical or a very scientific turn.* He wishes to know, amongst other things, whether

vestræ dilectionis obsequio, dilatis parumper aliis quibus me intendere oportebat, quæstionibus a vobis propositis proposui per singula respondere. *Articulus I.*—Primus ergo articulus est, an Angeli sint motores cœlorum. Super quo dixi taliter respondendum quod hoc non solum a Philosophis est multipliciter probatum, verum etiam a sanctis Doctoribus evidenter asseritur. Dicit Augustinus in V. de Trinitate, quod 'sicut corpora grossiora et inferiora per subtiliora et superiora quodam ordine reguntur ita omnia corpora per spiritum vitæ rationalem.' In libro etiam LXXXIII. Quaestionum, dicit, quod 'unaquæque res visibilis in hoc mundo habet angelicam potestatem sibi præpositam.' Gregorius etiam dicit in IV. Dial., quod 'in hoc mundo visibili nihil nisi per creaturam invisibilem disponi potest.'" (*Opusc., X., Responsio de Articulis, XXXVI; ad Lectorem Venetum, Vol. XVI., p.* 169. *ed. Parm.*)

* For example, take the fourth question:—"*Quarta quæstio*, an parvulæ manus pueri Jesu nati creaverint stellas. Ad quod respondeo, quod locutio hæc non est propria. Nam parvulæ manus sunt manus humanitatis, quarum non est creare. Sed quia unus et idem Christus est in divina et humana natura perfectus, potest hujusmodi locutio sane exponi, ut dicatur: Manus parvulæ istius pueri creaverunt stellas; id est, iste puer habens manus parvulas, creavit stellas. Tali enim modo loquendi ad quamdam unionis expressionem aliquando Doctores utuntur, sicut in quibusdam cantatur Ecclesiis: 'Manus quæ nos plasmaverunt, clavis confixæ sunt.' Non tamen hæc sunt extendenda, vel prædicanda populo. Sed tamen si prædicatum sit non arbitror revocandum; nisi super hoc error aut scandalum oriatur, in quo casu oporteret sanæ locutionis sensum exponi. Non sunt autem in talibus, quantum fieri potest, simplicium animi solicitandi." (*Opusc., XI. Responsio de VI. Articulis ad Lectorem Bisuntinum, Vol. XVI., p.* 175.)

the star which appeared to the Magi was like a cross, or a man, or a crucifix; whether the little hands of Jesus created the stars; whether the words of Simeon—"thy own soul a sword shall pierce"—were remembered by our Lady with vehement grief seven times a day till the Resurrection; and lastly, there is a somewhat inane question about Confession. B. Gerard asked these questions with an eye to the pulpit. The Saint treated them as they deserved—showing, that he was not given to scholastic subtleties. He tells B. Gerard that he thinks, when indubitable truth offers so much matter for sermons, frivolity should be avoided:—still, what has been said need not be recalled, unless scandal has arisen.* The Opusculum, on the difference between the Divine and human word; and the somewhat larger treatise, on the nature of the intellectual word, are full of close reasoning; and state principles which are fundamental, regarding the method of human knowledge.† They show a deep study of the Stagyrite, and, though Albert and S. Augustine are kept in view, they manifest marks of powerful and independent thought.

* "Prima quæstio fuit, an stella quæ Magis apparuit, haberet figuram crucis. Secunda, an haberet figuram hominis. Tertia, an haberet figuram crucifixi." After some remarks the Saint concludes:—"Non enim decet prædicatorem veritatis ad fabulas ignotas divertere. Si autem ab aliquo sit prædicatum, non arbitror esse necessarium quod revocetur, nisi forte ex hoc populo scandalum sit exortum; et tunc non deberet ut erroneum reprobari, sed ut incertum exponi." (Opera, *Vol. XVI., p.* 175. *Ed. Parmæ.)*

† Of these two Opuscula, Professor Gaetano Gibelli thus speaks:—"Per questi due metafisici Trattati splendidissimi di dottrina, se i nostri filosofanti gli avessero per le mani, e accuratamente ne cercassero ogni cosa, senza fallo la moderna filosofia, la quale, a voler dire il vero, è di torbidi nuvoli involuta, agevolmente disnebbiar si potrebbe, e di chiarissima luce gloriarisi." *(Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, p.* 62. *Ed.* 2. *Bologne,* 1859.)

One of the most important of his treatises is that addressed "*ad Fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum*," on the nature of the angels; a favourite subject in the middle ages. It was begun during the Saint's Bachelorship, but he never got beyond the thirtieth chapter.*

In this treatise, he exhibits a familiar acquaintance with the systems of Thales, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Democritus, Anaxagoras, and others. He shows his mastery of Arabian philosophy, and of the teachings of Porphyry, and Avicenna. He compares Plato, with Aristotle, and brilliantly refutes the doctrine of Avicebron. He oversets the pantheism of Avicenna, the untenable doctrines of the Platonists, and the equally dangerous, but perhaps more remotely destructive tenets of Origen. He establishes the Providence of God over the angels, with the assistance of Aristotle's metaphysics; and proves, with an argument full of ingenuity, that the same Providence extends its beneficent influence to the smallest creature.

* He begins thus:—"Quia, sacris Angelorum solemniis interesse non possumus, non debet nobis devotionis tempus transire in vacuum; sed quod psallendi officio subtrahitur, scribendi studio compensetur. Intendentes igitur sanctorum Angelorum excellentiam utcumque depromere, incipiendum videtur ab his quæ de Angelis antiquitus humana conjectura æstimavit; ut si quid invenerimus fidei consonum, accipiamus; quæ vero doctrinæ repugnant catholicæ, refutemus." The chapters are headed thus:—"De opinionibus antiquorum philosophorum.—Opinio Aristotelis et Avicennæ de numero substantiarum separatarum.—In quo conveniat opinio Platonis et Aristotelis.—In quo differunt Plato et Aristoteles.—De substantiarum separatarum essentia secundum Avicebron.—Reprobatio opinionis Avicebron quantum ad modum ponendum.—Reprobatio opinionis Avicebron de materialitate substantiarum separatarum.—Solutio rationum Avicebron opinionis.—Opiniones dicentium substantias immateriales causam sui esse non habere, et earum reprobatio." &c. (*Vol. XVI., Opusc., XIV., De Substantiis separatis, seu de Angelorum natura; ad Fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum, p.* 183.)

Finally, the Manichean error is disposed of, and the "*substantiæ separatæ*" are proved to have been created; whilst the last chapter treats of the condition and distinction of the angels. The Areopagite, S. Basil, S. Augustine, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Jerome, S. Gregory Nazianzen called "*Theologus*," S. Chrysostom, and S. John Damascene, are used in a manner which makes it evident that S. Thomas must have been extensively read in the Fathers, even so early as this in his career. The treatise shows the Saint's grasp of some of the cardinal questions of the day, and how masterfully he dealt with errors, which, had it not been for him, might have stained the most promising minds in the Paris schools.*

There are some other Opuscula which are put down to this period—writings of less importance in themselves, but interesting, in as far as they point out what kinds of subjects occupied the thoughts of scholars in the thirteenth century. There is the Tract against those who maintained the eternity of the world, and which strikes at the

* The Saint treats fully on the Angels, taking his works generally. Of their origin and being, or essence, see *Summa, Pars Prima, qu. L., art.* 1, *p.* 203; *art.* 2, *p.* 204, *qu. L., art.* 3, *p.* 205; *qu. LI., art.* 2., *p.* 208; *qu. LI., art.* 3, *p.* 209; *qu. LXXIX., art.* 1, *p.* 308; *qu. LVI., art.* 2, *p.* 221; *qu. LVII., art.* 1, 2, 3, *p.* 222—223; *qu. LIX., art.* 2, *p.* 231; *qu. LX., art.* 2, *p.* 234; *art.* 5, *p.* 236; *qu. CVII., art.* 2, *p.* 411—412; *qu. CVIII., art.* 5—6, *p.* 416—418; *Contra Gentiles, Lib. II., cap. XLVII., p.* 101—102; *Ibid., cap. XLVIII., p.* 102; *Lib. III., cap. LXXX., p.* 221—223. Of their difference, respecting each other, see *Summa, Pars Prima, qu. LXII., art.* 2, *p.* 240; *art.* 4, *p.* 241; *art.* 7, *p.* 243; *qu. LXIII., art.* 1, *p.* 245; *art.* 3, *p.* 246—247; *art.* 9, 251; *qu. CVIII., art.* 4, *p.* 415. Of their work, see *Summa, P. Prima, qu. CVI., art.* 3, *p.* 412; *qu. CX., art.* 2, *p.* 423—424; *art.* 3, *p.* 424; *qu. CXII., art.* 1, *p.* 428; *qu. CXIII., art.* 6, *p.* 434. (*Summa, Vol. I. Contra Gentiles, Vol. V. Ed. Parmæ.*)

root of the Eastern systems.* Here the Saint follows his favourite, S. Augustine, and shows his acquaintance with the writings of Boethius, S. Anselm, and Hugh of S. Victor's. Then, there is "*De Sortibus*," which rests principally upon the common assumption that the heavenly bodies exerted immense influence on terrestrial affairs; "*De Fato*," in which the Saint shows that he is well acquainted with some of the Latin poets; and finally, a treatise on the "Essence of matter and its dimensions," in which, in nine chapters of subtle arguing, the errors of Averroës are combated. The "Exposition" of the two decrees of Innocent III. for the Archdeacon of Trent, an "*Opusculum de motu cordis ad Philippum Magistrum*," and another "*De Potentiis Animæ*," seem also to have been written during this period.

But, whilst thus engaged, upon the Scriptures, and the Lombard, S. Thomas was frequently in the pulpit; he zealously observed the duties of conventual life, and regularly delivered lectures to the crowds that pressed around his chair. His versa-

* "De Æternitate mundi contra murmurantes." (*Opusc.*, *XXIII.*, *p.* 318—321.) Here is a specimen of his method of arguing:—"Præterea: Causa producens totam rei substantiam, non minus potest in producendo totam substantiam, quam causa producens formam in productione formæ; immo multo magis; quia non producit educendo de potentia materiæ, sicut est in eo qui producit formam. Sed aliquod agens quod producit solum formam, potest in hoc ut forma ab eo producta sit quandocumque ipsum est, ut patet in sole illuminante. Ergo multo fortius Deus, qui producit totam rei substantiam, potest facere ut causatum suum sit quandocumque ipse est. Præterea si aliqua sit causa qua posita in aliquo instanti non possit poni effectus ejus ab ea procedens in eodem instanti, hoc non est nisi quia illi causæ deest aliquid de complemento: causa enim completa et causatum sunt simul. Sed Deo nunquam defuit aliquid de complemento. Ergo causatum ejus semper potest poni eo posito; et ita non est necessarium quod duratione præcedat." (*p.* 319.)

tility, his power of abstraction, his astonishing memory, his jealous husbanding of time, carried him with ease through works which would have broken the spirit of any ordinary man. He possessed that marvellous gift, which Origen and Cæsar are said to have displayed, of being able to dictate to three, and even four scribes,* on different and difficult subjects, at one time, without for a moment losing or entangling the thread of each separate question —dictating to each as if he alone was exclusively the object of his attention.†

There are one or two points in S. Thomas's answer to the Duchess of Brabant, about the Jews, which are of interest.‡ He begins, as was his

* "Vera revelatione sui socii, et suorum studentium scriptorum veraciter est compertum, quod prædictus Doctor de diversis materiis, tribus scriptoribus, et aliquando quatuor in sua camera eodem tempore, Spiritu revelante, dictabat." (Tocco, Boll., *n.* 18, *p.* 665.) It is said that Origen could dictate to *seven* scribes at one time.

† The Opuscula the Saint is said to have written during his bachelorship are thus numbered according to the Parma edition of his works. Responsio ad Lectorem Venetum de XXXVI. articulis. (Opusc. X.) Responsio ad Lectorem Bisuntinum de VI. articulis. (Opusc. XI.) De differentia verbi divini et humani. (Opusc. XII.) De natura verbi intellectus. (Opusc. XIII.) De substantiis separatis seu de natura angelorum ad fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum. (Opusc. XIV.) In Decretalem I. expositio ad Archidiaconum Tridentinum. (Opusc. XIX.) In Decretalem II. expositio ad eundem. (Opusc. XX.) De sortibus ad Dominum Jacobum de Burgo. (Opusc. XXI.) De æternitate mundi. (Opusc. XXIII.) De fato. (Opusc. XXIV.) De Essentia materiæ et suarum dimensionum. (Opusc. XXVIII.) De motu cordis ad Philippum magistrum. (Opusc. XXXI.) De potentiis animæ. (Opusc, XL.) But there is a doubt as to the genuineness of some of them—of this later.

‡ "Adelaide di Borgogna era moglie di Enrico III. Duca del Brabante. Questa principessa, chiara d'ingegno e più chiara del virtù, avea in altissima riverenza gli scienziati e sopra tutti Tommaso, cui ella avea in costume di richiedere a quando a quando di consiglio. Non si potrebbe agguagliare a parole l'allegrezza ch'ella n'ebbe, e l'ammirazione in che si levò ponendo mente alle maniere soavissime e veramente angeliche di lui. Egli le fu cortese di molti salutevoli ammonimenti, massime intorno al modo di tenere nel governare i Giudei che fattisi Iddio dell' oro tiravano all' altrui oppressura. Tali consigli ella bramò ch'e' mettesse in iscrittura affinchè più profittevoli le tornassero ; il che, secondo suo usato, sapientemente e' fece non molto appresso." (Gibelli, *Vita, Cap. XVI., p.* 62.)

custom, by saying how overpowered he was with work, but that charity would not suffer him to keep silence.* The Duchess asked whether she could make exactions from the Jews? Absolutely speaking, he thinks she could; still, according to the Apostle, we should be without offence to Jew and Gentile, and the Church of God. Nor is it permissible for her to turn to her own account, money the Jews acquired by extortion. She may not receive ill-gotten goods; they must be returned to the lawful owner. If this cannot be effected, they must be converted to some pious purpose, at the suggestion of the Diocesan, or some other worthy person. Can Jews be punished by fine, seeing that their money is acquired by usury? Some penalty should be added, since money, thus obtained, does not belong to them. The Saint blames princes for not constraining the Jews to take to some honest occupation, as had been done in parts of Italy; and observes that if princes are defrauded of their rights, it is their own fault, for not acting with greater vigour with the Jews.† Can presents be taken

* "Excellentiæ vestræ recepi litteras, ex quibus et piam solicitudinem circa regimen subditorum vestrorum, et devotam dilectionem quam habetis ad Fratres nostri Ordinis plenarie intellexi, Deo gratias agens, qui vestro cordi tantarum virtutum semina inspiravit. Quod tamen in eisdem a me requirebatis litteris, ut vobis super quibusdam articulis responderem, utique mihi difficile fuit: tum propter occupationes meas, quas requirit operatio lectionis; tum quia mihi placeret ut super his requireretis aliorum consilium magis in istis rebus peritorum. Verum, quia indecens reputari ut vestræ solicitudini negligens coadjutor inveniar, aut dilectioni ingratus existam; super propositis articulis vobis ad præsens respondere curavi; absque præjudicio sententiæ melioris." (*Opusc. XVII., De Regimine Judæorum ad Ducissam Brabantiæ. Vol. XVI., p.* 292.)

† "Si vero dicatur, quod ex hoc principes terrarum damnificantur; hoc damnum sibi imputent, utpote ex negligentia eorum proveniens.

from Jews? Yes: but if the gifts have been acquired by usury, they should be returned to the owner, or converted to pious purposes. What is to be done with the residue, if more is received from the Jews than is required? The answer is given in the principle already stated. Is it lawful to sell places to bailiffs and officials? Many inconveniences would follow from such a practice. The worst men—the ambitious, and the avaricious, would be purchasers; and having once obtained position, would abuse their power, and become overbearing and tyrannical. Is it lawful to impose taxes on Christian subjects?* It must be borne in mind that princes of the earth were instituted by God, not that they might seek themselves, but the common utility of their subjects. For it is said in Ezechiel, "Her princes in the midst of her, are like wolves ravening the prey to shed blood, and to destroy souls, and to run after gains."† And in another place, it is

Melius enim esset ut Judæos laborare compellerent ad proprium victum lucrandum, sicut in partibus Italiæ faciunt, quam quod otiosi viventes solis usuris ditentur, et sic eorum domini suis reditibus defraudentur. Ita enim et per suam culpam principes defraudarentur reditibus propriis, si permitterent suos subditos ex solo latrocinio vel furto lucrari. Tenerentur enim ad restitutionem ejus quodcumque ab eis exigerent. Tertio quærebatur, si ultro offerant pecuniam, vel aliquod encenium, an recipere liceat. Ad quod respondendum videtur, quod licet recipere; sed expedit quod sic acceptum reddatur his quibus debetur, vel aliter, ut supra dictum est, expendatur, si nihil aliud habeant quam usuras." (*Ibid., p.* 292.)

* "Sexto quærebatis, si liceat vobis exactiones facere in vestros subditos Christianos. In quo considerare debetis, quod principes terrarum sunt a Deo instituti non quidem ut propria lucra quærant, sed ut communem populi utilitatem procurent. In reprehensione enim quorumdam principum dicitur in Ezech. XXII., 27: 'Principes ejus in medio ejus quasi lupi rapaces, positi ad effundendum sanguinem, et ad quærendas animas, et avaritiæ lucra sequenda:' et alibi dicitur per quemdam Prophetam (Ezech. XXXIV., 2): 'Vae pastoribus Israel qui

† *Chap. XXII.*, 27.

said, by a certain prophet, "Woe to the shepherds of Israel, that fed themselves; should not the flocks be fed by the shepherd? You ate the milk, and you clothed yourselves with the wool, and you killed that which was fat; but my flock you did not feed." *

Hence, princes receive their rents that they may not despoil their subjects — according to the Prophet, "He shall have a portion of the land of Israel, and the princes shall no more rob my people." † Still, if the revenue be not sufficient for supporting their position, princes may exact what is necessary. Those who live for the common good, should be supported by the people. So, also, extra expenses for the common good are to be defrayed by the public purse. But it is unlawful to tax the people to meet inordinate outlays, or for the lust of personal gain. The seventh question is: what is to be done with money extorted by officials? To be returned to the rightful owner. Lastly, should the Jews have a badge to distinguish them from Christians? Both according to the General Council (of Lateran), and to their own law, they should wear some distinctive mark on their dress. ‡

pascebant semetipsos. Nonne greges pascuntur a pastoribus? Lac comedebatis, et lanis co-operiebamini; quod crassum erat, occidebatis; gregem autem meum non pascebatis.' Unde constituti sunt reditus terrarum principibus, ut ex illis viventes a spoliatione subditorum abstineant. Unde in eodem Propheta (Cap. XLV., 8), Domino mandante dicitur, quod 'principi erit possessio in Israel, et non depopulabuntur ultra principes populum meum.'" (*Ibid.*)

* Ezech., *Chap. XXXIV., v.* 2. † *Chap. XLV., v.* 8.

‡ "Ad quod plana est responsio, et secundum statutum concilii generalis, Judæi utriusque sexus in omni christianorum provincia et in omni

Such is the manner in which the Angelical treated political questions of no little difficulty in his day. Any person carefully reading the advice given by the Dominican to the Duchess, will, at once, perceive with what prudence, tact, and judgment the Saint viewed the difficulties in which she was placed. It will, moreover, be observed, that he possessed a spirit of justice, and a love of freedom, tempered by wisdom in its widest sense, which was not as general as it might have been in the middle ages. The views of the Angelical become all the more striking, when it is born in mind that he was a friar, and had no practical experience of government. In a man of genius, intuition and instinct often serve in the place of study; and what ordinary men only acquire, by laborious application, he is enabled to grasp, by reason of his extraordinary gifts. Such seems to have been the case with the Angel of the Schools.

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tempore aliquo habitu ab aliis populis debent distingui. Hoc eis etiam, in lege eorum mandatur, ut scilicet faciat fimbrias per quatuor angulos palliorum, per quos ab aliis discernantur." (Opera, *Vol. XVI., p.* 294, *Parmæ.)*

He finishes thus:—"Hæc sunt, illustris et religiosa Domina, quæ vestris quæstionibus ad præsens respondenda occurrunt: in quibus vobis non sic meam sententiam ingero, quin magis suadeam peritiorum sententiam esse tenendam. Valeat Dominatio vestra per tempora longiora." *(Ibid., p.* 294.)

CHAPTER XIX.

COMMENTARY ON THE "SENTENCES."

PART I.

Those who knew him, expected that the young Professor would be quite equal to his work at Paris, but they did not expect that he would have attained so speedily such a wide-spread name. Frigerio says that he elucidated the "Sentences" with such sublimity of thought, that he seemed rather the author of the work than its expositor.* Tocco declares that at this time God poured into him so great a knowledge, and caused so divine a doctrine to flow from his lips, that he surpassed all the masters of the University, and by the lucidity of his expositions, drew, beyond all others, the intelligences of his disciples towards a love of

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* "Ivi leggendo il detto Maestro delle sentenze con tal' altezza di concetti, con distintioni non più udite, con acutezze di nuovi argomenti, facendo anche nascere altissime quistioni, non meno utili, che sottili, che anzi l'autore, ch' espositore pareva." (Frigerio, *L.I.*, *Cap. V.*, *p.* 27—28.)

science.* Students from every part of Europe flocked around his chair.†

In touching on his Commentary on the Lombard, the influence of Alexander Hales, the Minorite, must not be forgotten.‡ Alexander was a giant after the fashion of Albert, only, if possible, he possessed greater vivacity of intelligence, and, in this peculiarity, seems to have been another Scotus. His learning and acuteness earned for him the title of "*Doctor Irrefragabilis.*"§ His principal performance is a commentary on the "Sentences." Unlike most commentators, he did not follow the Lombard point by point, but took a middle course between those writers who simply elucidated the text, and those who used it as a quarry out of which to draw materials for original works.

* "Factus autem Bacellareus, cum cœpisset legendo effundere, quæ silentio deliberaverat occultare, Deus tantam ei infudit scientiam, et in labiis ejus tanta divinitus est effusa doctrina, ut omnes etiam magistros videretur excedere, et claritate doctrinæ scholares plus cæteris ad amorem scientiæ provocare." (Boll., *n.* 15, 661.)

† "Onde da tutte le parti d'Europa concorrevano studenti in tal numero alla sua scuola, sembravano esser più tosto un ordinato squadrone di soldati. (Frigerio, *L. I., Cap. V., p.* 28.)

‡ "Scripsit in Bacellaria et in principio sui Magisterii super quatuor libros Sententiarum opus, stylo disertum, intellectu profundum, apertum intelligentia, et novis articulis dilatatum; ad quarum determinationum rationem cum humanas scientias, quasi ancillas ad arcem divinæ Sapientiæ in obsequium adduxisset, quas sacris sententiis concordaret; visus est humanas funditus intellexisset scientias, et summum gradum sui studii fixisse in sapientia divinorum, quibus noviter videbatur instructus, et gustu divinæ sapientiæ delectatus, quem jam Deus ducem suorum eloquiorum faceret: quem tanta replevit scientia, ut alios illustraret. Nec absurdum videatur aliquibus, quod in sapientiæ Divinæ sententiis, secularibus quis utatur scientiis, cum ab eodem intellectu divino objecta omnium scientiarum prodeant, a quo divinæ sapientiæ veritates emanant, cui omnes scientiæ juris deserviunt, a qua et humanitus acquisita procedunt." (Boll., *Cap. III., n.* 15, *p.* 661.)

§ He was a Gloucestershire man, and was called Hales, from the monastery in Gloucestershire of that name, where he was educated. He studied, also, in Paris, and later on became one of the most renowned professors of the university. He entered the Franciscan Order in 1222. Besides being called the "Doctor Irrefragabilis," he was also said to be the "Theologorum Monarcha."

His mind was too independent, and too subtle, and he had mastered Aristotle too completely, for him to have been content with merely following.* Doubtless, it was owing to his intimate acquaintance with the Aristotelian mind, that made him, in a measure, discontented with the form into which the Lombard had thrown his work. Though it did possess a kind of unity, it was not a scientific one; and, in several respects, was not in keeping with rules of logical sequence and division. Alexander enlarged upon the work; and though he kept to four books, in several places he changed the order of the subject-matter.†

His first book, in place of being composed of forty-eight distinctions, is thrown into seventy-four

* Stöckl gives a very fair idea of the position of the Mendicants, in the theological world of the thirteenth century, in the following words:—"Mitglieder der Bettelorden waren es, welche die Höhepunkte der Scholastik bezeichnen. Die Mitglieder der Bettelorden waren und blieben von dreizehnten Jahrhundert an die vornehmsten Träger der scholastischen Philosophie und Theologie; die Bettelorden waren es, welche die rüstigsten und genialsten Kämpfer auf dem Gebiete der Wissenschaft in's Feld stellten; sie waren es, welche jenen grossen geistigen Kreuzzug unternahmen, in welchem die unglaubige Philosophie gestürzt und auf den Trümmern derselben jenes herrliche Gebäude christlicher Wissenschaft aufgeführt wurde, welches in den grossen Werken ihrer grossen Meister unserm Blicke sich darstellt. Die Bettelorden haben sich um die christliche Wissenschaft unsterbliche Verdienste erworben; ihr Name und die Namen der grossen Meister, welche aus ihnen hervorgegangen, sind mit ehernem Griffel in die Annalen der christlichen Wissenschaft eingemeiselt und werden nimmermehr aus ihnen verschwinden." (*Gesch. der Philosoph. Zweiter Band, Erst. Abt., p.* 319—320.)

† "Alexander von Hales war der erste, welcher von der aristotelischen Philosophie zur systematischen Construction der theologischen Wissenschaft in ausgedehnterer Weise, als es bisher der Fall gewesen, Gebrauch machte. Er schrieb in Auftrage Innocenz IV., eine *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, in welcher er das ganze System der Theologischen Wissenschaft auf der Grundlage der Sentenzen Peters des Lombarden mit Hilfe der aristotelischen Philosophie in einim grossartigen Entwurfe zu entwickeln und darzustellen suchte. Innocenz IV. soll dieses Werk siebenzig Theologen zur Prüfung übergeben, und nachdem dieselben es erprobt hatten, allen Lehrern der Theologie empfohlen haben. Es ist dieses Werk in der That ein glänzendes Denkmal tiefer Einsicht und scharfer Denkkraft, welches Alexander von Hales sich gesetzt hat." (*Loco citato.*)

questions. Instead of making no mention of the being, essence, and operations in general, of the Divinity, he begins to treat of these points in the forty-second question, and continues to the end of the first book; and, finally, in place of treating the "last things" with the Lombard, under "signs," he makes them follow as a natural sequence, after treating of the Resurrection of our Lord.*

The extent of his reading must have been prodigious. He quotes all Aristotle's principal works, with his commentators and expounders. He is acquainted with Algazel, Avicenna, Abumasar, and Averroës. There seems to have been hardly a Father of the Latin Church who was unknown to him. Of the ancients, he quotes Origen, S. Chrysostom, S. Athanasius, the Cyrils and Gregorys, Denis, and Didymus. Of the Greeks, his favourite, of course, is the Damascene.†

* As a specimen of his style, the following interesting passage on ideas in God is taken from his *Summa*:—"In Deo omnes rationes naturæ singulorum sunt convolutæ per unam inconfusam unitatem. . . . Dicendum est de ideis, quod una tantum est in re, multiplex in ratione.—Dicendum ergo, quod idea in Deo idem est, quod Divina essentia. Tamen alio modo signat eam. Nam essentia divina signatur absolute: et sic signatur per hoc nomen 'essentia.' Iterum significatur ut causa: et hoc vel efficiens vel, finalis, vel formalis exemplaris: ergo idea significat divinam essentiam prout est causa formalis exemplaris, quia ipsa est omnium rerum exemplar. Et sic per ideam signantur duo: scilicet divina essentia, quod est principale signatum: et quantum ad hoc idea non dicit nisi unum. Iterum, per ideam signatur connotatum: et illud connotatum est respectu plurium rerum, quæ sunt secundum divinum exemplar: et quantum ad hoc sunt ideæ plures, quia plures et diversæ sunt rationes, secundum quas conditur." (Alex. Alens. *Summa Theologica, Lib. I., qu. XXIII., Memb. II., art.* 1—4; *Cf., Lib. II., qu. III., Memb. II., qu. XIV., Memb. IV.*)

† Max Müller gives his history thus:—"At the court of the Chalif Almansur—where Abdallah-Ibn-Almokaffa translated the fables of Calila or Dimna into Arabic—there lived a Christian of the name of Sergius, who for many years held the high office of treasurer to the Chalif. He had a son to whom he gave the best education that could then be given, his chief tutor being one *Cosmas*, an Italian monk, who had been taken prisoner by the Saracens, and sold as a slave at Bagdad. After the death

Of Pagan writers of antiquity, he quotes poets, philosophers, historians, and orators, in such numbers, that it would weary the reader to run through their names.*

What makes it advisable to give some short account of Alexander is this—that though the scholastics may not have followed him in his love for multiplying authorities, creating difficulties, and bringing up new and endless matter for dispute, they held very closely to his method. For instance, the Lombard divides his books into distinctions, containing a certain number of questions. Alexander, on the other hand, puts questions, and in a greater proportion than the Lombard; these fall into *membra*, and the *membra* into articles—each article contains a series of reasons for or against the point in question. Then

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of Sergius, his son succeeded him for some time as chief councillor (πρωτοσύμβουλος) to the Chalif Almansur. Such, however, had been the influence of the Italian monk on his pupil's mind, that he suddenly resolved to retire from the world, and to devote himself to study, meditation, and pious works. From the Monastery of S. Saba, near Jerusalem, this former minister of the Chalif issued the most learned works on theology, particularly his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. He soon became the highest authority on matters of dogma in the Eastern and the Western Churches. His name was *Joannes*, and from being born at Damascus, the former capital of the Chalifs, he is best known in history as *Joannes Damascenus*, or S. John of Damascus. He must have known Arabic, and probably, Persian; but his mastery of Greek earned him, later in life, the name of Chrysorrhoas, or Gold-flowing. He became famous as the defender of the sacred images, and as the determined opponent of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, about 726." (*See Contemporary Review, p.* 558, *fifth year, new series, July*, 1870.)

* "Von den Werken des Aristoteles," says Werner:—"finden sich bei Alexander die meister und wichtigsten citirt und benützt: die Bücher von den Prädicamenten und Postprädicamenten, die Topik, die Metaphysik, die Physik, die Bücher vom Himmel, von der Erzeugung der Thiere, Schlaf und Wachen, von der Seele, die Ethik und Politik; auch die Commentatoren und Erklärer des Aristoteles. . . . Auserdem citirt er bisweilen auch andere Schrift steller des heidnischen Alterthums, einen Plato, Euklid, Ptolomäus, Plotinus, Porphyrius, Apollonius, Claudianus, Hippokrates, Makrobius, Cicero, Ovidius, Quintilian, Priscian, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Virgilius." (*Vol. I., p.* 317.)

come the resolutions, which seldom take any side absolutely, but are modified to meet the arguments which are stated on either part. Finally, answers to objections are given. This method is followed, in the main, by Albert, and then by S. Thomas of Aquino.*

Alexander did his work so fully, that he left others little more to do, than to arrange and develop, more perfectly, that raw material which he had accumulated in such quantities. If he did not bring systematic theology to anything like perfection, he laid a broad basis upon which those who came after him were very content to build. He, in fact, was the first to treat of the Being, Essence, and Attributes of God, in a scientific manner; and, though questions regarding the Blessed Trinity were successfully and carefully handled by the Lombard, Alexander enlarged and perfected them, and, in this respect, gave to posterity a body of divinity, well-digested, and of considerable value. But, like all writers of those days, he was not strong in his Cosmology, and his proofs from the contingency of the world against its eternity would hardly satisfy the deeper mind of Thomas of Aquino.†

* "It is pretty certain that, in writing his *Summa*, Alexander had at hand the works of Avicenna, and, probably, those of Averroës, or the "*Metaphysics*" of Aristotle. The *Summa* was published for the first time at Venice, in 1475, in folio, under the title of *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*. Since that date many editions have appeared. (See *Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XVIII.)* The commonest edition is that of Venice, 1576, four vols., folio. (See Hauréau, *Tom. I., Chap. XV., p.* 423.)

† Some writers have committed the error of supposing that Alexander was the first to write a commentary on the "Sentences." Such men as Du Boulay, Morhoff, Brucker, and Daunau, seem to have made this

It was in this that S. Thomas surpassed all men of his day—that he never for one moment was carried away by the force of fantasy, or by subjective methods of reasoning. His unusual calmness gave him time and light for seeing a difficulty, and detecting its solutions; and he was far too much detached from self to be tempted to seek arguments that were based simply upon personal peculiarities of disposition or of mind. He never dreamt of holding anything but what was handed down, and what could be enforced, by Scripture, by the Fathers, and by the dictates of enlightened reason. Thus, he not only mastered, in their complexity and unity, the teachings of his day, but, by his power of mind, grasped them, and bore them forward to a greater perfection.

If Alexander deserves praise for being the first to treat, systematically, questions regarding the Divinity,* Thomas deserves praise for perfecting

mistake. They do not appear to have been aware that William of Auxerre wrote a Gloss, called "Aurea Doctoris acutissimi sacrique præsulis Domni Guillelmi Antissiod. in Quatuor Sententiarum libros perlucida explanatio." The Summa of Robert of Melun has already been mentioned, that of Stephen Laugton might be added to it. (*Cf.* Hauréau, *De La Philos. Scholast,. Vol. I., Chap. XV., p.* 424.)

* Stöckl gives the following *resumé* of the view of Hale on our knowledge of God :—"Wir sind hienieden, lehrt Alexander, im Stande, Gott zu erkennen ; aber diese Erkenntniss kann keine intuitive sein, es sei denn, dass der Mensch durch ausserordentliche göttliche Erleuchtung auf Augenblicke zu einer solchen unmittelbaren Schauung Gottes emporgehoben würde. Unsere Erkenntniss Gottes hienieden kann nur eine mittelbare sein ; und sie ist dann entweder vermittelt durch den Glauben oder durch die geschöpfliche Welt. Letztere ist die eigentliche Vernunfterkenntniss. Die geschöpflichen Dinge lassen uns erkennen, das Gott ist, und welches seine wesenhaften Eigenschaften sind, da er sich in der Schöpfung der Welt geoffenbart hat. Und deshalb sind denn auch ganz apodiktische Beweise möglich für das Dasein Gottes." (*Gesch. der Philosoph. Zweiter Band, Erste Abt.*, § 91, *p.* 321.) Again :—"Er beweist daher das Dasein Gottes mit Richard von St. Victor vor Allem daraus, dass Alles, was ist, entweder ewig und aus sich,

that teaching, and for having added deep and pregnant principles regarding the inner life and beatitude of the Blessed Trinity. Then, he far eclipsed the Minorite in his proofs of the non-eternity of the world—a question of momentous importance in the middle ages. While following S. Augustine, on the difficult doctrine of predestination, he did a noble service, by the originality of his development of Christian doctrine respecting evil, and the rule of God's providence over the world. Again: he surpasses Alexander, in the lucidity and completeness of his treatment of the original state of man; and pushed on the science of his day, many steps, by his tract upon original sin. But, where the Angelical is most brilliant and profound, is when he deals with questions concerning our Blessed Lord. In his writings on the possibility and fitness of the Incarnation, Alexander of Hales is far beneath him.* He treats, in detail, difficult points regarding the human knowledge

oder aber zeitlich und von einem Andern heursacht sein müsse. . . . Ferner beweist er Gottes Dasein mit Anselm und Augustin aus dem Begriff der Wahrheit schlechthin, der absoluten Wahrheit . . . . Ferner beweist Alexander Gottes Dasein mit Anselm und Richard von St. Victor aus dem Begriffe des Höchsten und Vollkommensten . . . . Auch den ontologischen Beweis Anselms eignet sich Alexander an, während er von Johannes Damascenus den Causalitats-Beweis aufnimmt . . . . Endlich beweist Alexander das Dasein Gottes noch mit Hugo von S. Victor aus dem Bewustsein des Menschen selbst." *(Loco cit., p.* 321—322.)

* Hauréau gives the following testimony to the reputation of Alexander:—"Jean Pits raconte que, sur la renommée de ses leçons publiques, Innocent IV. l'avait chargé de composer une *Somme* qui fut la règle des docteurs; que cet ouvrage présenté au saint siége par le Docteur Irréfragable, fut, dans la suite, soumis au jugement de soixante-dix théologiens, et que ceux-ci, l'ayant approuvé, le recommanderent, en outre, comme un livre parfait, achevé, à tous les maîtres en théologie. Il est vrai que rien n'y est omis, que l'auteur de cet immense ouvrage a prévu toutes les difficultés et les a toutes résolues; et s'il s'est constamment maintenu, comme on l'atteste, dans les strictes limites de l'orthodoxie, qui donc aura la prétention de faire, apres lui, quelque découverte dans un champ si bien exploré?" *(Vol. I., Chap. XV., p.* 425.)

and wisdom of our Lord; and is the first theologian who dedicated a special article to His High-priestly office: while his genius shines forth, with singular brightness, in his splendid theory on Satisfaction.

Regarding the doctrine of Grace—one of the hinges of theology—a steady progress can be perceived. The Lombard borrows his materials from S. Augustine: Albert and Alexander, by means of their scholastic machinery, develop the doctrine into fuller proportions, and into minuter detail; but it was left for Thomas of Aquino to carry it to such perfection, that, during the remainder of the middle ages, his view was followed as a guiding light, without a dissentient voice. Then the teaching on the Sacraments—closely connected with grace—was fully mastered by our Saint, and his *dicta* on these points were looked upon with great respect by all who sought safe development of doctrine based upon immovable authority.*

* In spite of Alexander being, what may be called, a more original thinker than either S. Thomas, S. Bonaventure, or Albertus Magnus, he never held an equal sway with them. The difference between his method and theirs in treating the Lombard, is given very well by Werner:—"Alexander schloss sich an die von dem Lombarden befolgte Lehrordnung nicht so enge an, als man es von einem Commentator füglich zu erwarten hätte; andererseits hatte er es doch wieder nicht auf eine durchgreifend bewältigende Umgestaltung und Gliederung des theologischen Lehrstoffes angelegt. Er schwankte demnach unentschieden zwischen der Rolle eines Commentators und jener eines selbstständigen Bearbeiters. Die nachfolgenden Theologen, Albert, Thomas, Bonaventura schieden diese beiden Functionen auseinander, und beschränkten sich bei der Auslegung der Sentenzenbücher mit bewusster Absichtlichkeit auf die Aufgabe der blossen Commentirung, daher sie auch dem Texte des Lombarden unbedingt sich anschlossen, und ihm von Distinction zu Distinction mit ihren Erklärungen folgten. Freilich brachten auch sie, gleich Halesius, ihre gesammte eigene Theologie unter; der Text des Lombarden bot ihnen eigentlich nur den Anlass, ihre eigene Ansicht über dieselbe Sache mit erschöpfender Ausführlichkeit vorzutragen, daher man ihre Commentare nicht so fast Erklärungen des Lombarden, als Werke über den Lombarden nennen möchte." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 319—320.)

If judged by its bulk, the "Commentary on the four Books of the Lombard" would seem sufficient to have occupied a life. It fills over one thousand two hundred and fifty pages of the large quarto Parma edition, printed in double columns. The first book embraces three hundred and eighty pages; and, in imitation of the Lombard, has forty-eight distinctions, followed by questions and explanations. The second book occupies four hundred and odd pages, with forty-four distinctions; the third, "*De Incarnatione Verbi*," over four hundred and forty pages, with fifty distinctions; and finally, the fourth book has eight hundred pages, divided into fifty distinctions.*

Such is the first great work of Thomas of Aquino—a monument of ceaseless labour, great skill, and patient thought—a pattern of that steady, thorough method, followed by the old doctors, who prepared their lectures with scrupulous care, and delivered them with such clearness and precision, that the student could take down all the divisions, arguments, answers, and distinctions, with comparatively little difficulty. The duty of professing, in those days, was looked upon as one of great

* How far S. Thomas surpassed Alexander of Hales, in simplicity, directness, and brevity of expression, can be seen, at once, by comparing their commentaries on the Lombard. Rubeis gives an example, taking simply the method used by each in stating a question. *Apud S. Thomam:* "Utrum pueri in statu innocentiæ nati fuissent in justitia confirmati." *Apud Halensem:* "Sequitur inquirere utrum *(liberi)* essent heredes paternæ justitiæ quantum ad justitiam confirmatam." After comparing thus, these two methods of statement, Rubeis exclaims, not without some cause, "Quam dilucide concinnisque verbis propositus ab Aquinate status quæstionis! Obscurum et implexum quis inficiabitur positum ab Halensi titulum?" (S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Opp., *Tom. IV., Suppl. Dissert., IV., Cap. I., p. XXXV.)*

gravity. To be chosen to frame a system of theologic or philosophic truth, out of the *débris* of the past, and to fix it in the minds of the rising world, implied a responsibility so weighty, that serious men would have shrunk from it altogether, had not a high, supernatural motive urged them to accept the onerous duty.* The vast labours of those men—of Albert, Alexander, Bonaventure, the Lombard, S. Thomas of Aquino, and the other encyclopedic writers of the thirteenth century, show us what kind of standard of learning and knowledge professors aimed at in the middle ages. †

It will be well to indicate the general plan of the Commentary, and treat the subject in such a

* Much ignorant rhetoric is poured out, in these days, upon the great writers and teachers of the middle ages. One writer picks up the platitudes of another, and dangles them before the public—the public which never, hardly, has time to read the originals for themselves, or to study the real current of events;—and thus error is fixed on the public mind. The scholastics, like all men, had their faults, their system can be criticised; but one thing is certain, that they dedicated their whole strength to their work. They were no *dilettanti* performers. Science, such as it was, and the education of the young, occupied the most precious portion of their lives. They knew, and felt the value of principle. They had few such distractions as men have in these days; they were mostly men who had abandoned this world, out of love for the next. They had something spiritual, and heroic in their make, to start with. They lived amidst grand ideas: their convictions and their lives were not of the earth.

† "Die theologische Systematik des Mittelalters bildete sich aus der den Sentenzenbüchern des Lombarden gewidmeten commentirenden Thatigkeit heraus. In dem Werke des Lombarden lag selber bereits ein System der kirchlichen Lehre vor, Gang der Entwickelung und Methode der Behandlung war in demselben vorgezeichnet, und wurde für die nachfolgenden Theologen maassgebend. Auch Thomas schulte sich vorerst im Studium der Sentenzenbücher, ehe er zu grösseren selbstständigen, nach der Methode der Schule abgefassten Arbeiten schritt, und endlich auf Grundlage dieser Vorarbeiten den nach einem eigenen Plane unternommenen Bau eines nach ihm genannten Systemes ausführte. Zwar hatte auch bereits Albert der Grosse neben seinem Commentar zu den Sentenzen eine theologische Summe als System des theologischen Wissens abgefasst, aber er folgte im Ganzen und Grossen doch nur der vom Lombarden vorgezeichneten Eintheilung, und hinterliess sein Werk nur zur Hälfte vollendet, in zwei Büchern, die denselben Stoff behandeln, welchen die ersten zwei Bücher der Sentenzen in sich fassen." (Werner, *B. I., Viertes Capitel, p.* 306—307.)

way, that the method and mind of the Saint may come out as clearly as is possible.

The Prologue gives the division of the work, and is quite in the general manner of the Saint, when making an application of Holy Scripture. He selects a text, and draws out of it the division of his subject:—"I, Wisdom, have poured out rivers; I, like a brook out of a river of a mighty water; I, like the river Dorix, and like an aqueduct, came out of paradise, I said: I will water my garden of plants, and I will water abundantly the fruits of my meadow." *

The Angelical says that, amongst the many sayings about wisdom, that of the Apostle, in particular, is singularly solid and true, namely:—"Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God, who, from God, is made unto us wisdom." † But this is not said as if wisdom belonged exclusively to the Son; but because, in a parti-

* (*Eccli., XXIV.*, 40.)

"Ego sapientia effudi flumina; ego quasi trames aquæ immensæ defluo: ego quasi fluvius Dorix, et sicut aquæductus exivi de paradiso. Dixi: Rigabo hortum plantationum, et inebriabo partus mei fructum."—"Inter multas sententias quæ a diversis de sapientia prodierunt, quid scilicet esset vera sapientia, unam singulariter firmam et veram Apostolus protulit dicens *Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam, qui etiam nobis a Deo factus est sapientia.* 1 *ad Corinth. I.*, 24 *et* 30. Non autem hoc ita dictum est, quod solus Filius sit sapientia, cum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sint una sapientia, sicut una essentia; sed quia sapientia quodam speciali modo Filio appropriatur, eo quod sapientiæ opera cum proprietatibus Filii plurimum convenire videntur. Per sapientiam enim Dei manifestantur divinorum abscondita, producuntur creaturarum opera, nec tantum producuntur, sed etiam restaurantur et perficiuntur: illa, dico, perfectione qua unumquodque perfectum dicitur, prout proprium finem attingit. Quod autem manifestatio divinorum pertineat ad Dei Sapientiam, patet ex eo quod ipse Deus per suam sapientiam seipsum plene et perfecte cognoscit." (*Opp. Tom. VI., Commentum in Primum Librum Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi. Prologus S. Thomæ.*)

† 1 *Cor., I.*, 24–30.

cular manner, it can be predicated of Him. For, by the wisdom of God, the hidden things of the Divinity are manifested; creatures are not only produced, but they are also restored, and perfected. That the manifestation of the Divinity *(Divinorum)* belongs to God's wisdom is evident from this—that God knows Himself fully, and perfectly, by His wisdom.* Therefore, whatever we know of Him, must be derived from Him: for, what is imperfect, has its origin from what is perfect. Now, this manifestation is principally made by the Son: "No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal Him." Therefore, it is rightly said in the person of the Son: "I, Wisdom, have poured out rivers." By "rivers" is here understood the flux of the eternal processions, by which, in an ineffable manner, the Son proceeds from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from both. Formerly, these rivers were hidden, and, in a way, confused, both in the similitude of creatures, and in the enigmas of the Scriptures, so

* "Unde si quid de ipso cognoscimus oportet quod ex eo derivetur, quia omne imperfectum a perfecto trahit originem: unde dicitur Sapient. IX., 17: *Sensum tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam?* Hæc autem manifestatio specialiter per Filium facta invenitur: ipse enim est Verbum Patris, secundum quod dicitur Joan I.; unde sibi manifestatio dicentis Patris convenit et totius Trinitatis unde dicitur Matth. XI., 27: *Nemo novit Patrem nisi Filius et cui Filius voluerit, revelare:* et Joan I., 18: *Deum nemo vidit unquam, nisi Unigenuits qui est in sinu Patris.* Recte ergo dicitur ex persona Filii: *Ego sapientia; effudi flumina.* Flumina ista intelligo fluxus æternæ processionis, qua Filius a Patre, et Spiritus Sanctus ab utroque, ineffabili modo procedit. Ista flumina olim occulta et quodammodo confusa erant tum in similitudinibus creaturarum, tum etiam in ænigmatibus scripturarum, ita ut vix aliqui sapientes Trinitatis mysterium fide tenerent." *(Loco. Cit.)*

that hardly any of the ancients believed in the Trinity. The Son of God came and poured out, as it were, these shut-up rivers, by publishing the name of the Trinity: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."* "The depths also of rivers he hath searched, and hidden things he hath brought forth to light."† And this touches upon the matter of the first book.‡

In the second place, the production of creatures belongs to the wisdom of God. Like an artist, He possesses, not merely a speculative, but a practical wisdom, with regard to creatures—hence, "Thou hast made all things in wisdom."§ And this attribute belongs especially to the Son, inasmuch as He is the image of the invisible God, according to whose likeness, all things were made. ‖ Hence, "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, for in Him were all things created."¶ Rightly, therefore, it is said in the person of the Son: "I flow like a brook out of a river of mighty

* *Matt., XXVIII.*, 19. † *Job, XXVIII.*, 2.

‡ "Venit filius Dei et inclusa flumina quodammodo effudit, nomen Trinitatis publicando, Matth., ult. 19: *Docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* Unde Job, XXVIII., 2: *Profunda fluviorum scrutatus est et abscondita produxit in lucem.* Et in hoc tangitur materia primi libri."

§ *Psalm CIII.*, 24.

‖ "Secundum quod pertinet ad Dei sapientiam est creaturarum productio: ipse enim de rebus creatis non tantum speculativam sed etiam operativam sapientiam habet sicut artifex de artificiatis; unde in Psalm. 103; *Omnia in sapientia fecisti.* Et ipsa sapientia loquitur, Proverb. VIII., 30: *Cum eo eram cuncta componens.* Hoc etiam specialiter Filio attributum invenitur, inquantum est imago Dei invisibilis, ad cujus formam omnia formata sunt: unde Coloss., I., 15: *Qui est imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus omnis creaturæ quoniam in ipso condita sunt universa: et* Joan I., 3: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt.*"

¶ *Coloss., I.*, 15.

water." And here, the order and mode of creation are indicated. The order: because, as a brook springs from a river, so the temporal procession of creatures is derived from the eternal Procession of Persons. Hence, "He spoke, and they were made." * According to the philosopher, that which comes first, is always the cause of that which is second. So that, the first Procession, is the cause, and reason, of all those which follow. † The mode is signified in two ways: with regard to the Creator, Who, whilst He fills all things, is measured by none:—and this is signified by "mighty." And, with regard to the creature, because, as a brook flows out of the bed of the river, so the creature proceeds from God, outside the unity of the essence, in which, as in a bed, the flux of the Persons is contained. And by this, the subject-matter of the second book is indicated. The third thing that has to do with the wisdom of God is restoration. For he who made a thing, is the one to repair it; so that, those things that have been formed by wisdom, should be made

* *Psalm CXLVIII.*, 5.

† "Recte ergo dicitur ex persona Filii: *Ego* quasi trames aquæ immensæ defluo; in quo notatur et ordo creationis et modus. Ordo, quia sicut trames a fluvio derivatur, ita processus temporalis creaturarum ab æterno processu personarum: unde in Psalmo CXLVIII., 5, dicitur: *Dixit, et facta sunt.* Verbum genuit, in quo erat ut fierent, secundum Augustinum. (Sup. Genes. ad litteram Lib. I., Cap. II.) Semper enim id quod est primum est causa eorum quæ sunt post, secundum Philosophum (2 Metaph., Text IV.,); unde primus processus est causa et ratio omnis sequentis processionis. Modus autem signatur quantum ad duo: scilicet ex parte creantis, qui cum omnia impleat, nulli tamen se commetitur; quod notatur in hoc quod dicitur, *Immensæ.* Item ex parte creaturæ: quia sicut trames procedit extra alveum fluminis, ita creatura procedit a Deo extra unitatem essentiæ, in qua sicut in alveo fluxus personarum continetur. Et in hoc notatur materia secundi libri." (*Loc. Cit., p.* 2.)

good by wisdom. Hence, Wisdom says: "For by wisdom they were healed, whosoever have pleased Thee from the beginning." * Now this reparation has been specially effected by the Son, inasmuch as He became man; and, having made good man's estate, in a certain manner, He also made good all things which were created for man's sake, hence: "And through Him, to reconcile all things, both as to the things on earth, and the things that are in heaven." † Fitly, it is therefore said, in the person of the Son: "I, like the river Dorix, and like an aqueduct, came out of paradise." This paradise is the glory of God the Father, out of which He came forth into the valley of our misery—not that He lost, but that He hid, His glory. Regarding this coming forth, two things are noted, viz.: the mode, and the fruit. ‡ The Dorix is a most rapid river; and by this is shown how Christ, with a certain impetuosity of love, fulfilled the mystery of our Reparation, hence: "When He shall come as a violent stream, which the

* *Wisdom, IX.*, 19. † *Coloss., I.*, 20.

‡ "Tertium, quod pertinet ad Dei sapientiam, est operum restauratio. Per idem enim debet res reparari per quod facta est; unde quæ per sapientiam condita sunt, decet ut per sapientiam reparantur: unde dicitur Sapient. IX., 19: *Per sapientiam sanati sunt qui tibi placuerunt ab initio.* Hæc autem reparatio specialiter per Filium facta est, inquantum ipse homo factus est, qui, reparato hominis statu, quodammodo omnia reparavit quæ propter hominem facta sunt; unde Coloss. I., 20: *Per eum reconcilians omnia, sive quæ in cœlis, sive quæ in terris sunt.* Recte ergo ex ipsius Filii persona dicitur: *Ego quasi fluvius Dorix, et sicut aquæductus exivi de paradiso.* Paradisus iste, gloria Dei Patris est, de qua exivit in vallem nostræ miseriæ: non quod eam amitteret, sed quia occultavit: unde Joan. XVI., 28: *Exivi a Patre et veni in mundum.* Et circa hunc exitum duo notantur, scilicet modus et fructus." *(Loc. cit., p. 2.)*

spirit of the Lord driveth on."* The fruit is signified by the words, "like an aqueduct." For, just as an aqueduct, flowing from one fount, brings water which, when divided and spread about, irrigates the earth; so, from Christ flow forth different kinds of graces for the planting of the Church. And this touches upon the subject-matter of the third book, the first part of which treats of the mysteries of our Reparation: the second, of the graces bestowed on us through Christ. †

The fourth thing that belongs to the wisdom of God, is the perfection by which things are maintained in their end.‡ For, when the end is withdrawn, nothing but vanity remains, which

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* *Isaias LIX.*, 19.

† "Dorix enim fluvius rapidissimus est; unde designat modum quo, quasi impetu quodam amoris nostræ reparationis Christus complevit mysterium; unde Isaiæ. LIX., 19. *Cum venerit quasi fluvius violentus, quem spiritus Domini cogit.* Fructus autem designatur ex hoc quod dicitur, *Sicut ad aqueductus:* sicut enim aquæductus ex uno fonte producuntur divisim ad fecundandam terram, ita de Christo profluxerunt diversarum gratiarum genera ad plantandam Ecclesiam, secundum quod dicitur Ephes. *IV.*, 11: *Ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem Prophetas alios autem pastores et doctores, ad consummationem sanctorum in opus ministerii in ædificationem corporis Christi.* Et in hoc tangitur materia tertii libri: in cujus prima parte agitur de mysteriis nostræ reparationis, in secunda de gratiis nobis collatis per Christum." *(Loco. Cit., p. 2.)*

‡ "Quartum, quod ad Dei sapientiam pertinet, est perfectio, qua res conservantur in suo fine. Subtracto enim fine, relinquitur vanitas, quam sapientia non patitur secum; unde dicitur Sap. VIII., 1, quod sapientia *attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suaviter.* Suaviter autem unumquodque tunc dispositum est quando in suo fine, quem naturaliter desiderat, collocatum est. Hoc etiam ad Filium specialiter pertinet, quod cum sit verus et naturalis Dei Filius, nos in gloriam paternæ hereditatis induxit; unde Hebr. II., 10: *Decebat eum propter quem et per quem facta sunt omnia qui multos filios in gloriam adduxerat.* Unde recte dicitur: *Dixi: Rigabo hortum plantationum.* Ad consecutionem enim finis exigitur præparatio, per quam omne quod non competit fini, tollatur; ita Christus etiam, ut nos in finem æternæ gloriæ induceret, sacramentorum medicamenta præparavit, quibus a nobis peccati vulnus abstergitur. Unde duo notantur in verbis prædictis; scilicet præparatio, quæ est per sacramenta, et inductio in gloriam. Primum per hoc quod dicitur: *Rigabo hortum plantationum.*" *(Ibid.)*

wisdom does not suffer as her companion; hence, it is said: "She reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly." * A thing is sweetly ordered, when it is possessed of that end which it naturally desires. Now, this ordering, specially belongs to the Son, who, since He is the true Son of God, has brought us into the glory of our Father's inheritance, hence, "For it became Him, for whom are all things, who had brought many children into glory."† Hence, it is well said: "I said, I will water my garden of plants." For this garden is the Church, of which the Canticle speaks thus: "My spouse is a garden enclosed,"‡ in which there are divers plants, according to the different Orders of saints, all of which were planted by the hand of the Omnipotent.§ This garden is watered by Christ, with the streams of the Sacraments; hence, praising the beauty of the Church, it is said: "How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob!" ‖ and, then, "As watered gardens, near the rivers."¶ And, therefore, those who administer the Sacraments are called "Waterers." "I have planted,

* *Wisdom, VIII.*, 1. † *Heb., II.*, 10. ‡ *IV.*, 12.

§ "Hortus enim iste Ecclesia est de qua Cant., IV., 12: *Hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa:* in quo sunt plantationes diversæ, secundum diversos sanctorum ordines, quos omnes manus omnipotentis plantavit. Iste hortus irrigatur a Christo sacramentorum rivis, qui ex ejus latere profluxerunt: unde in commendationem pulchritudinis Ecclesiæ dicitur in Num., XXIV., 5. *Quam pulchra tabernacula tua, Jacob!* et post sequitur, 6: *Ut horti juxta fluvios irrigui.* Et ideo etiam ministri Ecclesiæ, qui sacramenta dispensant, rigatores dicuntur, 1 Corinth., III., 6: *Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit.* Inductio autem in gloriam notatur in hoc quod sequitur: *Et inebriabo partus mei fructum.*"

‖ *Numbers, XXIV.*, 5. ¶ *Numbers, XXIV.*, 6.

Apollo watered." * The leading into glory is denoted by what follows: "And I will water abundantly the fruits of my meadow." The children of Christ are the faithful of the Church, † whom He brought forth, like a mother, by His labour; concerning which it is written, "Shall not I, that make others to bring forth children, Myself bring forth, saith the Lord?" ‡ The "fruits" of this bringing-forth are the saints who are in glory; concerning which "fruits:"—"Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat the fruit of his apple-trees." § He inebriates these with the most abundant fruition of Himself; concerning which fruition and inebriation:—"They shall be inebriated with the plenty of Thy house." ‖ And it is called inebriation, because it surpasses every measure of reason and desire; hence: "The eye hath not seen, O God, besides Thee, what things Thou hast prepared for them that wait for Thee." ¶ This is the subject-matter of the fourth book, in the first portion of which, the Sacraments are treated of; and in the

* *Cor., III.*, 6. † *Isaias, LXVI.*, 9.

‡ "Partus ipsius Christi sunt fideles Ecclesiæ, quos suo labore quasi mater paturivit: de quo partu Isa. ult., 9: *Numquid ego, qui alios parere facio, ipse non pariam? dicit Dominus.* Fructus autem istius partus sunt sancti qui sunt in gloria: de quo fructu, Cant. V. 1.: *Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum et comedat fructum pomorum suorum.* Istos inebriat abundantissima sui fruitione; de qua fruitione et ebrietate, Psalm, XXXV., 9: *Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ.* Et dicitur ebrietas, quia omnem mensuram rationis et desiderii excedit: unde Isa. LXIV., 4: *Oculus non vidit, Deus, absque te quæ præparasti expectantibus te.* Et in hoc tangitur materia quarti libri: in cujus prima parte agitur de sacramentis; in secunda de gloria resurrectionis. Et sic patet ex prædictis verbis intentio libri Sententiarum." *(Loco Citato, p. 2.)*

§ *Cant., V.*, 1. ‖ *Psalm XXXV.*, 9.

¶ *Isaias, LXIV.*, 4.

second, the glory of the Resurrection. "*Et sic patet ex prædictis verbis intentio libri Sententiarum.*"*

These words conclude the Prologue, which has been referred to pretty fully, as it illustrates the Saint's general method, and customary form of thought. His giving Christ so prominent a place, evinces the tenor of his mind. This spirit runs all through his larger writings. The education he received under the Benedictine Rule, in this respect, produced its full effect.

The calmness, breadth, and silent, contemplative spirit, which lived on the mountain, dwelt with him in the city, and spoke by him to men. In fact, Christ, and wisdom—which he spent his life in seeking and teaching, and which was his "spouse"—were connected, as he says, "*quodam speciali modo*;" and thus, the tie was drawn still closer which bound him to his Lord.†

* That the Commentary on the "Sentences" was one of the first works of the Angelical is clear from Rubeis:—"Inter Opera Theologica," he says, "quæ Sanctus Thomas bene multa elucubravit, primum tenent locum, temporis ordine servato, *Commentarii in quatuor Sententiarum libros.* De hoc opere ejusdemque auctore judicium accipe quod proferunt Veteres. Ptolomæus Lucensis, Lib. XXII., Histor. Eccles. Capite, XXI., sic habet: *Post hoc* (post traditas nempe *Coloniæ ubi multo tempore fuit*, sacras litteras) *vadit Parisios* Thomas. *Annorum XXV. erat, cum primum venit Parisios, ubi infra trigesimum annum Sententias legit: et Conventum in Theologia, sive Licentiam recepit. Infra autem Magisterium, quatuor libros fecit super Sententias videlicet primum, secundum, tertium, et quartum.* Involutum implexumque et obscurum locum, quod attinet ad ipsius Aquinatis ætatem ejusque temporis vices in Academia Parisiensi, inferius declaramus." (Vid. *Opp., Tom. VII., Pars Altera. J. Bernardi Mariæ De Rubeis Ordinis Prædicatorum Dissertationes, in fine; Dissertatio I., n.* 1, *p.* 1261.)

† How beautifully the Angelical shows the connection between peace and wisdom in his *Summa*, between those two gifts so specially his own: "Sed contra est," he says, against an objection "sed contra est quod Augustinus dicit in lib. I., de Serm. Dom. in Monte (Cap. IV., circ. med.) quod *sapientia convenit pacificis, in quibus nullus motus est rebellis, sed obtemperans rationi.* Respondeo dicendum, quod septima beatitudo congrue adaptatur dono sapientiæ et quantum ad meritum, et quantum ad præmium. Ad meritum quidem pertinet quod dicitur: *Beati*

But to return. The work on the "Sentences" embraces the whole range of theologic truth: God and His inner Life, and His Relations and Processions; His Dealings with man and the world; the work of Redemption, and the office of the Holy Spirit; the channels of Divine commiseration and charity; man's return to the Hand out of which he came—the whole circle is completed, regarding the Almighty, and His connexion with His creatures.

The work of the Lombard is a confusion, compared with the lucid style, and admirable arrangement of the Commentary of the Angelic Doctor. In place of the crabbed and inverted language of Peter, we have the simple, logical, direct use of words which go straight to the point, and express the entire mind.

A specimen or so of the framework of this Commentary will be of some interest, as manifesting the method of the schools, the influence of Aristotle, and the mind of the Saint.

After the General Prologue, comes the "*Prologus Magistri Sententiarum*"—"The Prologue of the Master of the Sentences," which states the object

pacifici. Pacifici autem dicuntur, quasi pacem facientes vel in seipsis, vel etiam in aliis; quorum utrumque contingit per hoc quod ea in quibus pax constituitur, ad debitum ordinem rediguntur: nam *pax est tranquillitas ordinis*, ut Augustinus dicit, 19 de Civitate Dei (Cap. XIII., circ. princ.). Ordinare autem pertinet ad sapientiam, ut patet per Philosophum in principio Metaph., Cap. II. Et ideo esse pacificum convenienter attribuitur sapientiæ. Ad præmium autem pertinet quod dicitur: *Filii Dei vocabuntur.* Dicuntur autem aliqui filii Dei, inquantum participant similitudinem Filli unigeniti, et naturalis, secundum illud Rom. VIII., 29: *Quos præscivit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui;* qui quidem est sapientia genita. Et ideo participando donum sapientiæ, ad Dei filiationem homo pertingit." (*Secunda Secundæ, Tom. III., q. XLV., art. VI., p.* 175.)

the Lombard had in view in writing his work, viz.: that of opposing to dominant and rampant errors, the traditionary teaching of the Church.* This Prologue is handled at length. First, the text is divided, and the portions are elucidated. Now, an objection is made, and answered; then, the derivation of a word is attempted, as, *e.g.*, "*Gazophylacium*," or the meaning intended by the author insisted on: for instance, *vipereæ*, which, the Saint declares, means heretical. *Vipereæ= hæreticæ: hæretici enim pariendo alios in sua hæresi, pereunt sicut vipera.* †

* "An extract from the Lombard's Prologue will be interesting, as showing how thoroughly in earnest he was; and, also, the style in which he wrote. It begins thus, as has already been seen:—"Cupientes aliquid de penuria ac tenuitate nostra cum paupercula in gazophylacium Domini mittere (*Luc.* XXI.), ardua scandere et opus ultra vires nostras agere præsumpsimus; consummationis fiduciam, laborisque mercedem in Samaritano statuentes, qui, prolatis in curationem semivivi duobus denariis, supereroganti cuncta reddere professus est (*Luc.* X.). Delectat nos veritas pollicentis, sed terret immensitas laboris: desiderium hortatur proficiendi, sed dehortatur infirmitas deficiendi, quam vincit zelus domus Dei: quo inardescentes, fidem nostram adversus errores carnalium atque animalium hominum, Davidicæ turris clypeis munire (*Cant.* VII.) vel potius munitam ostendere, ut Theologicarum inquisitionum abdita aperire, nec non et sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum pro modulo intelligentiæ nostræ notitiam tradere studuimus, non valentes studiosorum fratrum votis jure resistere, eorum in christo laudabilibus studiis lingua ac stylo nos servire flagitantium." (*Prolog. Magist. Sententiarum, Tom. VI., p.* 2.)

† The call for some sound theology is evident from the concluding portion of Peter's prologue, which must be given at length. Those against whom he writes—"Habent rationem sapientiæ in superstitione: quia fidei defectionem sequitur hypocrisis mendax, ut sit vel in verbis pietas, quam amiserit conscientia; ipsamque simulatam pietatem omnium verborum mendacio impiam reddunt, falsæ doctrinæ institutis fidei sanctitatem corumpere molientes, aurium quo pruriginem sub novello sui desiderii dogmate aliis ingerentes, qui contentioni studentes, contra veritatem sine fœdere bellant. Inter veri namque assertionem et placiti defensionem pertinax pugna est, dum se et veritas tenet et se erroris voluntas tuetur. Horum igitur Deo odibilem ecclesiam evertere atque ora oppilare, ne virus nequitiæ in alios effundere queant, et lucernam veritatis in candelabro exaltare volentes, in labore multo ac sudore volumen, Deo præstante, compegimus ex testimoniis veritatis in æternum fundatis, in quatuor libros distinctum: in quo majorum exempla doctrinamque reperies: in quo per dominicæ fidei sinceram professionem vipereæ doctrinæ fraudulentiam prodidimus, aditum demonstrandæ veritatis complexi, nec periculo impiæ professionis inserti, temperato inter utrumque moderamine utentes. Sicubi

Then, the various distinctions of the Lombard are treated. Each distinction is met by certain questions, varying in number; each, in reality, consisting of a series of other questions, which are answered in respective articles. For instance, the first question on the Prologue contains five divisions. These five questions are asked, to bring out, in their answers, the evidence for the Sacred doctrine delivered in the book. (1) Concerning the necessity of sacred doctrine; (2) if necessary, whether one or more; (3) if one, whether practical or speculative—and, if speculative, whether it be called philosophy, deduction, or induction; (4) its subject; and (5) its method.

Any one can see, at a glance, from this, how deeply professors, in those days, probed the subjects they taught. No method could be imagined, more apt for encouraging the development of thought, or for eliciting those conclusions which, when fully stated, and then applied, act with telling effect upon the moral and spiritual condition of mankind.*

vero parum vox nostra insonuit, non a paternis discessit limitibus (August. loc. cit.). Non igitur debet hic labor cuiquam pigro, vel multum docto, videri superfluus, cum multis impigris multisque indoctis (inter quos etiam mihi) sit necessarius, brevi volumine complicans patrum sententias, appositis eorum testimoniis, ut non sit necesse quærenti librorum numerositatem evolvere, cui brevitas collecta, quod quæritur, offert sine labore. In hoc autem tractatu non solum pium lectorem, sed etiam liberum correctorem desidero, maxime ubi profunda versatur veritatis quæstio; quæ utinam tot haberet inventores, quot habet contradictores. Ut autem quod quæritur facilius occurrat, titulos quibus singulorum librorum capitula distinguuntur, præmisimus." (*Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinat., Tom. VI., p.* 3.)

* And besides this, mediæval theologians had a keen appreciation of the relations of science to sense, and of the methods by which men could best attain to abstract knowledge. What could be more philosophically true or beautiful than this of Albertus Magnus?—"Intellectus noster conjunctus est continuo tempori et ad manifestissima se habebit sicut oculus vespertilionis, qui non comprehendit lumen nisi mixtum tenebris; propter quod simpli-

It sometimes happens that an article is broken up into a certain number of "*Quæstiunculæ*," which receive their solutions in their proper places. This is the case with the third article, and, therefore, it contains—not one, but three solutions.*

cissima et manifestissima format imaginabiliter et sensibiliter, ut ex his quasi manuductus et anagogice elevatus tandem attingat ad invisibilia et simplicissima, ut de illis secundum modum sibi possibilem accipiat notitiam aliquam. Unde Gregorius super illud Matth. 13 : simile regnum cœlorum thesauro, sic dicit : Regnum cœlorum ideo terrenis simile dicitur, ut ex his, quæ animus novit, surgat ad incognita quæ non novit ; et ex his, quæ usu didicit, quasi confortatus incalescat. Et ideo dicit Boëthius, quod difficile est nostro intellectui—aliquid intelligere nisi per modum puncti. Et Dionysius in libr. cœl. hier. c. 1 : Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere radium divinum, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum anagogice circumvelatum, et his, quæ secundum nos providentia paterna connaturaliter nobis et proprie præparatum. In omnibus enim talibus, ut dicit Augustinus in 12 sup. gen. ad. lit., illud quod figurative et quasi naturaliter pingitur in sensu vel imaginatione, immateriali luce et infigurabili splendet intelligentia. Hinc est quod theologia de incomprehensibili luce agens talibus quasi poëticis utitur proprie secundum suum modum. Aliæ autem scientiæ philosophicæ, quæ de luce nobis proportionali agunt peccant si talibus utantur. Id enim, quod intendunt declarare, obscuratur per talia. Clariora enim sunt in seipsis proposita quam in figuris ænigmaticis. In theologia autem non ponuntur talia propter ea quæ declarare intendit, sed propter nostrum materialem intellectum, qui in connaturalibus sibi paullatim lucem colligit et luce collecta fortificatus sic tandem ad contuenda clarissima consurgit." (Albertus Magnus, *Summ. Theolog., I., Tract I., Qu. V., Memb. I.)*

* For example : "Articulus III. Utrum sit practica vel speculativa [Theologia]. Circa tertium sic proceditur. Videtur quod ista doctrina sit practica. Finis enim practicæ est opus, secundum Philosophum (in 2 Metaph., text. 3). Sed ista doctrina, quæ fidei est, principaliter est ad bene operandum : unde Jacob. II., 26 : *Fides sine operibus mortua est ;* et Psalm CX., 10 : *Intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus eum.* Ergo videtur quod sit practica. Contra (in princip. Metaphys. in provem.) dicit Philosophus, quod nobilissima scientiarum est sui gratia. Practicæ autem non sunt sui gratia, immo propter opus. Ergo, cum ista nobilissma sit scientiarum, non erit practica. Præterea, practica scientia determinat tantum ea quæ sunt ab opere nostro. Hæc autem doctrina considerat Angelos et alias creaturas, quæ non sunt ab opere nostro. Ergo non est practica, sed speculativa." The second "*Quæstiuncula*" is put thus—"1. Ulterius quæritur, utrum sit scientia : et videtur quod non. Nulla enim scientia est de particularibus, secundum Philosophum. (1 Post., text. 7). Sed in sacra Scriptura gesta traduntur particularium hominum, sicut Abraham, Isaac, etc. Ergo non est scientia. 2. Præterea, omnis scientia procedit ex principiis per se notis, quæ cuilibet sunt manifesta. Hæc autem scientia procedit ex credibilibus, quæ non ab omnibus conceduntur. Ergo non est scientia. 3. Præterea, in omni scientia acquiritur aliquis habitus per rationes inductas. Sed in hac doctrina non acquiritur, aliquis habitus : quia fides, cui tota doctrina hæc innititur, non est habitus acquisitus, sed infusus. Ergo non est scientia. Contra, secundum Augustinum (de Trinit., lib. XIV. in princip,), 'theologia est scientia de rebus quæ ad salutem hominis pertinent.' Ergo est scientia." *(Comment. in prim. Lib. Sent. Prolog., Quæst. I,, Art, III., p.* 6—7.)

The fourth article asks whether God is the subject of this science; and the fifth, whether the method of procedure is after the fashion of an art. All these questions, with their difficulties, solutions, and detailed answers, have to be gone through, before the real subject-matter of the volume is touched upon. This shows what a thorough investigation the scholastics gave to matters of theology.

And, in fact, the question of the position of theology was by no means —as it might seem— an unimportant one. The schools of law had done much to throw the theologic teaching in the shade; men knew that there was a great opening for those, who, by their legal ability, could carry on intellectual war on the side of Guelf or Ghibeline, as the case might be; and that to gain distinction and position, and to realize ambitious hopes, a man should be deeply versed in the powers of kings and popes. Besides, according as theology —which does not rest upon premises of mere human reason— was placed in the first or second place, those principles which formed its life would be despised, or vigorously defended.* If the science of human reason were allowed to usurp the first place, it would, at once, begin to lay down the law to theology, and the queen of sciences would be degraded from her high estate, and man's word would take the place of God's.

* Werner treats well of the views taken by Albert, Alexander, and S. Thomas, of the position of theology. He says:—"Thomas beweist die Nothwendigkeit einer solchen auf den Glauben gegründeten, und alles zeitlich erreichbare Erkennen zuhöchst abschliessenden Weisheit, welche

This would be the case, especially, in the middle ages, when so many arguments—arguments in support of fundamental truths—rested upon the ratio of "*dignitas*." To declare one thing more worthy than another, was to attribute to it a host of attributes, which, at once, would logically give it a pre-eminence over whatever was less worthy: and to such an extent, as to deprive this latter of being heard, even on an equal footing. The stronger man would despoil of his armour, and cast out, the weaker.

Alexander of Hales begins his Commentary with a question similar to the Angelical's—as to whether a sacred science is necessary. S. Augustine does not neglect it; saying that theology is the science treating of what relates to man's Salvation.

im ausgezeichneteren Sinne, als die *philosophia prima* Weisheit, und bereits, wenn auch unvollkommen, Anticipation der ewigen Anschauung ist. Alexander hatte das Object der Theologie im strengsten Sinne auf die Erlosung als *materia de qua* beschränkt, und die zum Verständniss derselben vorausgesetzten Erkenntnisse über die Schöpfung und die Werke Gottes als *materia circa quam* zugelassen. Albert steht auf Alexander's Seite, insofern er den praktischen Zweck der Theologie betont, der in der Erbauung, Heiligung, Tröstung und Erquickung der Seele besteht; aber er fasst alle Objecte der Theologie nach ihrem mittelbaren oder unmittelbaren Verhältniss zum höchsten Ziele des Menschen, dem Genusse Gottes, in's Auge, und findet darin, wenn auch keine *unitas generis*, oder *speciei* der Objecte, so doch eine *unitas principii* welcher gemäss die *res fruendæ* eigentlichst, die *res utendæ* aber nach ihrem Verhältnisse zu der vom Menschen begehrten *fruitio* in den Bereich der theologischen Wissenschaft fallen . . . . . Thomas anerkennt den praktischen Zweck der Theologie, fasst sie aber nach ihrem höchsten Ziele, welches die Anschauung Gottes ist, als eine vornehmlich speculative Wissenschaft auf. Ihr Gegenstand ist Gott, sowol an sich, als rücksichtlich dessen, was aus ihm ist und zu ihm strebt, so weit alles dieses und er selbst in Kraft göttlicher Erleuchtung erkannt wird. Sie ist nur Eine Wissenschaft und kein Complex aus mehreren; denn sie schaut, wenigstens einigermaassen, Alles im göttlichen Lichte, ist also eine höchste Erkenntnissart: je höher aber eine Erkenntnissart steht, desto geeinter und umfassender ist sie, daher sich die Theologie unter allen menschlichen Wissenschaften der vollkommen geeinten und zugleich vollkommen distincten und allumfassenden Erkenntniss, die Gott besitzt, am meisten annähert." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 321.)

Albertus Magnus enlarged, and improved upon Alexander, and carried his reasonings some steps in advance. Alexander was of opinion that theology should not be called science, so much as wisdom; Albert said it was wisdom, because it treated of the highest science, and had the highest end; Alexander contrasted it with the "*Philosophia Prima;*" Albert makes them identical.

S. Thomas founds his view of the grand study of his life—that is, of theology—upon the essentially monastic principle of contemplation.* So fully does he believe in it himself, that he cannot imagine any intelligent man not according to it the high position which he feels obliged to give to it himself. His solution of the first article, on the first question, is this: that all who have thought rightly, have placed the end of human life in the contemplation of God. The contemplation of God is two-fold. One, through creatures, which is

* How beautifully he speaks! "Ista scientia (Theologia), quamvis sit una, tamen perfecta est et sufficiens ad omnem humanam perfectionem, propter efficaciam divini luminis. . . . Unde perficit hominem et in operatione recta et quantum ad contemplationem veritatis: unde quantum ad quid practica est et etiam speculativa. Sed, quia scientia omnis principaliter pensanda est ex fine, finis autem ultimus istius doctrinæ est contemplatio primæ veritatis in patria, ideo principaliter speculativa est. Et cum habitus speculativi sint tres, secundum Philosophum (6 Ethic., Cap. VII.), scilicet sapientia, scientia et intellectus: dicimus quod est sapientia, eo quod altissimas causas considerat et est sicut caput et principalis et ordinatrix omnium scientiarum; et est etiam magis dicenda sapientia quam metaphysica, quia causas altissimas per modum ipsarum causarum, quia per inspirationem a Deo immediate acceptam; metaphysica autem considerat causas altissimas per rationes ex creaturis assumptas. Unde Ista doctrina magis etiam divina dicenda est, quam, metaphysica; quia est divina quantum ad subjectum et quantum ad modum accipiendi; metaphysica autem quantum ad subjectum tantum. Sed sapientia, ut dicit Philosophus (in 6 Ethic., Cap. VIII., Vel. VII.), considerat conclusiones et principia; et ideo sapientia est scientia et intellectus; cum scientia sit de conclusionibus et intellectus de principiis." (*Loc. Cit. Prologus, Qu. I., Art. III., Quæstiunc. III., p.* 7.)

imperfect, and is the "*felicitas viæ*;" towards which all philosophic knowledge which proceeds from relations to creatures, is ordered.* And there is another contemplation, in which God is seen in His own Essence, immediately; and this is perfect contemplation, and will be practised in heaven; and is possible to man, on the supposition of faith. And since things which refer to the end, must be proportioned to the end, man is drawn to this contemplation, not through knowledge acquired from creatures, but by a knowledge immediately inspired by Divine light—*et hæc est doctrina theologiæ*, and this is the doctrine of theology. From this it follows that this science, being the chief one, commands all the rest, which are subject to it, as vassals to their lord. And to show how, at starting, the Angelic Doctor gives a violent blow to the rationalistic school, which he was raised up to overthrow, let due attention be given to these

* "Contemplatio autem Dei est dupliciter. Una per creaturas, quæ imperfecta est, ratione jam dicta, in qua contemplatione Philosophus (10 Ethic., Cap. IX.), felicitatem contemplativam posuit, quæ tamen est felicitas viæ; et ad hanc ordinatur tota cognitio philosophica, quæ ex rationibus creaturarum procedit. Est alia Dei contemplatio, qua videtur immediate per suam essentiam; et hæc perfecta est, quæ erit in patria et est homini possibilis secundum fidei suppositionem. Unde oportet ut ea quæ sunt ad finem proportionentur fini, quatenus homo manuducatur ad illam contemplationem in statu viæ per cognitionem non a creaturis sumptam, sed immediate ex divino lumine inspiratum; et hæc est doctrina theologiæ. Ex hoc possumus habere duas conclusiones. Una est, quod ista scientia imperat omnibus aliis scientiis tanquam principalis: alia est quod ipsa utitur in obsequium sui omnibus aliis scientiis quasi vassallis, sicut patet in omnibus artibus ordinatis, quarum finis unius est sub fine alterius, sicut finis pigmentariæ artis, qui est confectio medicinarum, ordinatur ad finem medicinæ qui est sanitas: unde medicus imperat pigmentario et utitur pigmentis ab ipso factis ad suum finem. Ita, cum finis totius philosophiæ sit infra finem theologiæ, et ordinatus ad ipsam, Theologia debet omnibus aliis scientiis imperare et uti his quæ in eis traduntur." (*Prolog.*, *Quæst. I.*, *Art. I.*, *p.* 5.)

weighty words : "since the end of all philosophy is contained within the end of theology, and is subservient to it, theology ought to command all other sciences, and turn to its use those things which they treat of." He shows, very beautifully, how vast is the embrace of theology, on account of its sublimity ; for he says, the more sublime knowledge is, so much greater is its unity, and so much wider the circle of its expansion.* The Divine intellect, which is the most sublime of all, by the light, which is God himself, possesses a distinct knowledge of all things. He then demonstrates that it is partly practical ; though, on account of its end, it is principally speculative. It is philosophy, for it considers the highest causes. But philosophy considers conclusions, and principles ; and, therefore, philosophy is deduction, and induction—since deduction, has to do with conclusions ; and induction, with principles.† Articles

* "Aliqua cognitio quanto altior est, tanto est magis unica et ad plura se extendit : unde intellectus Dei, qui est altissimus, per lumen quod est ipse Deus omnium rerum cognitionem habet distincte. Ita et cum ista scientia sit altissima et per ipsum lumen inspirationis divinæ efficaciam habens, ipsa unica manens, non multiplicata, diversarum rerum considerationem habet, non tantum in communi, sicut metaphysica, quæ considerat omnia inquantum sunt entia, non descendens ad propriam cognitionem mortalium, vel naturalium. Ratio enim entis, cum sit diversificata in diversis, non est sufficiens ad specialem rerum cognitionem ; ad quarum manifestationem divinum lumen in se unum manens, secundum Beatum Dionysium in principio cælestis Hierarchiæ, efficaciam habet." (*Prolog., Qu. I., Art. II., p.* 6.)

† The Angelical here follows Aristotle, and in order to make his meaning clearer, the modern terminology has been adopted. The Stagyrite says :—

"Ἐστω δὴ οἷς ἀληθεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τῶ καταφάναι ἢ ἀποφάναι, πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν· ταῦτα δ'ἐστὶ τέχνη, ἐπιστήμη, φρόνησις, σοφία, νοῦς· ξὺπολήψει γὰρ καὶ δόξῃ ἐνδέχεται διαψεύδεσθαι." (Vid. *Ethica Nicomachea, Lib. VI., Cap. III., p.* 67. *Vol. II., Aristotelis, Opp., Parisiis Didot.*)

of faith are the *prima principia* of theology, which proceeds upon them without rejecting the "*communia principia*." The science of reason, depends on the light of the active intellect; the science of theology, upon the infused light of faith. These principles cannot be proved, they can only be defended—just as no artificer can prove his principles.* Then, the Angelical shews how the intellect becomes illuminated, when led by faith—illustrating the motto of the monastic school, *nisi credideritis, non intelligetis:*† and, finally, how‡ all things treated of in theology, are either God, or creatures—in as far as they proceed from God, and are related to God; and how argument is to be used in the establishment and defence of theologic truth.§ Having shewn theology to be deduction,

* "Et quod objicitur, quod non est certissimus aliquis in ista doctrina, dicimus, quod falsum est: magis etiam fidelis et firmius assentit his quæ sunt fidei quam etiam primis principiis rationis. Et quod dicitur, quod fides est infra scientiam, non loquitur de fide infusa, sed de fide acquisita, quæ est opinio fortificata rationibus. Habitus autem istorum principiorum, scilicet articulorum, dicitur fides et non intellectus, quia ista principia supra rationem sunt, et ideo humana ratio ipsa perfecte capere non valet, et sic fit, quædam defectiva cognitio, non ex defectu certitudinis cognitorum, sed ex defectu cognoscentis. Sed tamen ratio manuducta per fidem excrescit in hoc ut ipsa credibilia plenius comprehendat, et tunc ipsa quodammodo intelligit: unde dicitur Isa. VII., 9, secundum aliam litteram: *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.*" (*Quæstiuncula III., Solutio Quæst. I., Art. III., p.* 7.)

† *Isaias VII.*, 9. ‡ *Art. V.*

§ "Subjectum habet ad scientiam ad minus tres comparationes. Prima est, quod quæcumque sunt in scientia debent contineri sub subjecto. Unde considerantes hanc conditionem, posuerunt res et signa esse subjectum hujus scientiæ; quidam autem totum Christum, id est caput et membra; eo quod quidquid in hac scientia traditur, ad hoc reduci videtur. Secunda comparatio est, quod subjecti cognitio principaliter attenditur in scientia. Unde, quia ista scientia principaliter est ad cognitionem Dei, posuerunt Deum esse subjectum ejus. Tertia comparatio est, quod per subjectum distinguitur scientia ab omnibus aliis; quia secantur scientiæ quemadmodum et res, ut dicitur in 3 de Anima (text. XXXVIII., vel, Cap. VIII.): et secundum hanc considerationem, posuerunt quidam credibile

philosophy, induction; and the highest and all-embracing system of reaching the contemplation of the Divinity—to which all other sciences and arts stand in the relation of vassals to their liege lord—the Angelical proceeds to treat it in its various parts.

The first book, "*De Mysterio Trinitatis*," unfolds, with great fulness, the relations in the inner life of God; and brings out, clearly, the teaching of the Church, and the truths developed in the mysteries of Scripture, or indicated in a vague manner, by the Fathers of the Church.

A better method cannot be conceived, of fixing the truths of religion on students' minds. Probably, one article would suffice for a single lecture—to state clearly, and in logical form, the objections of adversaries, so that there could be little doubt about the real point—then, to expand a general principle, which would elucidate the whole question, and throw light, in all directions, over the subject-matter—and finally, to enter, argument by argument, into the objections thus proposed, and answer them, according to the general principle or solution, could not but act with very

esse subjectum hujus scientiæ, Hæc enim scientia in hoc ab omnibus aliis differt, quia per inspirationem fidei procedit. Quidam autem opera restaurationis eo quod tota scientia ista ad consequendum effectum ordinatur. Si autem volumus invenire subjectum quod hæc omnia comprehendat, possumus dicere quod ens divinum cognoscibile per inspirationem est subjectum hujus scientiæ. Omnia enim quæ in hac scientia considerantur, sunt aut Deus, aut ea quæ ex Deo et ad Deum sunt, inquantum hujusmodi: sicut etiam medicus considerat signa et causas et multa hujusmodi, inquantum sunt sana, idest ad sanitatem aliquo modo relata. Unde quanto aliquid magis accedit ad veram rationem Divinitatis, principalius consideratur in hac scientia." (*Loco. Cit., Qu. I., Art. IV., p.* 8.)

useful effect upon the young divine. To learn to state a difficulty, is a great thing; to detect the principle involved in it, is a greater; and, so to meet it, as to show clearly its fallacy, is the greatest: for this implies the other two.*

In displays of this kind, there were grand openings for men of talent. It was not easy for ability long to lie hid in the schools of the middle ages. It was his unparalleled brilliancy, solidity, and creative power, in such occupations as these, that raised up S. Thomas to the height, not only of popularity, but of authority, when comparatively quite a youth.

Nor did he follow, without judging for himself, the renowned Master of the "Sentences."† He

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* It is in his first "Distinctio" that the Lombard touches on his celebrated distinction between "*res*," and "*signa*." These are his words, which are interesting upon many counts:—"Veteris ac novæ legis continentiam diligendi indagine etiam atque etiam considerantibus nobis, prævia Dei gratia. Innotuit sacræ paginæ tractatores circa res vel signa præcipue versari. Ut enim egregius doctor Augustinus ait (in libro de Doctrina Christiana, Cap. II.), omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum: sed res etiam per signa discuntur. Proprie autem hic res appellantur quæ non ad significandum aliquid adhibentur: signa vero quorum usus est in significando. Eorum autem aliqua sunt, quorum omnis usus est in significando, non in justificando; id est, quibus non utimur nisi aliquid significandi gratia, ut aliqua sacramenta legalia: alia quæ non solum significant, sed conferunt quod intus adjuvet, sicut evangelica sacramenta. Ex quo aperte intelligitur, quæ hic appellentur signa; res illæ videlicet quia ad significandum aliquid adhibentur. Omne ergo signum etiam res aliqua est: quod enim nulla res est, omnino nihil est, ut (in eodem lib. et cap.) Augustinus ait. Non autem e converso omnis res signum est, quia non adhibetur ad aliquid significandum. Cumque his intenderit Theologorum speculatio studiosa ac modesta divinam Scripturam formam præscriptam in doctrina tenere advertet. De his ergo, nobis aditum ad res divinas aliquatenus intelligendas, Deo duce, aperire volentibus, disserendum est: et primo de rebus, postea de signis disseremus." (*Liber Primus De Mysterio Trinitatis, Distinct. I., p.* 9.)

† Here is an instance, which will be presently touched upon, as explained by Werner:—"Die Ansicht des Lombarden, dass die im Menschen wirkende Charitas der heilige Geist selber sei, widerlegt Thomas aus den Grundsätzen der Aristotelischen Anthropologie und Moral. Die

was guided by the Fathers, the Scriptures, and tradition; his mind had been sharpened, and set in order, by deep study of Aristotle. His prison-time at San Giovanni, when he mastered reason and faith, in the Bible, and the Stagyrite, was now bringing forth its fruit. The Lombard, though most able in collecting and comparing authorities, had not that keen vision of the reach of principles, which was possessed by the Angelical. When S. Thomas found him swerving, he did not follow. He commented on the text, and came to his own conclusion — and wherever he has differed from the Lombard, posterity has justified his judgment, by adopting his conclusions. Take, as an example, the question of charity, since it well touches upon an interesting point, personal to every one, and shews the method of the young Bachelor, when bringing his text-book to account. It will be interesting, briefly to state the points.

In his seventeenth Distinction, the Lombard says that "the Holy Ghost is the love, or charity, by

eingegossene Charitas steht zu der übernatürlichen Güte des Menschen in demselben Verhältnisse, wie die erworbene Tugend zu der natürlichen Güte des Menschen. Die erworbene Tugend macht den Menschen und seine Werke gut; dasselbe muss demnach in ihrer Weise auch die Charitas wirken. Nun aber ist jegliches Sein eines Dinges, mithin auch sein Gutsein aus einer inhärirenden Form des Dinges abzuleiten; und eben so lässt sich ein vollkommenes Wirken nur aus einem im Wirkenden selber ausgebildeten Habitus erklären. Daher muss die Charitas eine Form und ein Habitus des Menschen selber sein. Der heilige Geist ist demnach nicht die *causa formalis*, sondern als die Liebe selber die *causa exemplaris*, und in Vereinigung mit dem Vater und Sohne die *causa efficiens* der übernatürlichen Güte und Verdienstlichkeit des sittlichen Lebens und Wirkens." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 331.)

which we love God and our neighbour." * Now, the Angelical altogether parts company with him here. Nor is it a minor point. It is of great interest and importance—whether the charity that exists in our souls be God, or a creature; the Holy Spirit himself, or something created. The Lombard declares it to be the Holy Spirit; S. Thomas proves, that it is a created charity—that it is an "*accidens;*" and increases or diminishes in the soul, as the case may be. In point of fact, the Angelical dedicates what we may almost call a treatise, to prove the reverse of the teaching of the "Sentences," on this important question.

To give one or two of his proofs: whatever is received into anything, is received according to the mode (or nature) of the recipient. But uncreated love, which is the Holy Spirit, is participated in by the creature. But the mode (of the creature) is finite; therefore, some finite love must be received by the creature. Now, whatever is finite, is created;

* "Ipse idem Spiritus Sanctus est amor, sive caritas, qua nos diligimus Deum et proximum; quæ caritas cum ita est in nobis ut nos faciat diligere Deum ac proximum, tunc Spiritus Sanctus dicitur mitti ac dari nobis: et qui diligit ipsam dilectionem qua diligit proximum, in eo ipso Deum diligit: quia ipsa dilectio Deus est, idest Spiritus Sanctus." (*Dist. XVII., vide Opp. S. T., Vol. VI., Lib. I., p.* 133.) The Lombard quotes authorities, especially S. Augustine, in support of this view. For instance, S. Augustine on S. John: "Dilectissimi, diligamus invicem, quia dilectio ex Deo est: et omnis qui diligit, ex Deo natus est, et cognovit Deum: qui non diligit non cognovit Deum, quia Deus dilectio est. Ista contextio satis aperte declarat eamdem ipsam fraternam dilectionem (nam fraterna dilectio est qua diligimus invicem) non solum ex Deo, sed etiam Deum esse, tanta auctoritate, Joannis scilicet, prædicari. Cum ergo de dilectione diligimus fratrem, de Deo diligimus fratrem: nec potest fieri ut eamdem dilectionem non præcipue diligamus qua fratrem, diligimus, quoniam Deus dilectio est." "Item: 'Qui non diligit fratrem, non est in dilectione; et qui non est in dilectione, non est in Deo, quia Deus dilectio est.' Ecce apertissime dicit fraternam dilectionem Deum esse." (*Distinct. XVII., p.* 133.)

therefore, there is some created charity in a soul having the Holy Ghost.* It may be remarked that the statement which the Angelical sets out with, and which was fruitful of many momentous consequences, was looked upon as a first principle, which, therefore, had not to be proved. Again: Every "*assimilatio*" is effected by some form; but we are made like to God Himself, by charity; which, being lost, the soul is said to be deformed. Therefore, it appears that charity is a certain created form, abiding in the soul.† Again: Whatever can come and go, without the subject corrupting, is an accident: charity is such; therefore, &c.‡ This is the "*solutio:*" Whatever is

* "Omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Sed amor increatus, qui est Spiritus Sanctus, participatur in creatura. Ergo secundum modum ipsius creaturæ. Sed modus ejus est finitus. Ergo oportet quod recipiatur in creatura aliquis amor finitus. Sed omne finitum est creatum. Ergo in anima habente Spiritum sanctum, est aliqua caritas creata. . . . ." Again, here is a specimen of the Angelical's subtle mode of reasoning:—"Præterea constat quod Deus aliquo modo est in sanctis quo non est in creaturis. Sed ista diversitas non potest poni ex parte ipsius Dei, qui eodem modo se habet ad omnia. Ergo videtur quod sit ex parte creaturæ, scilicet quod ipsa creatura habeat aliquid quod alia non habent. Aut ergo habet ipsum divinum esse; et sic omnes justi assumerentur a Spiritu Sancto in unitatem personæ, sicut natura humana assumpta est a Christo in unitatem personæ ipsius Filii Dei: quod non potest esse. Aut oportet quod illa creatura, in qua speciali modo Deus esse dicitur, habeat in se aliquem effectum Dei, quem alia non habent. Iste autem effectus non potest esse tantum actus; quia sic in justis dormientibus non esset alio modo quam in aliis creaturis. Ergo oportet quod sit aliquis habitus. Oportet igitur aliquem habitum caritatis creatum esse in anima, secundum quem Spiritus Sanctus ipsam inhabitare dicitur." (*Dist. XVII., Quæst. I., Art. I., p.* 136. See also *Art. IV., p.* 140; then *Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. XXIII., Art. II., p.* 82, *Tom. III.*)

† "Omnis assimilatio fit per formam aliquam. Sed per caritatem efficimur conformes ipsi Deo; qua amissa, dicitur anima deformari. Ergo videtur quod caritas sit quædam forma creata manens in anima." (*Loco citato*).

‡ "Quidquid potest adesse et abesse præter subjecti corruptionem, est accidens. Caritas est hujusmodi. Ergo, etc." (*Dist. XVII., Art. II., p.* 138.)

The Lombard's mistake is thus touched upon by Werner: Der Lombarde übersieht, dass es neben der actuellen Gnade auch eine habituelle gibt; er denkt nur an die Impulse des heiligen Geistes, den er die Liebe

joined to a thing after it is complete in itself, comes to it by way of accident; unless, perchance, it be assumed into a participation of its substantial being. But this is not enough to make it an accident in itself; for a thing can be a substance in itself, and yet be related to something else as an accident—like clothing: but if it comes after the being is complete, as an inherent form, it is necessarily an accident. And since charity comes to the soul, which is naturally complete, as a form, perfecting it in the order of grace *(in esse gratiæ)*, as has been said before; it follows that it must be an accident.* Once more: against those who say that charity cannot increase in the soul—"*Solutio:*" Some maintained that charity does not increase essentially, and their opinion was fourfold. For some said, "*ut Magister* [the Lombard] *in littera*" that charity *secundum se* does not increase, but is said to be increased in us, inasmuch as we advance in charity—*et hoc quia ponit caritatem esse Spiritum Sanctum, in quem variatio non cadit. Sed hoc non potest stare*, because

nennt. Aus diesem Grunde gibt er auch keine wesentliche Mehrung der Liebe zu, die jedoch nicht bestritten werden kann, sobald man die Charitas als etwas Geschaffenes erkannt hat, und die verschiedenen, zwischen dem Zugeständnisse und der Verneinung einer wesentlichen Mehrung der Charitas stehenden mittleren Meinungen find nicht zu halten, weil sie entweder widersinnig, oder nur aus der Voraussetzung einer wesentlichen Mehrung erklärbar sind. *(Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 330.)

* "Omne illud quod advenit alicui post esse completum, advenit sibi accidentaliter; nisi forte assumatur ad participationem ipsius esse substantialis. . . . . Sed hoc tamen non sufficit ut dicatur accidens in se: potest enim aliquid in se substantia esse, et advenire alicui accidentaliter, sicut vestimenta; sed si adveniat post esse completum ut forma inhærens, de necessitate est accidens. Et quia post esse naturale animæ advenit sibi caritas ut forma perficiens ipsam ad esse gratiæ, prout dictum est . . . ideo oportet quod sit accidens." *(Dist. XVII., Art. II., p.* 138.)

it cannot be understood that we advance in charity, which is the Holy Ghost, unless something be done in us which had not been done before; and this cannot be merely an act, for every act is *ex virtute aliqua*, and the perfect act by which we are united to the Holy Spirit, proceeds from virtue perfected through habit.*

These extracts suffice to show one thing—that the Angelical had an excessively keen eye. And any one who will take the trouble to read, carefully, the articles under Distinction the Seventeenth, will see the kind of refutation the young Aquinas was capable of giving to the received doctrines of a learned man, upon a delicate and sufficiently abstruse question.† The fact is, the Lombard forgot that there is an habitual grace—besides actual grace, which, of course, he admitted; and he was so carried away—if one can use such an expression

* "Quidam posuerunt caritatem essentialiter non augeri, et horum fuit quadruplex opinio. Quidam enim dixerunt, ut Magister in littera, quod caritas secundum se non augetur, sed dicitur augeri in nobis, inquantum nos in caritate proficimus; et hoc quia ponit caritatem esse Spiritum sanctum, in quem variatio non cadit. Sed hoc non potest stare: quia non est intelligibile, quod nos in caritate, quæ Spiritus Sanctus est, proficiamus, nisi aliquid fiat in nobis quod prius non fuit; et hoc non potest esse tantum actus, cum omnis actus sit ex virtute aliqua, et actus perfectus, quali Spiritu Sancto unimur, est a virtute perfecta per habitum. Alii dixerunt, quod caritas essentialiter non augetur, sed dicitur augeri, inquantum magis firmatur in subjecto, secundum ipsam radicationem. Sed ex hoc etiam sequitur ipsam augeri essentialiter. . . . Alii dixerunt quod caritas essentialiter non augetur, sed adveniente majori caritate, minor caritas, quæ inerat destruitur. Hoc etiam non potest stare: quia nulla forma destruitur, nisi vel ex contrario agente, vel per accidens ex corruptione subjecti . . . . alii dixerunt, quod caritas non augetur nisi quantum ad fervorem. Sed hoc etiam non potest stare: quia fervor caritatis dupliciter accipitur: proprie et metaphorice. . . . Et ideo dicendum, quod caritas essentialiter augetur." *(Dist. XVII., Quæst. II., Art. I., p.* 143.)

† The reader will observe, on reading the articles of S. Thomas, connected with this subject, what great use he made of the anthropological and moral teaching of the Stagyrite.

of a man so steady—with the impulses of the Holy Spirit, which he called love, that he did not advert to the fact that the Holy Spirit is not the *causa formalis*, but (as love) the *causa exemplaris*, and (in union with the Father and the Son) the *causa efficiens* of the supernatural operations of the moral man.*

No doubt, it was this masterly practice of our Saint, which gained him such a name; and which caused those who were the best judges of his work on the "Sentences," to speak of it in such high terms. It was in giving these lectures that, as a beginner—as he had done at Naples—he outshone the most learned and experienced doctors in the then flourishing Paris schools.†

All that need be said is that Thomas, in his resolution of the above question, as also in his teaching on the relations of the angels to one another, and on their happiness, with his distinction

* Another interesting, though not very practical question, in which S. Thomas, if he does not differ with the Magister, certainly does not approve of his statement taken absolutely, is regarding the power of creatures to create. This is the sort of question that the scholastics loved to ventilate. (See Durandus, *a St. Portiano in II. Sent. Dist., I., qu.* 4.)

† Werner says:—"In den Erörterungen über die Creation im Allgemeinen kommt Thomas auf die Ansicht zu sprechen, welche der Lombarde gelegentlich *(IV., dist.* 5*)* geäussert, dass Gott das Vermögen zu schaffen auch einem Geschöpfe hätte mittheilen können, obwol er es in Wirklichkeit nicht gethan habe. Thomas erwiedert, dass man diess beziehungsweise bejahen und verneinen könne. Versteht man—*ex parte creantis*—unter Schaffen eine Thätigkeit, die keine andere zu ihrer Voraussetzung hat, so kann einzig das Wirken Gottes oder der *causa prima* schöpferisch sein; in diesem Sinne ist also die Schöpfermacht incommunicabel. Versteht man—*ex parte creati*—unter Schaffen das Hervorbringen von etwas, das nichts anderes zu seiner Grundlage hat, so ist es Hervorbringung des Seins, welches nach dem Buche *de causis* das Erstgeschaffene aller Dinge ist; und ein solches Hervorbringen lässt sich auch als ein in Kraft der *causa prima* gewirkter Act einer *causa secunda* wenigstens denken. Dieses Denkbare aber als wirklich geschehend anzunehmen, wäre häretisch." *(B. I., Cap. IV., p.* 333—334.)

of *operatio cum motu*, and *operatio in ultima perfectione*, shows a far more profound acquaintance with the philosophy of Aristotle, than either Albert or Alexander: while the Lombard, on the point of *præmium*, maintained the strange idea, which S. Thomas repudiates, that the angels can continually go on increasing in merit till the last day; and that, therefore, there is a term of happiness in store for them, at which they have not yet arrived.

It is, of course, impossible, by means of extracts, to show, as one would wish, the great mastery that our Saint attained over theological and philosophical problems. To thoroughly understand the great intellectual gifts of the Angelical, his entire works must be laboriously studied. The principal object of the foregoing remarks and extracts has been, to show, first, the method and mind of the Angelical; and then, to bring before the attention of the reader, the firm and uncompromising stand taken, at the very outset, by S. Thomas, against the pretensions of mere human philosophy. By boldly placing theology as a queen, reigning paramount amidst her vassals—a queen not only holding her own, but, with a fearless and uncompromising voice, declaring that all were made to be her ministers—the Angelical sets himself wholly against the encroachments of human reason; and takes up ground, which he never ceased to defend, and to maintain, during the whole of his intellectual career. And, finally, the bold independence of his mind is clearly manifested by

the masterly manner in which he puts the Lombard on one side in an important question; and carries with him, in the contrary view which he takes, nearly every theologian who has since written upon the question.

There is also another fact which must be borne in mind, when weighing the influence of the Angelical upon theological thought, viz., that he was not a man to indulge in dangerous originality of thought or theory; nor was he ever seduced by a delusion common to many able thinkers, that man, of himself, is able to give law to the world. He had sufficient greatness and clearness of mind, sufficient intellectual modesty, to assure him that his triumph would depend upon adhering to the traditional teaching of the Church; and that, if his fame and power were to go down to posterity, as a lasting influence, it would be on the condition of his interpreting, not *self*, but the living voice of an infallible Guide according to its truest meaning; and of enforcing, with arguments which could not be overthrown, the saving revelation of Jesus Christ. He felt that to leave the Church, and to trust to self, would be to rely upon a support that lacks stability; whilst to adhere to the one Living Voice, and to sink human ingenuity, would be to identify himself with a power which has God for its stay, and everlasting truth for its support. It was because the Angelical was a true interpreter of Church doctrine, that his name has come down to us; and,

because he was the most accurate of interpreters, that his name still holds the foremost place amongst the doctors of Christian theology.

It is impossible, in looking at the position attained by the Angelical in the Church, and at the general bent and tenor of his mind, not to perceive that, in great part, his success was owing to the marvellous stability of his character, and to the extraordinary manner in which the grand monastic principles of love, reverence, purity, and adoration, had taken possession of, and had coloured the whole of his intelligence. To see him prostrate before the altar, with all the abandonment of a little child ; to see him lifted up to God, in ecstacy of spirit, in his prayers ; to think on his spotless purity of heart and mind, and then to call to memory his genius, is to account, in part at least, for the depth, balance, and steadiness of his method, and for the singular influence of his mind upon the Catholic religious world. When a perfect Doctor is also a perfect Saint, then the world receives not merely a fading light, but a lasting illumination.

CHAPTER XX.

COMMENTARY ON THE "SENTENCES."

PART II.

The second book of the Commentary, on "The creation and formation of corporeal and spiritual things," &c.,* is full of matter of the highest importance. For, first, it strikes directly against the theories of the East, and those pantheistic tendencies, which the commentators on Aristotle had brought into the schools: and, secondly, it boldly confronts the cardinal error of rationalism, and, consequently, the principles propagated by Abelard, which proceed from putting the light of the human intelligence in the place of the light of faith. That is to say, the Angelical dedicates this book to considering "Creation"—the creation of angelic life—the creation of the world, and of man. In his treatment of these all-important questions, he combats the teaching of the East,

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* "*De rerum corporalium et spiritualium creatione et formatione, aliisque pluribus eo pertinentibus.*"

by putting creatures in the place of Divine emanations; makes the Creator, and the creature, essentially distinct; proves, with most cogent reasoning, the principles of Catholic orthodoxy, and the fitness of those results which flow from them. Alexander and Albert had treated "Creation" before him, and had each, in his own way, laboured very earnestly to maintain the true Christian doctrine. The fact of Aristotle holding, as Albert supposed, the eternity of the world, and the connexion of this theory with emanation, made it a matter of great importance to destroy it. Albert, who has so often been accused of being enslaved to Aristotle, shows here the injustice of that accusation. The Stagyrite, contrary to his usual carefulness, declared that he had the consent of all philosophers on his side, to the effect that the movement of the heavenly bodies never had any beginning. Albert not only combats him with his keen philosophy, but oversets him with the arm of history—rather a wonderful thing for Albert—and points to Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers, as his antagonist.* S. Thomas goes to work somewhat in a different way. His

* "Die Gründe des Aristoteles für die Ewigkeit der Welt werden von Albert umständlich besprochen, und namentlich auch urgirt, dass Aristoteles, der sich zum Zeugniss für die Anfangslosigkeit der Bewegungen der Himmelskörper auf den einstimmigen Consens aller Philosophen berufen will, gerade den vorzüglichsten *(præcipuus)* unter ihnen, Plato nämlich, übersehen habe. Thomas behauptet, Aristoteles habe die Ewigkeit der Welt nicht apodiktisch hingestellt, seine Meinung sei vielmehr gewesen, dass sich für das Eine und für das Andere, für die anfangslose Ewigkeit und für den zeitlichen Ursprung der Welt nur dialektische Gründe anführen lassen—eine Ansicht, welcher man nur zustimmen könne." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 335.)

treatise is more careful, more profound, and better reasoned. He seems to have understood the Stagyrite better than his master; and toned Aristotle's meaning down, so as to offer no insuperable barrier to the maintenance of orthodox doctrine.* There were many reasons why S. Thomas would surpass students like Albert and Alexander, in such questions as these. Leaving alone his ability, he had made a deeper study of pagan and Eastern thought, than either of the others. There is, of course, no denying the vast range of reading of Albert and Alexander—it has been, indeed, alluded to; but to almost as wide a range, Thomas added greater accuracy, a quality indispensable for one dealing with philosophic systems—breaking them down, and building up the truth. He carefully studied the systems, not only of Plato and Aristotle: not only of Algazel, Averroës, and Avicenna: but of Anaxagoras, and Empedocles. It was his practice not to mention by name the errors rife in his own day, unless writing specially against them. He seemed to consider that, by upsetting the heresies from which they were derived, he was, in reality, striking all the deeper at their root.

* Saying that the non-eternity of the world cannot be demonstrated, the Angelical remarks:—"Et hoc significant verba philosophi dicentis *(I. Topic. Cap. VII., in fine)* quod sunt quædam problemata de quibus rationem non habemus, ut utrum mundus sit æternus; unde hoc ipse demonstrare nunquam intendit; quod patet ex suo modo procedendi; quia ubicumque hanc quæstionem pertractat, semper adjungit aliquam persuasionem vel ex opinione plurium, vel approbatione rationum, quod nullo modo ad demonstratorem pertinet." *(Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., Lib. II., Vol. VI., p.* 392.)

Whilst proving them false, he proved them antiquated also; and without deigning to mention them by name, he crushed their life out, by treading on the parent-monster.*

The whole of his treatment on Creation is evidently worked out with very great care. He will not even let the "Magister" pass with an opinion that possibly might be misunderstood; for instance, as to whether the power of creating could be communicated to a creature.†

He admits that "*secundum aliquid*" the Lombard is right; and then shows that, in another sense, his opinion would be heretical.‡ But article the fifth

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* *L. II., Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. III., p.* 388.

† Werner thus speaks of S. Thomas's view of the possibility of *proving* the Creation :—"Ein apodiktischer Beweis ist nach Thomas desshalb nicht möglich, weil die Dinge anders sind im Sein, als in ihrem Werden und Entstehen; wie sie als entstehende beschaffen gewesen sein mögen, ist unserem Denken nicht erreichbar. Rabbi Moses erzählt, man habe einen Knaben von aller menschlichen Gesellschaft abgesondert grossgezogen; als er zu den Jahren der Reife kam, fragte er, ob und wie die Menschen entstanden seien: als man ihm sagte, dass der Mensch, bevor er das Licht der Welt erblicke, neun Monate im Mutterschoosse liege, so heilt er diess für eine Unmöglichkeit, da ja der Mensch, wenn er nicht frei athmen, essen u. s. w. könne, nicht einen Tag zu leben im Stande wäre. Die Schlüsse, die man von der Entstehungsart der Dinge in der bereits geschaffenen Welt auf die Entstehungsart der Welt selber macht, sind nicht stichhältig, weil die Bedingungen, die für das jetzige Entstehen der Einzeldinge statt haben, Bewegung, zeitliche Priorität der bewegenden Ursache und Contrarietäten in dem gestaltenden Stoffe, auf den Hervorgang der Dinge aus Gott nicht zu übertragen sind. Thomas bespricht in seinen verschiedenen Werken mehrmals diese Frage; die meisten Gründe für einen zeitlichen Anfang der Welt hat er in seinem Commentar zu den Sentenzen angeführt, unter diesen auch mehrere, welche Albert als eigentliche Beweisgründe geltend gemacht hatte." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 335—336.)

‡ The Lombard's view is thrown into this shape :—"2. Præterea, cujuscumque dignitatis creatura est capax, hæc ab eo sibi communicatur qui summe liberalis est. Sed potentia creandi communicabilis est creaturæ, ut infra, in 4, dist. 5, Magister dicit. Ergo videtur quod alicui creaturæ sit communicatum quod creet . . . Sed contra, Damascenus (*lib. 2, de ortho. Fid., Cap. 3., in fine*) anathematizat omnes qui dicunt Angelos aliquid creare: de quibus tamen magis videtur quam de aliis. Ergo videtur quod creare solius Dei sit . . ." Then, as an immediate answer

is the masterpiece of reasoning against pantheistic fallacies; it consists of ten columns of printed matter; it gives fourteen arguments in favour of the heresy, embracing, not only ancient error, but also the dominant doctrine related to the eternity of the world held at that day. Most of the arguments are attributed to Aristotle, the Commentator, and Avicenna. To give them would take too long. Having stated the objections of the other side, the Saint then offers nine separate proofs, which, some think, show that the world is not eternal. And, then comes the "*solutio*," in which he makes mention of the various philosophical opinions of Aristotle, and others, and declares them false and heretical.* He, himself, says he agrees with those who follow S. Gregory, and say that it cannot be proved that the world had a beginning, but that it is received and believed through Divine revelation: just as the Trinity cannot be demonstrated, although it is impossible for there to be no Trinity. And, by this means, the Angelical, with that keenness which was quite his own, obtains a *locus standi*, by not seeking to prove too much; and thus shows how those who try to urge their convictions, on either side, simply put forth probable or sophistical

to the Lombard's view:—"Ad secundum dicendum quod quidquid est communicabile creaturæ, de hoc quod est pertinens ad pefectionem naturæ ejus, communicatur sibi: non autem est verum de perfectionibus secundis: sicut non omnis homo qui receptibilis est regiæ dignitatis, a Deo factus est Rex: et sic etiam est de auctoritate creandi, secundum illos qui dicunt, quod creatio potuit creaturæ communicari." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. III., Lib. II., p.* 388.)

* *Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., p.* 392.

opinions, or both. He says that those things which are said to be proved, but which do not really admit of proof, tend rather to the destruction, than to the confirmation, of truth.*

Such being the case, though the nine arguments *tend* towards proving the Catholic doctrine—lest any one should depend on their *reasoning* as conclusive, and eventually find it fail, and then doubt the truth of the conclusions—the Saint supplies the answers which could be made by philosophers to them; so that no one should be deceived, either by those who attack, or those who defend the truth in an unwise way.

All this points to the steadiness of mind, and of judgment, which made the Angelical such a column in his day. His course is straight—following neither friends nor enemies, but ever pursuing that truth which his mind saw and loved. He cites an example from Rabbi Moses† of the boy

* For instance, here is an argument of Avicenna's—no doubt freely employed by some of the free-thinking Paris students :—"7. Præterea, creator mundi aut præcedit mundum tantum natura, aut etiam duratione. Si natura tantum, sicut causa effectum : ergo quandocumque fuit creator, fuit creatura ; et ita mundus ab æterno. Si autem duratione ; prius autem et posterius in duratione causat rationem temporis ; ergo ante totum mundum fuit tempus, et hoc est impossibile : quia tempus est accidens motus, nec est sinu motu. Ergo impossibile est mundum non semper fuisse. Et hæc est ratio Avicennæ in sua Metaph." *(Lib. IX., Cap. I.)* Here is the argument of the "Commentator" which, no doubt, was used by European thinkers, and had poisoned many a Christian mind. :—"Omne illud cujus motus quandoque est et quandoque quiescit, reducitur ad aliquem motum continuum, qui semper est ; quia hujus successionis, quæ est ex vicissitudine motus et quietis, non potest esse causa aliquid eodem modo se habens ; quia idem eodem modo se habens, semper facit idem. Ergo oportet quod causa hujus vicissitudinis sit aliquis motus qui non est semper : et sic oportet quod habeat aliquem motum præcedentem : et cum non sit abire in infinitum, oportet devenire ad aliquem motum qui semper est ; et sic idem quod prius. Et hæc ratio est Commentatoris in 8 Physic. *(text 9.)*" *(Lib. II., Dist. I., Art. V., p.* 391.)

† *Lib. De Perplexis Veteris Testamenti, Cap. XVIII.*

who would not believe that he had been born—to show that to judge of things at their beginning, by what they are when grown up, is not a safe way of coming to the truth.*

Nor is that portion of the Commentary which is levelled against the cardinal error of rationalism, of less importance, or treated with less force.

The doctrine of original sin, which was much debated in the middle ages, has ever been the great safeguard in the Church, against the arrogance of the human intellect. Consequently, it has been a doctrine which rationalists have ever impugned with unerring instinct. To lift up the human intelligence to the highest pitch; to make it the sole and supreme judge of all matters; to look upon it as a duty to assert what it asserts, and to reject what it rejects, has ever been combined with a denial of that doctrine which implies a darkening of the intelligence, and a weakening of the will. If the reason of man be capable of those high offices which the rationalist ascribes to it, it never

* "Si quis ex conditionibus hominis nati et perfecti vellet argumentari de conditionibus ejus secundum quod est imperfectus in utero matris existens, deciperetur; sicut narrat Rabbi Moyses (lib. de perplexis veteris Testamenti, Cap. XVIII.), de quodam puero, qui mortua matre, cum esset paucorum mensium, et nutritus fuisset in quadam insula solitaria, perveniens ad annos discretionis, quæsivit a quodam, an homines essent facti, et quomodo; cui cum exponerent ordinem nativitatis humanæ, objecit puer hoc esse impossibile, asserens, quia homo nisi respiret et comedat, et superflua expellat, nec per unum diem vivere potest; unde nec in utero matris per novem menses vivere potest. Similiter errant qui ex modo fiendi res in mundo jam perfecto volunt necessitatem vel impossibilitatem inceptionis mundi ostendere: quia quod nunc incipit esse, incipit per motum; unde oportet quod movens præcedat duratione: oportet etiam quod præcedat natura, et quod sint contrarietates, et hæc omnia non sunt necessaria in progressu universi esse a Deo." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., p.* 393.)

could have been blighted by sin, or have been shorn of its keenness and its glory. The frame of mind which can contemplate the sin of Adam, and its effects, and can look upon man as fallen so low, from so high an estate, with strong passions leading him astray, and pride—which is the deadliest form of error—blinding the power of his vision, is altogether different from that frame of mind which asserts the kingship of reason, and subjects everything to its decision, and denies that there is any other court, to which man may appeal. Here, philosophy is placed where S. Thomas took so much trouble to place theology; and the principles and processes of every branch of knowledge become as the vassals of the human mind. Theology, as well as the rest, has to pay its homage; and its *dicta* and *dogmata* are brought before the bar, and are condemned, or acquitted, according as they do, or do not, conform to the supreme canons of man's unassisted reason.

Abelard was the personification of the rationalistic spirit, and S. Bernard combated him in his day, as has been seen; so did the Lombard school fight against this spirit; and now, S. Thomas, in his turn, brings his whole vigour to bear against the pride of human philosophy. What, then, is Abelard's view of original sin? In point of fact, he denies its existence altogether. He admits punishment: he could not help perceiving that mankind had been visited with a dark misfortune. He could not look upon the condition of man, as

it presented itself in his day, and maintain that such it had been from the first. He said that men were heirs of Adam's punishment, but that they were not heirs of Adam's guilt. But where there is no guilt, there is no sin: hence, he declared that a newly-born child was altogether without the stain of guilt.* This, of course, was quite in keeping with his whole intellectual system, and naturally sprang from the position of authority in which he placed the human mind.

It was against these views, and such as these—the fruit of overweening love of human intellectual power—that the Angel of the Schools directed some of his most effective reasoning.

Abelard had been singularly bold in his view of original sin. Long before his time, S. Augustine had taught—and all theologians are at one with him—that wherever there is punishment, there must also be guilt. S. Anselm taught that, just as their children would have inherited original justice, if our first parents had remained in the state of grace, so, having fallen, their children

* S. Thomas, without giving any name, mentions this case. "Alius est error eorum qui peccatum originale nomine concedentes, secundum rem negabant, dicentes, in puero nato nullam culpam esse, sed solum obligationem ad pœnam: et hoc manifeste justitiæ divinæ repugnat, ut scilicet aliquis obligatur ad pœnam qui culpam non habet, cum pœna juste non nisi culpæ debeatur." *(Dist. XXX., Quæst. I., Art. II., p.* 658.) He gives his own view thus:—"Sic ergo dicendum est, quod defectus illius originalis justitiæ quæ homini in sua creatione collata est, ex voluntate hominis accidit: et sicut illud naturæ donum fuit et fuisset in totam naturam propagatum, homine in justitia persistente; ita etiam et privatio illius boni in totam naturam perducitur, quasi privatio et vitium naturæ; ad idem enim genus privatio et habitus referuntur; et in quolibet homine rationem culpæ habet ex hoc quod per voluntatem principii natura, idest primi hominis, inductus est talis defectus." *(Loco Citato.)*

have inherited their guilt. S. Anselm's view of the essence of original sin, as contracted by the children, is well worthy of consideration. He held its essence to consist in that privation, which is consequent on the loss of original justice. All succeeding theologians of the twelfth century, on the other hand, place it in that innate concupiscence with which every man is born into the world. This, Robert Pulleyn taught; so, also, did Hugh of S. Victor's, Peter of Poitiers, Præpositivus, and Peter the Lombard, who says: "Now it remains to be seen what original sin is; which, since it is not actual, is not an act, or motion, of soul or body. For, if it be an act of soul or body, of course, it is an actual sin. But it is not actual. Therefore, it is not an action, or a motion. What is it then? Original sin is called the '*fomes peccati*,' that is concupiscence, or the 'concupiscible,' which is called the law of the members, or the languor of nature, or the tyrant which is in our members, or the law of the flesh." *

It is evident how these theologians went straight

* "*Quid sit quod dicitur originale peccatum, scilicet fomes peccati, idest concupiscentia.*—Nunc superest videre, quid sit ipsum originale peccatum: quod cum non sit actuale, non est actus sive motus animæ vel corporis. Si enim actus est animæ vel corporis, actuale utique peccatum est. Sed actuale non est. Non est igitur actus vel motus. Quid igitur? Originale peccatum dicitur fomes peccati, scilicet concupiscentia, vel concupiscibilis, quæ dicitur lex membrorum, sive languor naturæ sive tyrannus qui est in membris nostris, sive lex carnis. Unde Augustinus in libro de verbis Domini (*Serm. XII.*): 'Est in nobis concupiscentia, quæ non est permittenda regnare. Sunt et ejus desideria, quæ sunt actuales concupiscentiæ, quæ sunt arma diaboli, quæ veniunt ex languore naturæ. Languor autem iste tyrannus est, qui movet mala desideria. Si ergo vis esse victor tyranni, atque inermem inimicum invenire, non obedias concupiscentiæ malæ.' His verbis satis ostenditur, fomitem peccati esse concupiscentiam." (*Lib. II., Distinct. XXX., Vol. VI., p.* 654.)

against the untheological teaching of the rationalistic Abelard. And though all did not agree as to the precise *ratio* of the habit of original sin, all were at one on the point of its existence in every child of Adam. Alexander of Hales, for instance, takes into consideration three things—punishment, guilt, and corruption. S. Anselm would admit no guilt in the "*semen*." An anonymous writer attacks certain theologians who trace the habit of original sin, "*ad seminis impuritatem*." This attack is supposed to have been directed against Guibert, Abbot of Westminster, one of Anselm's disciples. However, the Abbot's view was maintained by nearly every theologian of any note who came after him—for instance, by Hugh of S. Victor's, by the Lombard, by Peter of Poitiers, Albertus Magnus, and Innocent III.*

But the question was never thoroughly treated till our Angelical gave it his consideration in his greater works. As in the question of the eternity of the world, he set his powerful mind against the errors of the East; so here, he sets it against the

* Werner gives S. Thomas's teaching thus :—"Auch Thomas geht insoweit auf diese Ansicht ein, als er aus der im Samen bereits keimartig enthaltenen Desordination des daraus entstehenden Gebildes die dem Samen eingegossene Seele vitiirt werden lässt : die Seele contrahirt die Desordination der Schuld in dem Momente, wo sie die Form eines solchen, schon im Keime desordinirten Gebildes wird, indem die Form dem zu formirenden Stoffe proportionirt sein muss. Der Keim oder Same aber muss desordinirt sein, weil die Beschaffenheit des Samens der vitiosen Natur des Zeugenden entsprechen muss. Dass der erbsündlich verdorbene Same die Macht habe, die mit ihm sich verbindende Seele zu verunreinigen, erläutert Thomas analogisch durch Hinweisung auf Fälle, in welchen eine aus particulären Ursachen stammende besondere Art von Corruption des Samens nicht nur liebliche Krankheiten : Aussatz, Rhachitis u.s.w., sondern auch seelische Gebrechen: Blödigkeit u.s.w. des gezeugten Kindes causirt." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 342 ; see also *p.* 341.)

fountain of rationalism, and in favour of that teaching which is not only orthodox, but also one of the greatest safeguards against pride of intellect, and stubbornness of will.*

He begins by proving that the defects that men feel, are the penalty of the sin of the first man. Of course, if they are considered according to their natural principles, then, these defects are not penalties, but natural; just like being made from nothing—or as to require to be kept in life is a natural defect belonging to every creature, but no penalty whatever. But if these defects are compared with human nature, with an eye to the end which had been appointed to it, without doubt, they are a penalty: for a man is said to be punished if something, which has been freely bestowed, is afterwards withdrawn from him. Moreover, man contracts guilt from his very birth: "We were by nature children of wrath."† Here three things are to be considered: "*Defectus*," "*Malum*," and "*Culpa*." "*Defectus*," is simply the negation of some good; "*Malum*," means privation. So that the absence of something that a man was never born to

* For a man fully to appreciate the immense influence of the doctrine of original sin upon the mind, he must seriously study its bearings. No reasonable being who believed in this doctrine, and in the consequences that flow from it, *can* be a rationalist. First, the fact of accepting the doctrine, which is, perhaps, the most mysterious of all God's revelations, implies an act of intellectual humility. Secondly, the fact of accepting it with a knowledge that, in so doing, the reason is declared to be injured, weakened, partially eclipsed—in fact, just the reverse of what rationalists would have it to be—brings pride down at once from its pedestal, and forces the unaided spirit to seek some guide less blinded than itself to lead it on to light. And, lastly, the fact of thus putting Divine light before human light—in a word, of putting faith before reason—reverses the order in which rationalistic pride would place God and the creature—for it makes God to be God, and man, what he is, only a creature.

† *Ephes., II.*, 3.

have, can be called a "*defectus*," but not a "*malum*"—*e.g.*, not having life, is a "*defectus*," in a stone, not a "*malum*." But death for a man is both a "*defectus*" and a "*malum*." "*Culpa*" adds, over and above, the idea of something voluntary.* Now, there are certain goods that are related to man's nature, others related to his person; and so there is also a "*culpa*" of nature, and a "*culpa*" of a person. Hence, for a "*culpa*" of a person, the will is implicated, as in actual faults, which are committed by the act of a person; but for a "*culpa*" of nature, all that is required is the will, in that nature. Therefore, the defect of original justice happened through the will of man; and since it was a gift of nature, and had to be propagated through all nature—supposing man stood firm in original justice—so the privation of that good spread throughout nature loses its ratio of a privation, and can be looked upon in the light of a habit. The *ratio culpæ* in every

* Nothing could be clearer, more concise, or more masterly, than the following:—"Hæc tria, defectus, malum, et culpa, ex superadditione se habent. Defectus enim simplicem negationem alicujus boni importat. Sed malum nomen privationis est: unde carentia alicujus, etiam si non sit natum haberi, defectus potest dici; sed non potest dici malum, nisi sit defectus ejus boni quod natum est haberi: unde carentia vitæ in lapide potest dici defectus, sed non malum: homini vero mors est et defectus et malum. Culpa autem super hoc addit rationem voluntarii . . . Sicut autem est quoddam bonum quod respicit naturam, et quoddam quod respicit personem: ita etiam est quædam culpa naturæ et quædam personæ. Unde ad culpam personæ, requiritur voluntas personæ sicut patet in culpa actuali, quæ per actum personæ committitur; ad culpam vero naturæ non requiritur nisi voluntas in natura illa. Sic ergo dicendum est, quod defectus illius originalis justitiæ quæ homini in sua creatione collata est, ex voluntate hominis accidit: et sicut illud naturæ donum fuit et fuisset in totam naturam propagatum, homine in justitia persistente: ita etiam et privatio illius boni in totam naturam perducitur, quasi privatio et habitus referuntur; et in quolibet homine rationem culpæ habet ex hoc quod per voluntatem principii naturæ; idest primi hominis, inductus est talis defectus," (*Vol. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Art. II., p.* 658; *Cf. Prim. Secundæ, Quæst. LXXXI., Art. I.; et de Mal., Quæst. IV. Art. I; et Cont. Gent., Cap. L., LI., LII.*)

man comes from this, that by the will of the "principle of nature," that is, of the first man, the defect was introduced.*

Original sin consists in a deordination of nature. What is "formal" in original sin, is the deviation of the will from that uprightness, or tendency towards his end, which man had at the beginning; which is, in reality, the privation of original justice. What is "material" in it, is the withdrawal of the bond by which the sensible appetites were kept under the power of the upright will. So, concupiscence, by which we are fitted for desiring what is evil, is called original sin—as affording the matter to original sin.†

* The reader need hardly be reminded of the intimate relation between original sin and the Incarnation, according to Thomistic teaching. However, the Angelical simply follows the great teachers who preceded him on this question. See S. Irenæus, *Cont. Hæres., Lib. V., Cap. XIV., n.* 1; also, *Lib. III., Cap. XXII., n.* 2. Tertullian, *De Resurrect. Carnis, Cap. VI.;* and *De Carne Christi, Cap. XIV.* Origen, *Homil. XXIV., in Numer., n.* 1, *Tom. II., p.* 362; also, *n.* 56. S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. XXXVI., p.* 578. S. Ambrose, *De Incarnat., Cap. VI., n.* 56. S. John Chrysostom, *Homil. XXX. et XXXI. in Matth., n.* 3, *Tom. VII., p.* 351. S. Cyril, *Thesaur. Assert., XV., Tom. V., pars. I., p.* 172, *sqq.;* also, *p.* 174. *Cf. Das Dogma von der Menschwerdung Gottes. Im Geiste des hl. Thomas dargestellt* von Constantin von Schæzler. *Herder*, 1870. *Sechstes kapitel, der Erlosungszweck*, § 36, *p.* 312.

† "Sicut autem peccatum actuale consistit in deordinatione actus, ita etiam peccatum originale consistit in deordinatione naturæ. Unde oportet quod ipsæ vires deordinatæ, vel deordinatio virium sint sicut materiale in peccato originali; et ipsa deordinatio a fine sit ibi sicut formale. Illa autem pars quæ per se nata est conjungi fini, est ipsa voluntas, quæ habet ordinem finis omnibus aliis partibus imponere; et ideo destitutio ipsius voluntatis ab illa rectitudine ad finem quam habuit in institutione naturæ in peccato originali formale est: et hoc est privatio originalis justitiæ. . . . Subtractio illius vinculi quo quodammodo sub potestate voluntatis rectæ detinebantur, materiale in peccato est. Ex hac autem subtractione sequitur quod unaquæque vis in suum objectum inordinate tendat concupiscendo illud; et ideo concupiscentia qua habiles sumus ad male concupiscendum, peccatum originale dicitur, quasi materiale in peccato originali existens. Est enim considerare materiale et formale in actibus moralibus sicut in rebus artificialibus, in quibus materia de toto prædicatur; ut possit dici cultellus est ferrum: et similiter de peccato prædicari potest illud quod est materiale in ipso, et per hunc modum peccatum originale concupiscentia dicitur." (*Vol. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Art. III., Solutio, p.* 659.)

And here is a curious opinion, held by Pulleyn and Hugh, and then, by the Master of the "Sentences," but which S. Thomas did not fear to reject—for reason, to his mind, was superior to authority, when that authority was not based upon anything better than apparent reason.

The Lombard says, "All sinned in Adam, materially (*ut in materia*)—and not alone through his example, as the Pelagians say. For all men were that one man — that is, were in him, materially. It is manifest therefore, that all sinned in Adam—*quasi in massa.*" He maintains, moreover, with Pulleyn and Hugh, that a man, in reality, consists of that substance alone which he received from his parents. This substance increases, and is always preserved, because it does not draw to itself extraneous matter; for the whole development takes place by a multiplication of the first matter received from the parents.* And so, in the resurrection,

* "Materialiter atque causaliter, non formaliter, dicitur fuisse in primo homine omne quod in humanis corporibus naturaliter est; descenditque a primo parente lege propagationis, et in se auctum et multiplicatum est, nulla exteriori substantia in id transeunte, et ipsum in futuro resurget. Fomentum quidem habet a cibis, sed non convertuntur cibi in humanam substantiam, quæ secundum propagationem descendit ab Adam. Transmisit enim Adam modicum quid de substantia sua in corpora filiorum quando eos procreavit; idest, aliquid modicum de massa substantiæ ejus divisum est, et inde formatum est corpus filii, suique multiplicatione sine rei extrinsecæ adjectione auctum est, et de illo ita augmentato aliquid inde separatur, unde formantur posteriorum corpora; et ita progreditur procreationis ordo lege propagationis usque ad finem humani generis. Itaque diligenter ac perspicue intelligentibus patet, omnes secundum corpora in Adam fuisse per seminalem rationem, et ex eo descendisse propagationis lege." (Pet. Lomb., *Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Vol. VI., p.* 654.) Again: – "Puer qui statim post ortum moritur, in illa statura resurget quam habiturus erat, si viveret usque ad ætatem triginta annorum, nullo vitio corporis impeditus. Unde ergo illa substantia quæ adeo parva fuit in ortu, in resurrectione tam magna erit, nisi sua multiplicatione in se? Unde apparet quod etiam si viveret, non aliunde,

this alone will rise again, and everything else will be rejected as a kind of superfluity. Some went so far as to maintain—indeed, they were forced by their theory to maintain—that food was not taken to increase the substance, or to repair, the wear and tear of the body, but simply for the preservation of natural heat.*

The Angelical does not refrain from declaring this position to be irrational, for two reasons : on account of the body, which grows bigger; and on account of the food which ministers to its increase : though he by no means held the doctrine of Tertullian, that "the soul increases with the growth of the body," any more than he held, with some, that the above-mentioned multiplication was produced, in every man, by a miracle—like the multiplication of the loaves spoken of by S. John. The whole of this point is treated at some length, and with great care,

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sed in se augmentaretur illa substantia ; sicut costa de qua facta est mulier, et sicut panes evangelici. Non inficiamur tamen quin cibi et humores in carnem et sanguinem transeant, sed non in veritatem humanæ naturæ, quæ a primis descendit parentibus ; quæ sola in resurrectione erit ; reliqua vero caro in quam cibi transeunt tamquam superflua in resurrectione deponetur ; quæ tamen ciborum aliarumque rerum fomentis coalescit." *(Loco Citato.)*

* "Ergo dicendum, quod hunc esse in Adam secundum corpulentam substantiam, potest intelligi dupliciter. Aut ita quod corpus istius fuerit in Adam, sicut quædam corpulenta substantia ; et hoc modo est impossibile, nec sic Augustinus intelligit : aut ita quod corpulenta substantia hujus fuerit in Adam aliquo modo ; et hoc verum est, quia materia propria ex qua corpus humanum formatum est, fuit in Adam virtute sicut in principio effectivo originaliter. Unde secundum hoc patet qualiter differat esse in Adam secundum corpulentam substantiam tantum et secundum rationem seminalem. Ad hoc enim quod corpus humanum constituatur, oportet duo advenire ; scilicet materiam ex qua formatur corpus, quæ dicitur corpulenta substantia, et virtus formans, quæ dicitur ratio seminalis ; et utraque originata est ab Adam ; et ideo illi qui ex coitu viri et mulieris generantur, dicuntur fuisse in Adam originaliter secundum seminalem rationem, et secundum corpulentam substantiam. Christus autem cujus corpus virtus Spiritus Sancti formavit de materia Virginis administrata, dicitur in Adam fuisse secundum corpulentam substantiam tantum." *(Tom. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Art. Quæst. II., Pars. II., p.* 666—667.)

by the Angelical, in the first article of the second question. In the following article, he shows how the "Magister" was led to hold that all men were, in Adam, "*in massa*"—because he, and those who thought with him, believed that it was impossible to propagate original sin, unless the matter of which the children are formed had been in the first parents when they sinned. But this is in the face of the teaching of S. Augustine; and the reasons by which the opinion is supported being on a false foundation, the position itself is also false. This the Saint goes on to prove, by means of an exhaustive argument.* The propagation of original sin takes place by the act of generation; for a sin of nature has the same relation to an act of nature, that a personal sin has to an act of a person. Now, a personal sin, that is, an actual sin, is caused by an act of a person; therefore, a sin of nature, that is, original sin, is produced in us by an act of nature; but the act of generation is an act of nature, by which the nature itself of the species is preserved; therefore, original sin passes to us by the act of generation; nor can any one be born without original sin. And this sin is principally

* "One of the Saint's reasons for this is the following:—"Ille qui non est peccato obnoxius, redemptione non indiget. Si ergo esset aliquis qui non in peccato originali nasceretur, præter Christum, inveniretur aliquis qui redemptione facta per Christum non indigeret; et sic Christus non esset caput omnium hominum, quod non est conveniens secundum fidem. Ergo nec ponere quod aliquis sine peccato originali nasci possit." (*Dist. XXXI., Quæst. I., Art. II., p.* 672.) S. Gregory the Great says something like this:—"Et quidem nisi Adam peccaret, redemptorem nostrum carnem suscipere nostram non oporteret . . . Si ergo pro peccatoribus venit, si peccata deessent, eum venire non oporteret." (*In Reg. Exposit., Lib. IV., Cap. I., n.* 7. See the view of Scotus, *Sent., Lib. III., Dist. XIX., Quæst. Unic., n.* 6.)

situated in the essence of the soul ; for the soul is the form of the body ; hence the soul is immediately united to the body by its essence, so as to form one man ; and as original sin is caused in the soul by its conjunction with the body as its form, it follows that it is mainly to be found in the essence of the soul, as in its subject. The powers to which original sin is chiefly ascribed, are those of generation, touch, and concupiscence. Now this sin is expunged by baptism. But, though the vision of God is opened to man, the infection of nature still remains—that is the "*fomes*," the necessity of death, and the like. Nor is there any inequality in men's inheritance of the sin of our first parents. Privation has no degrees : though each man, according to his natural complexion, or his habits, is more or less inclined, as the case may be, to evil. And in like manner, the "*fomes*" after baptism is said to diminish, inasmuch as grace checks the impetus of concupiscence, and inclines the soul to contrary acts.

The Angelical then goes on to show that the "*fomes*" is not from God ; nor anything that has about it the "*ratio culpæ* ;" that it is agreeable to the Divine wisdom to place a soul in a body from which it will contract uncleanness—for it is a better thing that the species should continue imperfect, than that it should cease altogether to exist ; that just as there is a difference in men's bodies, so is there in their souls ;* that the actual

* "Unde etiam in his quæ sunt unius generis, ex hoc contingit diversitas animarum, quod est in corporibus diversitas : et hoc etiam patet

sins of the parents do not pass to the children, original sin alone being inherited, that if the sin of the parent does not pass to the child, neither does his punishment; that the only penalty of original sin after death is the deprivation of the vision of God, there being no sensible pain due to it—that children who die without baptism, do not grieve in the least at being deprived of the Divine vision; but rather rejoice in this, that they will greatly participate in the Divine goodness, and in natural perfections; and with this article, S. Thomas finishes his exposition of the thirty-third distinction of the Lombard.*

Any one coming to look into this portion of the Saint's work, will see how completely he has treated a difficult subject, and with what profound, and yet ingenious arguments, he has shown that the mystery of original sin, and its propagation, is not opposed to the dictates of right reason. The

ex signo boni intellectus, quod Philosophus in 2 de Anima *(Text. XCIV.)* dat intelligere, dicens, eos qui sunt boni tactus et molles carne, aptos mente esse. Bonitas autem tactus ex æqualitate complexionis contingit: quia oportet ut instrumentum tactus inter contraria tangibilia sit medium; et quanto magis pervenit ad medium, tanto melior erit tactus. Unde patet quod ex diversitate corporis animarum diversitas resultat." *(Dist. XXXII., Quæst. II., Art. III., p.* 683.)

* "Pueri autem nunquam fuerunt proportionati ad hoc quod vitam æternam haberent; quia nec eis debebatur ex principiis naturæ, cum omnem facultatem natura excedat, nec actus proprios habere potuerunt quibus tantum bonum consequerentur; et ideo nihil omnino dolebunt de carentia visionis divinæ; immo magis gaudebunt de hoc quod participabunt multum de divina bonitate, et perfectionibus naturalibus. Nec potest dici, quod fuerunt proportionati ad vitam æternam consequendam, quamvis non per actionem suam, tamen per actionem aliorum circa eos: quia potuerunt ab aliis baptizari, sicut et multi pueri ejusdem conditionis baptizati, vitam æternam consecuti sunt; hoc enim est superexcedentis gratiæ ut aliquis sine actu proprio præmietur; unde defectus talis gratiæ non magis tristitiam causat in pueris decedentibus non baptizatis quam in sapientibus hoc quod eis multæ gratiæ non fiunt quæ aliis similibus factæ sunt." *(Tom. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXXIII., Quæst. II., Art. II., p.* 691.)

firm establishment of this doctrine in the schools, by so clear and detailed an exposition, did much towards rooting out the rationalism of pride, and warding off those dangers which flow from belief in an unspotted intelligence.

And just as the Saint, in his first two books, treats of going out from God, so in the two last books, he treats of going back to God—or of God as the last end. And as the going back to the end implies an agent who brings it about, and the instruments by which it is effected, so the agent is treated of in the third book of the Commentary; the instruments, in the fourth. The "causes" of this going back may be either "efficient," or "formal;" the "efficient cause," is the Son of God made man.* The "formal causes," are the virtues, and gifts of grace.† The first part of the third book considers the Incarnation,‡ and its conditions,§ and the consequences of the union of the Divine and

* *Vol. VII., Dist. I.—XXII., p.* 1—234.
† *Dist. XXIII.—XL., p.* 234—448.
‡ *Dist. I.—V., p.* 1—73.
§ *Dist. VI.—XII., p.* 74—133.

Werner puts it thus :—"Die *causæ reducentes* können *effective* und *formaliter* verstanden werden; *effective Reducens* ist der fleischgewordene Gott (3 *dist.* 1—22), die *formaliter reducentes causæ* sind die Tugenden und Gnadengaben (*dist.* 23—40). Die erst Partie zerfällt in die zwei Abtheilungen von der Incarnation (*dist.* 1—5) und den Bedingungen derselben (*dist.* 6—22); und zwar in Hinsicht auf das, was Christo zufolge der Vereinigung von Gottheit und Menschheit in Einer Person zukommt (*dist.* 6—12), und weiters in Hinsicht auf das, was die angenommene menschliche Natur betrifft. Es fragt sich da, was er durch sie annahm (*dist.* 13—16), was er durch sie wirkte (*dist.* 17—21) und wie er für uns sich opferte (*dist.* 22). Die *causæ formales* unserer Erneuerung sind die durch die Gnade in uns bewirkten Tugendstimmungen (*dist.* 23 - 33); die theologischen Tugenden (*dist.* 23—32) Cardinaltugenden (*dist.* 33) und die uns verliehenen Gnadengaben (*dist.* 34). In *dist.* 37—40 wird vom Dekalog oder den Vorschriften gehandelt, durch welche die durch die Gnade in uns gewirkten Habitualitäten geleitet und geregelt werden." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 348—349.)

human nature in the one Person of the Word, and the effects, on the assumed human nature, of its unity with the Divinity. Then, it is asked whether in Christ there was habitual grace perfecting His soul; whether in Him there was any created knowledge; whether it was necessary for Him to take human nature, with its infirmities and defects; whether He was under the necessity of death: and finally come questions treating of the work Christ had to do; and of His Death and His Ascension. The "formal causes" of our reparation are the virtues which operate in man through grace—the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, and the gifts of the Spirit. Then the Decalogue is touched upon, which regulates the actions elicited by virtue, under the control of grace.*

The sixth Distinction of the "Sentences" gives S. Thomas a grand opportunity of manifesting his dialectical skill, and his subtlety of judgment. The matter contained in this Distinction of the Lombard was the cause of those heavy accusations of nihilism which were afterwards brought against him.

* Of course the Angelical did not look upon the Incarnation as a necessary consequence of the fall:—"Ad finem aliquem dicitur aliquid esse necessarium dupliciter. Uno modo, sine quo aliquid esse non potest; sicut cibus est necessarius ad conservationem humanæ vitæ; alio modo, per quod melius et convenientius pervenitur ad finem; sicut equus necessarius est ad iter. Primo modo Deum incarnari non fuit necessarium ad reparationem humanæ naturæ. Deus enim per suam omnipotentem virtutem poterat humanam naturam multis aliis modis reparare." (*Summa, Tom. IV., Pars Tertia, Quæst. I., Art. II., p.* 6—7.) Suarez says on this: "Conclusio est communis et ita certa, ut negari non possit sine temeritate et fidei incommodo." (*In Tert. Part. Disput. IV., § II., n.* 3. *Cf.* S. Athanasius, *Orat. II., Contr. Arian., n.* 68; *Opp. Tom. I., par. I., p.* 424; also, S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. IX., p.* 157; S. Augustine, *De Nat. et Grat., Cap. V., De Agon. Christ., Cap. XI.; De Trinit., Lib. XIII., Cap. X., n.* 13; S. Leo, *Serm. XXII., Cap. III.—Serm. XXVIII., Cap. III.* For these references, and for S. Anselm's view, see *Schœzler, p.* 294.)

The Distinction consists of three opinions concerning the way in which the words "God became man, God is man," are to be understood, and the authorities, severally, by which they are supported.

1. Some say that in the Incarnation of the Word, a certain man, made of a rational soul, and human flesh—of which two every true man is made up—began to be God (not in the nature of God, but in the person of the Word), and God began to be this man.

2. There are others, who in part agree with them, but say that this man is not made up of a rational soul and flesh, alone, but of a human and Divine nature, that is, of three substances: Divinity, flesh, and soul; and they declare this to be Jesus Christ—and one person alone—before the Incarnation quite simple, but in the Incarnation, made composite of Divinity and humanity.

3. There are others who, in the Incarnation of the Word, not only deny there is a person composed of natures, but that there is any man or any substance there composed or made of soul and flesh. They say that the soul and flesh are united to the person or nature of the Word, not so that, from these two or three elements, any substance or person is made or composed, but that the Word of God is invested with them, as with a garment; so that He may, in a fitting manner, become visible to mortal eyes.*

* It continues thus:—"Qui ideo dicitur factus verus homo, quia veritatem carnis et animæ accepit: quæ duo etiam in singularitatem vel unitatem suæ personæ accepisse legitur, non quia illa duo, vel aliqua res ex

These three opinions, S. Thomas says, agree in four things: they all place a Divine person in Christ, and so avoid Nestorianism; secondly, they place two natures in Christ, and so avoid Eutychianism; thirdly, they assert the two substances to have been assumed by the Word, and so avoid the Manichean error, which denies the assumption of the flesh; fourthly, teaching that that which was assumed did not exist before the Incarnation, they avoid the error, touched upon by the Damascene,* of those who said that Christ first assumed an intellect, and then was a man; and afterwards assumed flesh of the womb of the Virgin: which seems to be the error of Origen, who maintained that souls were created before bodies.†

illis composita, sit una persona cum Verbo, vel sit Verbum: sed quia illis duobus accidentibus Verbo non est personarum numerus auctus ut fieret quaternitas in Trinitate: et quia ipsa persona Verbi, quæ prius erat sine indumento, assumptione indumenti non est divisa vel mutata, sed una eademque immutata permansit; quia secundum habitum Deum hominem factum dicunt; accipiendo enim hominem, dictus est Deus factus homo, et propter acceptum hominem dicitur Deus verus esse homo, et propter assumentem Deum dicitur homo esse Deus. Nam si essentialiter, inquiunt illi, Deus esse homo, vel homo esse Deus intelligeretur; tunc Si Deus hominem assumpsisset in sexu muliebri, et mulier essentialiter Deus esset, et e converso. At potuit Deus assumpsisse hominem in sexu muliebri; potuit igitur mulier esse Deus, et e converso." *(Dist. VI., Tom. VII., p. I., p.* 76.)

* *Lib. IV., Fid. Ortho., Cap. VI.*

† "*In quo tres illæ opiniones conveniant.* Quantum ad primum sciendum, quod istæ opiniones conveniunt in quatuor: primo, quia quælibet harum ponit unam personam in Christo, scilicet divinam, per quod recedunt ab hæresi Nestorii: secundo ponunt in Christo duas naturas, et tres substantias, scilicet Divinitatem, animam, et corpus, ex quibus duobus dicunt constare naturam humanam, et per hoc recedunt ab errore Eutychetis, qui posuit unam naturam in Christo: tertio has duas substantias in quibus humana natura consistit, dicunt assumptas a Verbo, per quod recedunt ab errore Manichæi, qui negabat carnis assumptionem. Quarto, quod hoc quod assumptum est, non præexistit ante unionem tempore, sed natura solum; per quod evadunt errorem quem tangit Damascenus *(Lib. IV., fid. Orth., Cap. VI.)* dicentium, quod primo assumpserit intellectum, et ex tunc fuisse hominem; postea autem assumpsisse carnem in utero Virginis: quod videtur esse error Origenis, qui ponebat animas creatas ante corpora." *(Tom. VII., Dist. VI., Div. Text., p.* 77.)

The Saint first shows in what these opinions differ; and then, what they imply respectively. He next goes on to show that if there were two hypostases, there would be two persons in Christ, which is the error of Nestorius; that if there were two "*supposita*," there could be no union of the Divinity with the flesh; that if there were two "individuals," there would be two persons; that there is not any "*res naturæ*" in Christ besides the Divine person—for it could not be assumed by a Divine person, and therefore, it could not be united to it, and hence, it could not be in Christ. But fully to comprehend the depth of the Angelical, the whole question should be studied in the original.

The second article shows that our Lord did not assume a man; if He did, one thing is certain, viz., that He did not assume universal man. Therefore, he assumed "this" man. But "this" man is a person. Therefore, He assumed a person, which is false; so, therefore, the supposition is false. In the third, the Saint proves that the word "man" is predicated of three substances; for man is he who possesses humanity: but he who possesses humanity is a Divine person. Therefore, the word "man" connotes the Divine person as well as the humanity which contains two substances: and so man is predicated of three substances. The second question shows that Christ is not "two" *(neutraliter)* but "One;" that He has "one Being;" and explains these words of S. John Damascene: "the two natures are united to the one composite hypostasis of the Son of God." The third treats

of the union of soul and body in Christ; and shows that the human nature was not "accidentally" united to the Word.*

Any one comparing the above opinions, and the treatment of them by the Lombard, and the Angelical, respectively, will at once see the difference between the two men, and the immense theological advance of S. Thomas upon the Master of the "Sentences." Whilst the Lombard hardly seems to know which view to choose; whilst he gives as reasonable, what in reality is against reason; and advances, as doctrine which may pass, teachings which in reality are heretical; whilst, in a word, he is groping about, not seeing his way, amongst a host of authorities for different opinions, the Angelical, with his power of analysis, arrives at the truth; measures carefully the various amount of falsehood in each position; and, with a science singularly marvellous, gives the true doctrine of the Church—clear, distinct, and intelligible.

* "Sed contra est Decretalis Alexandri Papæ 'cum (inquit) Christus sit perfectus Deus et perfectus homo; qua temeritate audent quidam dicere, quod Christus, secundum quod homo, non est aliquid?' Sed prædicatum accidentale non prædicat aliquid, sed aliqualiter se habens. Ergo homo non est prædicatum accidentale." (*Tom. III., Concil., Part II., § II., ex Concil. Lateran. III.; Tit. de Hæret., Cap. XXVI., paulo aliter et plenius. L. III., Dist. VI., Quæst. II., Art. II., Vol. VII., Pars. I., p.* 86.) "Si ergo dicatur homo assumptus, oportet quod intelligatur homo antequam intelligatur assumptus. Homo autem particularis (quia universalem non assumpsit, cum non habeat esse in rerum natura), est quid subsistens, habens esse completum. Quod autem habet esse completum in quo subsistit, non potest uniri alteri nisi tribus modis: vel accidentaliter, ut tunica homini; et hunc modum unionis ponit tertia opinio: vel per modum aggregationis, sicut lapis lapidi in acervo: vel aliquo accidente, sicut homo unitur Deo per amorem vel gratiam; et neutra harum est unio simpliciter, sed secundum quid: quarum primam posuit Dioscorus, alteram Nestorius hæretici, ut dicit Damascenus, 3 *Cap.*, 3 *libri.* Unde nullo modo concedendum est, quod homo sit assumptus." (*Tom. VII., Dist. VI., Art. II., p.* 81.)

It was this mistiness of the Lombard that gave an opening to many and severe attacks upon his teaching on the Incarnation. The three opinions which he stated, and confirmed by authorities, were brought forward by him as doctrine which could be held. He seems himself to put the greatest stress on the second; but while doing so, left it to be understood that the first and third were theologically tenable. Here he afforded an opportunity to his enemies; and, in point of fact, gave just cause for some complaint. Walter of S. Victor's, who so violently attacked him, considered that his appreciation of these doctrines was excessively faulty.* Even if the first proposition were not clearly heretical, it certainly could not be held by a right-believing man; whilst the third could not be condemned in too strong language.

* "Der Victoriner Walter von Montagne zählt den Petrus Lombardus jenen vier Männern bei, die er wegen ihrer dem Glauben gefährlichen dialektischen Irrgänge die vier Labyrinthe Frankreichs nannte. Unter diesen meinte er neben Petrus Lombardus noch Abälard, Peter von Poitiers und Gilbert de la Porree, die nach seiner Ansicht hinsichtlich der Trinitätslehre gleicher Irrthümer sich schuldig gemacht hatten. Nebstdem bemängelte er nach dem Vorgange des Johannes von Cornwallis die Christologie des Lombarden, weil derselbe gesagt habe, dass der Sohn Gottes nicht der Substanz nach, sondern *solo habitu* Mensch genannt werden könne. Der Abt Joachim beschuldigte den Petrus Lombardus, dass er an die Stelle der göttlichen Trinität eine Quaternität setze. Das Concil vom Lateran 1215 verdammte die Schrift, die Joachim gegen den Lombarden gerichtet, und erkannte die Ausdrucksweise des Letzteren als eine kirchlich gültige an: *Pater, Filius et Spiritus S. sunt summa quædam res et illa neque generans, neque genita, neque procedens* . . . . . Im Jahre 1519 veröffentlichte der Abt des Schottenklosters in Wien, Benedictus Chelidonius ein altes Manuscript, vier Bücher Sentenzen von Bandinus, von dem er behauptete, dass der Lombarde ihn ausgeschrieben. B. Pez hingegen (*Thesaur. Anecdot. noviss., Tom. I., p. XLV.* ff.) bemerkte, dass in einer Mölker Handschrift der Summe Bandin's diese ausdrücklich als Auszug aus der Summe des Lombarden bezeichnet werde. Auch protestantische Gelehrte: Schröckh, Neander, theilen diese Ansicht, und anerkennen die Priorität des Lombarden." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. I., p.* 43.)

To call the human in Christ "not anything," is to assert it to be "nothing."

As is generally the case, the disciples of the Master develop his defects. So was it here. What the Lombard stated as a problem, they undertook, some of them, to prove as a thesis. They were bold enough to maintain, for instance, such propositions as these—"God did not become anything, God is not anything." John of Cornwall maintains that Gilbert de la Porrée, and Abelard, were the originators of nihilism. Though his pupils denied it, it was reported that Gilbert had a weakness for the "not anything." The following strange sentence from Abelard's "Theology" breathes the same temper—"Since, therefore, God is Spirit, and since that which is Spirit never becomes corporeal, never is receptive of parts, how can the Word with propriety be said to become flesh, or God to become man, seeing that the Word is also Spirit?"*

However, the shortcomings of the Lombard were soon brought to light. Robert of Melun, and Magister Mauritius, who succeeded Peter in the See of Paris, not only spoke out against this error, but against other flaws in the teaching of the Master of the "Sentences." Alexander III. had the words "Christ is not some man," and "Christ, inasmuch as man, is nothing," dis-

* "Cum ergo spiritus sit Deus, nec unquam, quod spiritus est, corporeum fiat, aut partes recipiat, quomodo proprie vel Verbum dicitur caro fieri vel Deus homo, cum Verbum etiam nunc sit spiritus?"

cussed in the Council of Tours (1163). But no decision was come to upon the point, as Werner seems to imply, though it was argued at great length.* Nor was a decision given upon it for some time, though Werner again gives us to understand the reverse. It was not till the year 1170 that the question was finally settled. The Pope then addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Sens, begging him to convoke a Synod of his Suffragans, in Paris, in order to condemn the Lombard's proposition: "Christ, inasmuch as man, is nothing," and to command all the Magistri to teach that: "As Christ is perfect God, so is He perfect and true man, consisting of soul and body." †

Though the Lombard did not hold the condemned doctrine himself, still, his too great facility in admitting unsound propositions, without guarding the reader respecting them, opened his conduct justly to censure—if not to that condemnation which the Pope, instigated by the repeated attacks of John of Cornwall *(Cornubiensis)*, caused the bishops to issue against his (supposed) teachings. ‡

The uncertainty of the Lombard with regard to the relations of body, soul, and Divinity, led him into a further statement, which the keen, far-seeing eye of the Angelical did not overlook.

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* Werner, *Vol I., Cap. IV., p.* 355.

† "Christum sicut perfectum Deum esse, sic et perfectum hominem, ac verum hominem ex anima et corpore consistentem."

‡ The whole of this question is well treated by Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte Fünfter Band, Zweite Abt., p.* 545—547.

Just as Peter let pass the doctrine that the flesh of Christ was, as it were, a "garment," so by declaring the soul, when separated from the body, to be a "person," he taught by implication—as the Angelical saw at once—that the union of body and soul is merely an accidental union. According to Werner, there were many theologians who held this doctrine in the twelfth century. Abelard —who was continually getting wrong—Hugh of S. Victor's, Robert Pulleyn, Peter of Poitiers, and Robert of Melun, were amongst the number. Abelard said: "A person is called one of its own nature, as it were;" Hugh said: "For the soul, in the same way as an angel, is a person;" Robert of Melun maintained: "That the marriage of the soul with the body was not a union of parts, but of different natures." Of course, when such teachings as these were applied to the position of our Lord in the Tomb, the consequences were not according to the traditions of the Church.*

But how does the Angelical, following the light

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* "Uebrigens hatte die Ansicht des Lombarden im zwölften Jahrhunderte viele Vertreter; Abälard: *Expositio symboli Apostolici.* Hugo von St. Victor: *Summ. Sent., Tract. I, Cap. XV.; Sacrament. Lib. II., P. I., Cap. IX.—XI.; De Anima, II., Cap. VII.* Robert Pulleyn: *Sent. II., Cap. X.* Peter von Poitiers: *Sent. IV., Cap. XXII.* Robert von Melun bekannten sich zu ihr. Letzterer sagt: *Compositio illa (animæ cum corpore) non fuit partium, sed unio quædam naturarum diversarum.* Hugo von St. Victor: *Est namque anima, persona sicut Angelus.* Abälard: *Persona quasi per se una dicitur.* Wir werden später sehen, was Thomas gegen alle diese Auffassungsweisen zu erinnern hat. Hier nur noch sein Urtheil über eine christologische Consequenz derselben. Hugo von St. Victor glaubte sich zufolge seiner Identificirung von Seele und Person berechtiget, zu sagen, dass Christus auch während der Tage zwischen Verscheiden und Auferstehung Mensch gewesen sei: *Sacram. II., P. I., Cap. XI.*, und zwar aus demselben Grunde, aus welchem alle abgeschiedenen Seelen nach seiner Ansicht fortdauern, Menschen zu sein." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 355.)

of reason, and the tradition of the Church, treat this point?

That the reader may see clearly how he handles a subject, and how difficulties are proposed, solved, and explained in detail—since the article is a short one—it shall be given pretty much as it stands.

Article II. Whether a soul separate from the body is a person?* With regard to the second point, this is the way of proceeding :—

1. It seems that a separate soul is a person. For a person, according to Boethius, is "an individual substance of a rational nature." But this stands good of a separate soul. Therefore, it is a person.

2. Moreover, "*propter quod unumquodque tale, et illud magis.*" But a man is called a person, on account of his soul; and hence, those things that have no souls are not called persons. Therefore, &c.

3. Moreover, it is admitted that the rational soul is "this something." But "this something," in a rational nature, is a person. Therefore, a separate soul is a person.

4. Moreover, an angel and a separate soul do not seem to differ except on this account: that the

* "Articulus II. *Utrum anima separata sit persona.* Ad secundum sic proceditur. 1. Videtur quod anima separata sit persona. Persona enim, secundum Boetium (*Loco Citato*), est rationalis naturæ individua substantia. Sed hoc convenit animæ separatæ. Ergo est persona. 2. Præterea, propter quod unumquodque tale, et illud magis. Sed homo dicitur persona propter animam: unde quæ carent anima, non dicuntur personæ. Ergo anima separata est persona. 3. Præterea, conceditur quod anima rationalis est hoc aliquid. Sed hoc aliquid in natura rationali est persona. Ergo anima separata est persona." (*Dist. V., Quæst. III., Art. II., p.* 73.)

soul has the capability of being united.* But this capability does not do away with the notion of a person. Therefore, since an angel is a person, a soul apart from the body is also a person. Proof of the middle. That which can be done by Divine power, does not produce any real change in the thing itself, so that because God can assume a certain man, as Peter, the personality of Peter is not in consequence destroyed. But a soul cannot be united to a body, except by the Resurrection, which will not be brought about by nature, but will be effected by Divine power alone. Therefore, the soul, on account of its capability of being united, does not lose its condition of being a person.

5. Moreover, the mere fact that a thing can be united to something more noble, destroys the condition of personality; otherwise, the Word would not have been a person from eternity. But the "capability" which belongs to a separate soul, is not with respect to something more worthy—but on the contrary, to something less worthy. Therefore, on this account, the soul does not lose the condition of a person.†

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* "4. Præterea, angelus et anima separata non videtur differre nisi per hoc quod anima est unibilis. Sed unibilitas non impedit rationem personæ. Ergo cum Angelus sit persona, etiam anima separata erit persona. Probatio mediæ. Id quod potest fieri per divinam virtutem, non immutat aliquid de ratione rei; sicut quod Deus possit assumere aliquem hominem, ut Petrum, non aufert Petro rationem personalitatis. Sed anima separata non potest uniri corpori nisi per resurrectionem, quæ non erit naturalis, sed per divinam virtutem tantum. Ergo anima propter unibilitatem rationem, personæ non amittit." (*Loco Citato.*)

† "5. Præterea, sola unibilitas qua aliquid potest uniri nobiliori, tollit rationem personæ; alias Verbum non haberet ab æterno rationem personæ.

But against this I urge, no form is a person; but the soul is a form; therefore, it is not a person. Moreover, a person has the condition of wholeness and completeness. But the soul is a part; therefore, the soul has not the condition of a person.

SOLUTION.—I answer by saying, that the opinion of the ancients, concerning the union of soul and body, was twofold.

One was that the soul is united to the body, as one complete being to another complete being; that it was in the body like a sailor in a ship. Hence, as Gregory of Nyssa says,* Plato maintained that man is not something made up of body and soul, but that he is a soul invested with a body: and according to this, the entire personality of a man would consist in the soul, so that a separate soul might be truly called a man, as Hugh of S. Victor's says;† and, according to this opinion, what the Magister [the Lombard] says is true, that the soul is a person when separate. But his view cannot stand: because, the body would thus belong to the soul accidentally. Hence, this word "man," which signifies soul and body, would not

Sed unibilitas quæ est in anima separata, non est respectu alicujus dignioris, immo minus nobilis. Ergo propter hoc non perdit rationem personæ. Sed contra, nulla forma est persona. Sed anima est forma. Ergo non est persona. Præterea, persona habet rationem completi et totius. Sed anima est pars. Ergo anima non habet rationem personæ." *Ibid.*)

* *Lib. de Hom., Cap. I.*

† *Book II., The Sacraments, Part II., Chap. XI.*

signify one *per se*, but *per accidens*; and therefore, would not be in the genus of substance.*

The other opinion is that of Aristotle,† which is followed by all the moderns, that the soul is united to the body as form to matter: hence, the soul is a part of human nature, and is not a special nature of itself; and because the characteristics of a part are contrary to those of a person, as has been said; therefore, a separate soul cannot be called a person: because, although it is not actually a part, still it has the nature of a part.‡

To the first, therefore, it is to be said, that a separate soul, properly speaking, is not the substance of any nature, but a part of a nature.

To the second, it is to be said that, not alone on account of his soul is a man a person, but on

* "Solutio. Respondeo dicendum, quod de unione animæ ad corpus apud antiquos duplex fuit opinio. Una quod anima unitur corpori sicut ens completum enti completo, ut esset in corpore sicut nauta in navi: unde sicut dicit Gregorius Nyssenus (*Lib. de Homine, Cap. I.*) Plato posuit quod homo non est aliquid constitutum ex corpore et anima, sed est anima corpore induta: et secundum hoc tota personalitas hominis consisteret in anima, adeo quod anima separata posset dici homo vere, ut dicit Hugo de S. Victore (*Lib. II. de Sacram., Part II., Cap. II.*): et secundum hanc opinionem esset verum quod Magister dicit, quod anima est persona quando est separata. Sed hæc opinio non potest stare: quia sic corpus animæ accidentaliter adveniret: unde hoc nomen *homo*, de cujus intellectu est anima et corpus, non significaret unum per se, sed per accidens; et ita non esset in genere substantiæ." (*Ibid.*)

† *II. De Anima, Cap. XI.*

‡ "Alia est opinio Aristotelis (2 *De Anima, Cap. XI.*), quam omnes moderni sequuntur, quod anima unitur corpori sicut forma materiæ: unde anima est pars humanæ naturæ, et non natura quædam per se: et quia ratio partis contrariatur rationi personæ, ut dictum est, ideo anima separata non potest dici persona: quia quamvis separata non sit pars actu, tamen habet naturam ut sit pars. Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod anima separata, proprie loquendo, non est substantia alicujus naturæ, sed est pars naturæ. Ad secundum dicendum, quod non tantum ab anima habet homo quod sit persona, sed ex ea et corpore; cum ex utrisque subsistat. Ad tertium dicendum, quod anima rationalis dicitur hoc aliquid per modum quo *esse* subsistens est hoc aliquid, etiam si habeat naturam partis; sed ad rationem personæ exigitur ulterius quod sit totum et completum." (*Ibid.*)

account of the soul, and the body, since he is composed of both.

To the third, it is to be said that, the rational soul is called "this something" in the way in which any subsisting being is "this something," even if it have the nature of a part; but for a person, something beyond this is required, viz., that it be whole and complete.

To the fourth it is to be said that, although the union of a separate soul with the body cannot be accomplished except by supernatural power, still, there is within it a natural aptitude for this union; and that the union cannot be accomplished by natural power, proceeds from the defect of the body, not from the defect of the soul.

To the fifth it is to be said that, although the soul be of greater dignity than the body, still, it is united to the body as part of the whole man, which, in a way, is more dignified than the soul, inasmuch as it is more complete.*

The prologue to the fourth book of the Commentary on the "Sentences," begins with the words: "He sent His word and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction."† The sin of Adam produced two results, death and sickness:‡

* "Ad quartum dicendum, quod quamvis unio animæ separatæ ad carnem non possit fieri nisi per virtutem supernaturalem, tamen in ea est naturalis aptitudo ad hoc: et quod non potest unio compleri per virtutem naturalem, est ex defectu corporis non ex defectu animæ. Ad quintum dicendum, quod quamvis anima sit dignior corpore, tamen unitur ei ut pars totius hominis, quod quodammodo est dignius anima, inquantum est completius." (*Loco Citato.*)

† *Psalm CVI.*, 20.

‡ "*Misit verbum suum, et sanavit eos, et eripuit eos de interitionibus eorum. Psal. CVI.*, 20. Ex peccato primi hominis humanum genus duo

death, on account of the separation from the principle of life; sickness, on account of want of grace, which is the health of man. A remedy was necessary—a remedy so efficacious that all might be saved by it. From this universal remedy, other particular remedies proceed, and these are the Sacraments in which the Divine power, under cover of visible things, all the more secretly works our cure. In the above psalm-words, three things are touched upon—the making of the remedy; the cure from sickness; and liberation from death. And these words indicate the matter of the fourth book, because in it, the Sacraments, the resurrection, and the glory of the risen are expounded. It is also a continuation of the third book, because, in the third book, the mission of the Word in the flesh was treated of; whilst in this book, the effects of the Incarnation

incurrerat, scilicet mortem, et infirmitatem. Mortem propter separationem a vitæ principio, de quo in Psalm XXXV., 10, dicitur: *Apud te est fons vitæ;* et qui separatur ab hoc principio, de necessitate moritur; et hoc factum est per primum hominem. Unde dicitur Rom. V., 12: *Per unum hominem peccatum in mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors.* Infirmitatem vero propter destitutionem gratiæ, quæ est hominis sanitas, quæ petitur Hierom. XVII., 14: *Sana me Domine, et sanabor;* et ideo in Psalm VI., 3, dicitur: *Miserere mei Domine, quoniam infirmus sum.* Ad hoc autem sufficiens remedium haberi non poterat, nisi ex Verbo Dei, quod est fons sapientiæ in excelsis, Eccli. I., et per consequens vitæ: quia sapientia vitam tribuit possessori, Eccli. VII.; unde dicitur Joan. V., 21: *Sicut Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat: sic Filius quos vult, vivificat.* Ipsum etiam est virtus Dei, quo omnia portantur; Hebr. I., 3: *Portans omnia verbo virtutis suæ;* et ideo est efficax ad infirmitatem tollendam. Unde in Psalm XXXII., 6, dicitur: *Verbo Domini cœli firmati sunt;* et Sap. XVI., 12: *Neque herba neque malagma sanavit eos, sed sermo tuus, Domine, qui sanat omnia.* Sed quia *vivus est sermo Dei et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti,* ut dicitur Heb. IV., 12, necessarium fuit ad hoc quod nobis medicina tam violenta proficeret, quod eo carnis nostræ infirmitas adjungeretur, ut nobis magis congrueret, Heb. XI., 17: *Debuit per omnia fratribus assimilari, ut misericors fieret.* Et propter hoc, *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis:* Joan. I., XIV.," etc. (*Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Comment. in Quartum Librum Sententiarum, p.* 1.)

are the subject of consideration. So the fourth book bears the same relation to the third, that the second does to the first. It is, moreover, divided into two parts—the first, dwells on the Sacraments; the second, on the resurrection, and on the glory of the risen.* The first part treats of the Sacraments, in general, and then goes on to speak of the Sacraments of the New Law in particular. Having touched, in general, on the requisites of Sacraments—the Sacraments, in detail, are then enlarged upon. First, of those generally necessary. Baptism: Whether the definition given be a good one; † whether the character is in the soul; whether this Sacrament takes away actual sin; ‡ whether Christ, as man, had power to forgive sins; § whether Baptism can be repeated. ‖ Confirmation: which consists of three questions, and one

* See how, at this early date in his career, the Angelical understands, and strikes at the heresy of Avicenna and the Arabians. The difficulty is whether the soul can understand, when separated from the body. "Dicendum," says the Angelical, "quod ponentibus intellectum a potentiis sensitivis differre, necesse est ponere intellectus substantiam incorruptibilem esse, eo quod necesse est eum immaterialem ponere, nec a materia secundum esse dependentem. Omnem autem hujusmodi substantiam oportet incorruptibilem esse; quia materia, in quantum potest esse subjectum privationis et formæ, est corruptionis causa in rebus materialibus . . . . . Quidam vero hunc intellectum corruptibilem dixerunt non esse partem animæ humanæ, sed esse aliquam substantiam omnino a corpore separatam: animam vero humanam non dici intellectivam nisi secundum quamdam participationem intellectualitatis ex refulgentia intellectus separati super ipsam; unde destructo corpore anima humana nec remanebat, nec aliquid intelligere poterat. . . . ." But Aristotle says, in 12 Metaph. *(text. XIX.)*: "Quod anima est talis dispositionis, ut scilicet possit separari non tota, sed intellectus. Ex quo patet quod intellectum, qui est pars animæ, ponit a corpore separari; et ideo oportet animam intellectivam, quæ est anima humana, post corpus remanere, sicut fides ponit: et per consequens necesse est quod intelligat, cum intelligere sit ejus propria operatio." *(Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Dist. L., Quæst. I., Art. I., p.* 124.)

† *IV. Dist. III., Quæst I.* ‡ *Dist. IV.*

§ *Dist. V.* ‖ *Dist. VI.*

distinction: Is Confirmation a Sacrament? does it impress a character? can one not ordained confirm? The Eucharist: which occupies six distinctions, twelve questions, and many articles. Penance,* Confirmation,† Orders,‡ and Matrimony follow in their turn.§ The second portion of the work treats on the future resurrection,‖ and the final reward.¶

This fourth book is full of interesting questions about the methods of Salvation. Here, the Angelical manifests his firm grasp of Catholic theology; and it is evident that he had deeply studied the splendid work of Hugh of S. Victor's on the Sacraments. Here, again, he shows that clear logical vision of truth, which made him not "*jurare in verba magistri*," and rendered him capable of stating his opinion, and holding his own. Nor did he either implicitly follow Hugh of S. Victor's, but kept to his own straight course, guided by those master-lights that God had given him for the service of the Church. For instance, there were many opinions as to whether there could have been Sacraments in the primitive condition of our nature.** Alexander of Hales, as has

* *Dist. XIV.—XXII.* † *Dist. XXIII.*
‡ *Dist. XXIV.—XXV.* § *Dist. XXVI.—XLII.*
‖ *Dist. XLIII.—XLIV.* ¶ *Dist. XLV.—L.*

** The *cause* of the institution of the Sacraments is given well by the Lombard, and quite in his own style: "Triplici autem de causa sacramenta instituta sunt: propter humiliationem, eruditionem, exercitationem. Propter humiliationem quidem, ut dum homo in sensibilibus rebus, quæ natura infra ipsum sunt, ex præcepto creatoris se reverendo subjicit, ex hoc humilitate et obedientia Deo magis placeat, et ut apud eum mereatur, cujus imperio salutem quærit in inferioribus se, etsi non ab illis, sed per illa a Deo. Propter eruditionem etiam instituta sunt, at per id quod foris in specie visibili cernitur, ad invisibilem virtutem, quæ intus est, cognoscendam mens erudiatur. Homo enim qui ante peccatum sine medio Deum videbat, per

been seen, argued for the affirmative. The Lombard, on his own principles, had to deny it; and, inasmuch as he admitted that the knowledge of our first parents came from Divine illumination, S. Thomas agreed with him. But there is another question, on which the Saint quite parted company with him; and this was with regard to the effects of the Sacraments of the Old Law. He also disagrees, on this subject, with Hugh of S. Victor's. He joins issue with the Lombard, for making too little of them; and with Hugh, for exalting them too much.*

The Angelical explains his meaning thus: with regard to the "*opus operatum*" of the Sacraments of the Old Law, there are two opinions. One maintains that the *opus operatum* was a sign of the Sacraments of the New Law, and of the Passion of Christ, in which their efficacy lies, and that, indirectly, the Sacraments of the Old Law justified, through the Sacraments of the New, to which the *opus operatum* referred, whilst our Sacraments justify directly

peccatum a Deo habuit ut nequaquam divina queat capere, nisi humanis exercitatus. Propter exercitationem similiter instituta sunt: quia cum homo otiosus esse non possit, proponitur ei utilis et salubris exercitatio in sacramentis, qua variam et noxiam declinet occupationem, non enim facile capitur a tentatore qui bono vacat exercitio. Unde Hieronymus *(in Epist. ad Rustic.)* monet: Semper aliquid boni operis facito, ut te occupatum diabolus inveniat." (*Tom. VII., Dist. I. De causa institutionis sacramentorum, p.* 453.)

* Here are two arguments used by the Angelical to prove that the Sacraments of the Old Law did not confer grace. To those who affirm they did confer grace, he replies:—"Sed contra, Hebr. X., 4: *Impossibile est sanguine hircorum et taurorum auferri peccata.* Sed gratia tollit peccatum. Ergo antiqua sacramenta gratiam non conferebant. Præterea, per gratiam est vita animæ. Sed de præceptis veterum sacramentorum dicitur, Ezech. XX., 25: *Dedi eis præcepta non bona, et judicia in quibus non vivent.* Ergo gratiam non conferebant. (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., p.* 465.)

and immediately, because they are instituted for that end. Such was the opinion of Hugh of S. Victor's.*

But this opinion does not appear, says the Angelical, to tally with the *dicta* of the saints, who said, that the Law was the occasion of death, inasmuch as it was a token of sin, and did not confer assisting grace. † And besides, if this were so, there would not be any, or if any, a very slight pre-eminence of the Sacraments of the New Law over those of the Old. And therefore, others say, and with greater truth, that the Sacraments of the Old Law—that is, the *opus operatum* in them—by no means conferred grace, with the exception of Circumcision, which will be spoken of later.

If the Angelical did not agree with Hugh, on the *opus operatum*; he did not hold with the Lombard, on the *opus operans*.

On this, says the Saint, there are two opinions. Some have said that the use itself of the

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* "Omnia enim illa superioris temporis sacramenta, sive sub naturali lege, sive sub scripta; signa quædam fuerunt et figuræ eorum quæ nunc sub gratia exhibita sunt sacramentorum. Et ideo effectum spiritualem quem suo tempore operabantur, posita pro istis; illa virtute et sanctificatione operabantur, quam sumpserunt ab istis." (vid. *Patrol., Tom. CLXXVI.;* Hugo de S. Victore, *De Sacramentis, Pars. XI., De Naturali, Lege, Cap. I., p.* 343.) Again: "Passio namque Salvatoris quæ primo loco sacramenta gratiæ ad effectum salutis sanctificat, mediantibus istis etiam illa prioris temporis sacramenta sanctificabat, ut eadem salus esset, et his qui recta fide signa futurorum in illis venerati sunt, et his qui effectum salutis in istis percipiunt." *(Ibid., Cap. II., De Prima differentia præcedentium et subsequentium sacramentorum.)*

† "Sed hæc opinio non videtur convenire dictis sanctorum: dicunt enim, quod lex erat occasio mortis, inquantum ostendebat peccatum, et gratiam adjutricem non conferebat." *(Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., Quæstiunc. III., p.* 466.)

Sacraments of the Old Law was not meritorious, even if accompanied by faith and charity: and this is what the Master seems to say in the text. But it seems absurd that the use which the holy fathers made of these Sacraments, was not acceptable to God, and that a work of virtue can be without merit. And so it is commonly held that their use, if associated with charity, is meritorious.*

The Lombard held the opinion that, under the Law, a child, who died before his eight days were accomplished, and had not been circumcised, would lose eternal happiness; and that it was allowable, in case of danger, to anticipate the circumcision.

Both these opinions were rejected by S. Thomas. He answers thus: Some say that there was no necessity for anticipating the day, for in case of death, children had the advantage of the same means of Salvation that existed before Circumcision was introduced; and this is the opinion of Hugh of S. Victor's. And as to the practice of anticipating the day, the Saint proves, by referring to the custom of the Jews of his day, and to the Gloss on Proverbs IV., that such an idea had never been entertained.

* These are the Lombard's words:—"Quæ enim significandi gratia tantum instituta sunt, solum signa sunt, et non sacramenta: sicut fuerunt sacrificia carnalia, et observantiæ cæremoniales veteris legis, quæ nunquam poterant justos facere offerentes." (*Dist. I., Lib. IV., p.* 453.) On this S. Thomas says:—"Aliqui tamen excusant Magistrum, dicentes, quod ipse intellexerit ipsa opera operata non justificare quantumcumque in caritate fierent, quamvis ipsa operatio ex caritate facta possit esse meritoria in eo qui est in statu merendi." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Quæstiuncula III., Lib. IV., p.* 466.) "Quidam enim dixerunt, quod usus ipse non erit meritorius, etiamsi in fide et caritate fierent: et hoc videtur Magister in littera dicere. Sed hoc videtur absurdum, quod labores sanctorum patrum in hujusmodi sacramentis Deo accepti non fuerint, et quod opus virtutis possit esse non meritorium." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., Quæstiunc. III., Solutio II., p.* 466.)

Several questions with regard to Circumcision, its object, and its effects, are also treated by the Angelical, in which he lucidly advances various opinions, and gives reasons for his own; showing where the Lombard states views which are not in keeping with sound logic, or tradition.

One of the greatest slips made by the Lombard, and of which Hugh is also guilty, is when he says: "Those who are excommunicated, or are manifestly stained with heresy, are not able, it seems, to consecrate, although they are priests. . . ." And after giving a quotation, as from S. Augustine —which is to be found in none of his works—he continues: "From this it follows that a heretic, cut off from the Catholic faith, cannot consecrate."*

To this, S. Thomas says distinctly: "On the contrary, a priest has the power of consecrating, from the character he possesses. But the character remains in a heretic, schismatic, and an excommunicated person: therefore, they can consecrate; moreover, the 'quality' of a person is only required in an act proper to the person. But consecration is not a personal act of the priest himself. Therefore, it is not impeded by his personal condition.†

* *IV. Dist. XII., Quæst. I., Art. I., Quæstiuncula III., Vol. VII., p.* 670.

† "Ex his colligitur quod hæreticus a catholica fide præcisus nequeat hoc sacramentum conficere, quia sancti Angeli, qui hujus mysterii celebrationi assistunt, tunc non adsunt quando hæreticus et simoniacus hoc mysterium temerarie celebrare præsumit. Non enim dubitari licet ubi corporis dominici et sanguinis mysteria geruntur, supernorum civium adesse conventus. In hujus autem mysterii expletione sicut formam servari, ita

In the same manner, the Angelical steers his independent course through other false doctrines of the Lombard: upon the power of simoniacal bishops with regard to ordinations, with regard to the conditions of bigamy, and other questions relating to marriage.

This treatment of the Commentary may be becomingly concluded by giving his views on a question of special interest in this country—that of heresy.*

He says that heresy is a Greek word, signifying choice, according to S. Isidore†—hence, things divisible are called heretical. And because, by choosing, a division is made of one from another, choice is called *pro-hæresis*, as is evident from Aristotle's Metaphysics. Now, division results from a part

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ordinem haberi, scilicet ut sit sacerdos, et intentionem adhiberi, oportet, ut illud facere intendat. Si non credit de illo mysterio, sicut veritas habet, numquid potest intendere illud conficere? Et si non intendit, numquid conficit? Aliqui dicunt, etiam non recte de illo mysterio sentientem posse intendere, non quidem illud conficere, quod jam esset recte credere; sed id agere quod geritur ab aliis dum conficitur, et sic adhibetur intentio; et si intentio dicatur deesse conficiendi illud mysterium, tamen ex quo intendit ea dicere et agere quæ ab aliis geruntur impletur mysterium." (*Tom. VII. Pars Altera, Distinct. XIII., Lomb.*)

* "Nomen *hæresis* græcum est, et electionem importat secundum Isidorum (Lib. 8 Etymologiarum, Cap. III.); unde et hæretica divisiva dicuntur. Et quia in electione fit divisio unius ab altero, electio *pro-hæresis* dicitur, ut patet 9 Metaphys. (text X.). Divisio autem contingit alicui parti per recessum a toto. Prima autem congregatio, quæ est in hominibus, est per viam cognitionis, quia ex hac omnes aliæ oriuntur; unde et hæresis consistit in singulari opinione præter communem opinionem . . . neque hæreticus nominatur nisi qui in singulari opinione firmam habet stabilitatem, unde etiam competit ei nomen *hæresis*, secundum quod in electionem sonat: quia quod in electione fit, quasi ex habitu firmato procedit. Competit ei etiam nomen *hæresis*, secundum quod latinum est, ab hærendo dictum; quia suæ opinioni vehementer inhæret. Et quia congregatio corporis mystici per unitatem veræ fidei primo constituitur, ideo hæreticus secundum nos dicitur qui a communi fide, quæ catholica dicitur, discedit, contrariæ opinioni vehementer inhærens per electionem." *Tom. VII., Lib. IV., Dist. XIII., Quæst. II., Art. II., p.* 677.)

† *Lib. VIII., Etymologiarum, Cap. III.*

receding from the whole. But the first assembly amongst men was based on knowledge from which all others arise: hence, heresy consists in an individual opinion, which differs from the common opinion. Hence, some philosophers, who held certain positions, opposed to the common opinion of others, established sects, or heresies, proper to themselves. And, as he only is called irascible who is easily angry, so, no one is called a heretic, unless he has an unmoved stability in his own opinion. Wherefore, also, the word heresy, in as far as it signifies choice, is applicable to him; because what is done by choice, proceeds, as it were, from a confirmed habit. The word heresy is applicable to him also in its Latin signification of adhering; because he adheres pertinaciously to his opinion; and because the congregation of the mystical body is constituted, primarily, by the unity of the true faith; hence, he is a heretic, according to us, who departs from the common faith, and pertinaciously adheres, through choice, to the contrary opinion.

What sort of sin is heresy? A thing is called evil, because it is hurtful. Hence, because heresy is more hurtful than any other sin—because it subverts the foundation of all good, without which nothing good remains — of its own nature it is the greatest of all sins, although, by accident, some other sin might be more grievous.* The

* "Unumquodque dicitur malum quia nocet. Unde cum hæresis plus noceat quam aliquod aliud peccatum, quia subvertit fundamentum omnium bonorum, sine quo nihil boni remanet: ideo hæresis est ex genere

third article of this Distinction—whether heretics are to be tolerated, I leave to the consideration of the reader.* And now it is time to pass on to the other labours of the Saint. Great, indeed, was the labour he went through in collecting materials for, and giving, these lectures. Though not so systematic—or rather scientific, as his later works, they show clear signs of his ability to take a large view, and to embrace, in the unity of a master conception, the elements of the noblest of sciences. His ingenuity in the discovery of proofs, the keen edge he brings to cut through a fallacy, and the luminousness of his expositions—all these specialities manifest themselves at every turn. Considerable space has been dedicated to the consideration of this, his first important work, for it contains, as in a quarry, the materials of his other labours, and is nothing but the Summa in its undigested form, shorn of the perfections of its scientific unity, and the greater precision of its more matured thought.

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suo maximum peccatorum, quamvis ex accidenti aliquod peccatum possit esse gravius ; sicut si multum cresceret contemptus Dei in aliquo quod etiam ex genere suo esset veniale. Sed de eo quod est secundum accidens, non est curandum in arte, ut Philosophus dicit in 5 Ethic., Cap. ult." (*Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Lib. IV., Dist. XIII., Art. II., p.* 678.)

* This is what the Saint says, however :—"Hæresis est infectivum vitium ; unde 2 Timoth., II., 16, dicitur, quod *multum proficiunt ad impietatem, et sermo eorum ut cancer serpit ;* et ideo Ecclesia eos a consortio fidelium excludit, et præcipue illos qui alios corrumpunt ; ut simplices, qui de facili corrumpi possunt, ab eis sint segregati non solum mente, sed etiam corporaliter ; unde per Ecclesiam carcerantur et expelluntur. Si autem alios non corrumperent, possent etiam celari. Sed illi qui sunt firmi in fide, possunt cum eis corpore conversari, ut eos convertant ; non tamen in divinis, quia excommunicati sunt. Sed judicio sæculari possunt licite occidi, et bonis suis spoliari, etsi alios non corrumpant; quia sunt blasphemi in Deum, et fidem falsam observant ; unde magis possunt puniri isti quam illi qui sunt rei criminis læsæ majestatis, et illi qui falsam monetam cudunt." (*Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Lib. IV., Dist. XIII., Quæst. II., Art. III., p.* 678.)

But the main aim of this chapter has been to manifest, in as unmistakeable a manner as possible, the independence of the Saint's genius; and the extraordinary power that he had of guiding himself securely and steadily—like some great ship—amongst the shoals and quicksands of unsound propositions; and how he was never for a moment beguiled from the straight course of truth, by his undoubted reverence and admiration of Albertus Magnus and the Lombard.

It was such steadiness as this which was particularly wanted in his day. There was no lack of mere talent in the schools; indeed, there was too much talent of one sort, and not enough ballast to keep it in the right direction. The more ability a man is gifted with, the greater his power, and the more swift the *élan* of his mind, so much the more should his moral nature be thoroughly well trained, and firmly fixed in the immovable principles of Religion. What is the history of nearly all the heresiarchs? Is it that they went wrong through ignorance, or slowness in comprehending? Is it that they could not see their way on account of the slenderness of their gifts? We know well that it was nothing of the sort. They have been, for the most part, men of exceptional parts—men, naturally, of breadth and depth of mind—men whose very eagerness for knowledge led them on till they were unable to stop themselves, and were finally lost. There was plenty of propelling power in them, but they

wanted direction. Their very talents were the instruments of their destruction, and they fell away because, at length, they trusted to human ingenuity, human reason, and creature gifts. The vast influences of supernatural religion withdrew themselves from them; humility, which is the basis of all lasting stability, melted out of their minds; self-distrust no longer was an element in their mental constitution; love, Divine love, gave place to the creature; reverence, as it ever does, fled away from pride, and self-assertion, and carnality; and man was left a play to every gust of folly and of fancy, stranded on the bleak and iron shore of materialism and sensuality. Anyone who reads history must be aware that this is no fancy picture, but stern reality. Had the heresiarchs of old the four pillars of the monastic theology—love, reverence, adoration, and purity—firmly fixed within them, serving as the foundation for the superstructure of their speculations, they would have become, in all moral certainty, great lights and ornaments to the Church. The mere mention of these four gifts, in connection with misbelief, creates a jar in the mind, which is but the concussion that takes place in the moral order, when two mutually antagonistic elements are, for the moment, forced into the presence of each other.

Here it was that the Angelical had his great advantage. If his talents of reason and of intellect were of the rarest perfection; if he surpassed all in the natural power of his mind—he also surpassed

all in the depth to which his humility sunk; in the intenseness of his reverential temper; in his masterful power of Divine love; in the simplicity of his adoring spirit; in the touching and spotless purity of his heart and soul; in the depth, width, beauty, strength, and massiveness of the great pillars of the monastic life which upheld the groundwork of his entire man.

It was his keenness and readiness in these Commentaries on the Lombard, joined to his monastic stability of nature, that made him a centre immovable, round which less stable minds were glad to cluster and to rest. In the unsteady state of the Paris schools, as has been seen, such a calming element as this would be beyond all price. Not merely the moral effect of the man's own stability, but the intellectual effect of instructions proceeding from such a source, must have worked with a mighty influence on minds seriously seeking after truth, and after that peace and rest which flow from truth. It is difficult fully to realize the power that one man can sway, when his talents and acquirements spring from a saintly soil, and when the general tenor of all around is that of uncertainty, instability, and doubt. Brilliancy and versatility of mind, quick flashes, and sudden evidences of superior gifts, count for little, where more solid, lasting qualities are wanting; indeed, amongst the thoughtful, they are absolute causes of distrust: for rapid streams are shallow, and the bright and sparkling cascade speaks of barren

rocks, and stunted vegetation. If, in any man, brilliancy and solidity were ever united in perfection; if, in any man, the radiance of the one did not cast a doubt on the reality of the other, it was in the Angelical. In him, if in any one, the student may realize the perfection of his ideal; and whilst he marvels at the bright side of the Saint's character, he will never forget that the other side is to be wondered at still more—that side on which the grand broad virtues of Christianity, the simple, splendid gifts of God, conform man's nature to the image of Christ crucified. Yes! how bright, how strong, how deep, how marvellously gifted in heart and mind, was not the great Angelical!

CHAPTER XXI.

S. THOMAS MADE LICENTIATE.

According to the usual custom, S. Thomas would now become Licentiate, and perform the necessary acts which led to the Doctor's cap. But, an impediment, created by one of those University brawls, for which Paris had an unhappy celebrity, stood in the way of his promotion to that distinguished honour.

The facts of the case were these. During the Lent, either of 1250 or 1253—authorities are not in accord—a party of tumultuous University scholars came into collision with the night patrol. The students, no doubt, were noisy and violent, and the patrol was no less determined to perform the duty of its office. Most likely the students —as was often the case in their night carousals— were none the better for drink. Anyhow, they were very unceremoniously attacked, one was killed outright, and three others, after having been heavily mauled, were hurried off to jail.*

* "In der Fastenzeit 1253 waren bei einem nächtlichen Tumulte von der Scharwache vier Studenten aufgegriffen worden; da sie sich widersetzten, so wurde einer derselben getödtet die übrigen schwer verwundet, in Haft gesetzt. Die Lehrer der Universität forderten ihre Freigebung,

The authorities of the University, who were excessively jealous of their rights, were greatly ruffled; they demanded the instant release of the incarcerated youths, and insisted upon those brutal keepers of the peace, who had murdered one student, and misused the others, being visited with condign punishment. The civic authorities let the students free, but did not seem at all inclined to punish the patrol, which, according to their notions, had simply been carrying out its orders. But the University authorities thought otherwise, and resolved to abide by their opinion: they swore a solemn oath not to rest till justice had been done; and refused, for two whole months, to lecture in the schools. They considered it their bounden duty thus, publicly, to protest against a gross infringement of their rights; and against the insult offered to their body by the officials of the town. This stand, made by the professors, brought into flame a fire which had been long smouldering—and which burnt fiercely for forty years, between the Mendicant Orders, and the secular element of the

die auch sofort erfolgte; eine weitere Genugthuung jedoch, die überdiess verlangt wurde, war nicht zu erhalten. Demzufolge verpflichteten sich sämmtliche Lehrer durch einen gemeinsamen Eid, nicht abzulassen, bis sie die Bestrafung der Scharwache durchgesetzt hätten, und stellten durch ein paar Monate ihre Vorlesungen ein. Die Lehrer aus den Mendicantenorden nahmen von dem Vorfalle keine Notiz und setzten ihre Vorlesungen fort. Endlich wurde die verlangte Genugthuung gewährt zwei der unglücklichen Häscher wurden zum Tode verurtheilt, die anderen des Landes verwiesen. Nun traten die Lehrer zusammen, und setzten als Beschluss fest, dass in Zukunft Niemand in was immer für einer Facultät als Magister zugelassen werden dürfe, wenn er nicht früher geschworen haben würde, alle Statuten der Universität zu beobachten, insbesondere jenes, welches man nunmehr festsetzte: es sei hinfort jeder Lehrer verpflichtet bei ähnlichen Fällen, wie der eben vorgekommene, die Vorlesungen einzustellen." (Werner, *Vol. I., Drittes Capitel, p.* 117)

University.* The explanation of the case is simple. The object of the professors, in shutting up the schools, was, evidently, by force of pressure, to compel the town authorities to bring the patrol to justice. The more effectually the schools were closed, so much the greater probability of the pressure taking effect. Hence, they were excessively mortified to find that the Mendicants by no means took the same view as themselves. For the friars to go on teaching, when the seculars were silent, was to suffer the infliction of a double blow. The professors felt, first, that their protest would lose the greater part of its force; and, secondly, that the friars would be daily gaining in popularity, and drawing crowds of their own students under the influence of S. Francis and S. Dominic.†

* "Alcuni scolari di quell' Università furono nottetempo assaliti da uomini d'arme; eglino secondo il modo della loro possibilità vollero difendersi ma senza pro, anzi con danno; chè uno di essi in istante fu morto, e gli altri, feriti e rubati, strascinati in carcere. L'Università fortemente se ne richiamò; i prigioni fur liberi, ma gli offensori non puniti; di che i Dottori alzaron la voce chiedendo giustizia. Non essendo di questo loro desiderio incontanente soddisfatti fermarono pressochè tutti di rimanersi dalle lezioni, e per ben due mesi se ne rimasero, dai Dottori regolari in fuori. Da ciò i Dottori secolari, i quali già nuove cose andavano volgendo fra sè, trassero cagione di volere esclusi della Università i Professori regolari, cioè a dire quelli dell'Ordine di S. Domenico, e dell'Ordine di S. Francesco; e a tutto potere con accorgimenti e sottili trovati si brigavano di venire al loro desiderio." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso D'Aquino, seconda edizione, Cap. XVII.*, *p.* 66—67.)

† "The very lives of the Mendicants, when they were really good, was a power in the city. The following extract from a Sermon of the day shows this:—"Si m'ait Dieu, cil de Christians, cil de Prémonstéré cil de Saint Beneoit, cil de saint Augustin n'aront mie le pardon de paradis por noient. Certes moult á enuis l'achateriées autrestant comme il font; que sachiés, par bone foi, que dès le jors de la Sainte-Crois dusc'au jor de Pasques, ne mengeront il jamais que tant jor tantes fois, ne jamais ne mengeront de char, ne jamais ne gerront seur couce de plume, ne jamais ne parleront se par congié non, por parent ne por ami qui les voise visiter. Et si par aventure avenoit qu'il trespasse un seul point du commandement de lor rieulle, et avenist que il moreust sans ce qu'il n'en eust esté à sainte confession et à repentance et à peneance . . . *ge n'en donroie pas une pome poirie.*" *(Anonyme d'Amiens, MSS. de D. Grenier, Vol. CLVIII.*, De La Marche, *p.* 334.)

Whether the astute superiors of S. James's, and other thoughtful men, had any eye to this, of course, one cannot tell. But this much is certain, that while the secular professors were silently waiting for their pressure to take effect, the Dominicans and Franciscans—the sole mouthpieces of learning—were lecturing away in the various chairs of the University. They simply did what they had done some twenty years before, when, during the regency of Blanche, the secular doctors, irritated by a similar provocation, had abandoned Paris altogether, and had settled themselves down to teach at Angers, Rheims, and different towns of Europe.*

But the doctors of the University were not easily discouraged, and stood true to their first resolve. They finally obtained the redress they sought. The beadles had to expiate their rashness by punishment according to the customary law. Two of the patrol, who had been actively instrumental in killing the student, were condemned to death ; the others, who had laid violent hands upon the three, were banished from the kingdom.

The doctors, having thus far achieved their end, determined to draw up regulations for future

* "Les docteurs réguliers continuent cependant à ouvrir leurs écoles, et ne croient pas devoir adopter pour eux-mêmes une semblable mesure. En cela ils ne faisaient qu'imiter la conduite de leurs prédécesseurs, qui avaient également refusé d'entrer dans cette sorte de conspiration, lorsque, dans une occasion toute pareille, en 1229, sous la minorité du roi et la régence de sa mère, les docteurs abandonnèrent la capitale pour se retirer en diverses villes du royaume." (Bareille, *Chap. XVI., p.* 167—168.)

emergencies; and did their uttermost to bring the friars, whose stubbornness had nearly upset their plans, into agreement with their views. They called a meeting, at which they drew up an instrument, declaring that, for the future, no one could be admitted as master who had not sworn to observe all the laws of the University: and that law in particular which met the case in point. The doctors knew well what they were about. They made up their minds either to include the regulars in the oath, or to come to an open rupture. That no scruple should stand in the way of the Dominicans, this clause was inserted in the oath: "Provided there be nothing in these statutes forbidden by the rules of the Friars Preachers, of which I make profession; or contrary to honesty, or the salvation of souls, to human and Divine right, to the public good, or to the Holy Church of God."*

But the regulars had no idea of taking the law from the authorities, and wished to maintain liberty of action. They felt no inclination to interfere with

* "Alors les Docteurs firent un Statut portant, qu'à l'avenir aucun ne seroit reçu Maître en quelque Faculté que ce fût, qu'il n'eût juré d'observer tous les réglemens de l'Université, & en particulier le decret qu'on venoit de faire, pour ordonner la cessation des leçons dans des cas semblables à celui dont on vient de parler. Selon M. Dupin, afin que les Dominicains ne fissent aucune difficulté de prêter ce serment, on y ajouta ces paroles: *Pourvû qu'il n'y ait rien dans ces statutes de défendu par les régles des FF. Prêcheurs, dont je fais profession, ni de deshonnête, ou de contraire au salut des ames, au droit humain & divin, à l'utilité publique, ou à la sainte Eglise de Dieu.* Cependant les deux Docteurs de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique, & celui des FF. Mineurs, qui professoient actuellement, n'ayant pas cru pouvoir s'engager, par serment à ce que l'on exigeoit d'eux, l'Université fit un autre decret, pour les déclarer exclus de son Corps, & privés de leurs Chaires." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p.* 118.)

the views of the secular doctors, and expected the same liberty to be granted to themselves. In a word, they refused to take the oath: some say because they did not wish to compromise themselves; others, because they could not, being religious, take any oath at all.*

This brought things to a climax. Since they would not fall in with the oath, the University issued a decree, declaring the friars excluded from its body, and deprived of their chairs.†

The regulars appealed, as is natural for regulars to do, to Rome; and did not omit to place their case before the brother of S. Louis, who governed France in the absence of the sovereign. But the viceroy could effect nothing. Pope Innocent sided with the friars, and commissioned the Bishop of Evreux to re-establish them in their chairs, and to visit with ecclesiastical censures any who should presume to oppose such a design. To make things all the more secure, the Holy Father addressed a Brief to Master Luke, Canon of Paris, to the same end; and the Canon, without waiting the issue of a counter appeal to the Holy See,

* But S. Thomas does not seem to go so far, he says: "Non enim indiget dictum hominis confirmatione, nisi quia de eo dubitatur. Hoc autem derogat dignitati personæ ut dubitetur de veritate eorum quæ dicit; et ideo *personis magnæ dignitatis non convenit jurare.* Propter quod dicitur, 2 Quæst. V. Cap.—*Si quis presbyter*, quod *sacerdotes ex levi causa jurare non debent;* tamen pro aliqua necessitate vel magna utilitate licitum est eis jurare, et præcipue pro spiritualibus negotiis; pro quibus etiam juramenta competit præstare in solemnibus diebus, quibus est Spiritualibus rebus vacandum. Non autem tunc sunt juramenta præstanda pro rebus temporalibus, nisi forte ex magna necessitate." (*Tom. III., Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. LXXXIX., Art. X., p.* 334.)

† Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p.* 118. Bareille, *Chap. XVI., p.* 168. Gibelli, *Cap. XVII., p.* 67. Werner, *Cap. III., p.* 117.

carried out, without delay, the instructions he had received.*

Meanwhile, the University was not idle; it published its decree of exclusion, and addressed a long letter to the French bishops, describing the state of affairs at Paris, and begging for their protection. At this juncture, things were complicated by the death of Innocent IV., at Naples. However, the Cardinals assembled, without delay, for the election of a successor; notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country, in consequence of the victories of Manfred, son of Frederick II. The new Pope took the name of Alexander IV., and, naturally, was desirous to inaugurate his reign by an act of clemency and justice.† Feeling all the charity of a common father towards the contending parties at Paris, and being conscious that, as long as

* "Ceux-ci porterent leurs plaintes au Pape Innocent IV. & au Comte de Poitiers, Alphonse frere de Saint Louis, qui gouvernoit le Royaume, pendant l'absence du Roi. Ce Prince n'ayant pû porter les parties à un accommodement, le Pape donna commission à l'Evêque d'Evreux, de rétablir les Docteurs Réguliers, avec pouvoir de se servir des censures Ecclesiastiques, contre tous ceux qui feroient opposition à leur rétablissement. Sa Sainteté adressa un autre Bref pour le même sujet, & avec le même pouvoir, à Maître Luc Chanoine de Paris, lequel nonobstant l'appel interjetté au Saint Siége, exécuta ponctuellement les ordres du Pape en faveur des Réguliers. L'Université fit publier en même tems son Decret de séparation, & adressa une longue lettre à tous les Evêques du Royaume, pour les mettre au fait de ce qui se passoit à Paris, & pour réclamer leur protection. Cette lettre est de l'année 1254." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p.* 119.)

† "Sur ces entrefaites, c'est-à-dire dans l'année 1254. Innocent meurt dans la ville de Naples, emportant au tombeau la réputation d'un pontife aussi grand que pieux, léguant à l'Eglise une liberté désormais consolidée par son courage, au monde, l'exemple d'une justice que la puissance royale elle-même ne fit jamais varier. Elu presque immédiatement par les cardinaux réunis à Naples, sous la menace incessante des victoires de Mainfroi, fils et successeur de Frédéric II., Alexandre IV. signala le commencement de son pontificat par une bulle où il s'efforce de ramener la paix dans l'université de Paris, en faisant cesser le scandale de toutes ces querelles." (Bareille, *quatrième edition, Chap. XVI., p.* 169.)

learned ecclesiastics spent their energies in mutual recriminations, the cause of charity and science could not possibly be served, he published a Bull, by which he hoped to bring about a reconciliation. This Bull begins with the words : " As the Tree of Life," and speaks, in glowing terms, of the services rendered by the University of Paris to the Catholic world. He compares it to the Tree of Life, planted in the midst of a terrestrial paradise ; to a lamp of brightness in the House of the Lord ; and declares that from it, as from a source, flow the waters of wisdom over the face of the sterile earth.* Having thus paved the way, he enters into business, and says that, having heard the Procurators of both sides, he judges it expedient to modify the statutes of the University according to a Constitution of Gregory IX. He then prescribes in what way the Chancellor is to give licenses, and leaves him to determine, both with regard to regulars, as well as seculars, the number that it may be advisable to admit. Regarding the main point, he makes use of the usual *mezzo termine :* for, whilst he con-

* " Quasi lignum vitæ in Paradiso Dei et quasi lucerna fulgoris in domo Domini est in sancta ecclesia Parisiensis studii disciplina. Hæc quippe velut fœcunda eruditionis parens ad irrigandum sterilem orbis faciem fluvios de fontibus sapientiæ salutaris cum impetu foras mittens, ubique terrarum Dei lætificat civitatem et in refrigerium animarum flagrantium siti justitiæ, aquas doctrinæ dividit publice in plateis. Ibi nimirum ordinatus est per providentiam conditoris ad opus ad custodiam doctorum ordo præcipuus, ut ad vitæ fructum rationabilis creaturæ deducat affectum, ne in gustum mortis vetita veteris prævaricationis illecebra seducatur. Ibi humanum genus originalis ignorantiæ cæcitate deforme per cognitionem veri luminis, quam scientia pietatis assequitur, reddita visionis specie reformatur. Ibi præcipue dat Dominus Sponsæ suæ os et Sapientiam ac linguam mysticis eloquiis eruditam, cui resistere nequit omnis adversitas improborum. Ut igitur consortii vestri communicabile ac commune omnibus bonum omnis pacis custodia servare curemus . . . " (*Bullarium, Ord. FF. Prædc., Tom. I., p.* 276, *Romæ*, 1729.)

firms the decree of the doctors, binding all to stop teaching in case of insult—if satisfaction be not afforded; he re-establishes the Dominican and Franciscan professors; revokes all decrees issued against them; commands the secular doctors to receive them, and to live with them in peace.* To ensure the operation of this Bull, the Holy Father commissioned the Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre to see it put in execution; and, above all, to restore to their professorial chairs the two Dominican doctors, Bonus-homo and Elias Brunetus.

It would naturally be imagined that so explicit a pronouncement as that of Pope Alexander would have removed all possibility of mistaking his meaning; but men who have started on a wrong course, especially when it is a course mixed up with pride, and pushed forward by passion, often cannot bring themselves to see the clearest orders of the Holy See, when they militate against their own idea. The celebrated William of S. Amour, who, with his followers, was the originator of this attack upon the Mendicants, made up his conscience that his party, in spite of the Papal order, could still oppose the re-establishment of the friars

* "Er giebt Weisungen, nach welchen der Kanzler in Zukunft die Licenzen ertheilen soll, und gestattet ihm, sie an so Viele, als derselbe für erspriesslich hält, zu verwilligen, mögen die Candidaten des Lehramtes aus dem Säcular-oder Regularstande sein; er bestätiget den Beschluss der Universität, in Fällen ähnlicher Art, wie der kürzlich vorgekommene, durch Einstellung der Vorlesungen sich Genugthuung zu erzwingen; die Doctoren der beiden Mendicantenorden werden in ihre Rechte wieder eingesetzt und Alles für ungültig erklärt, was gegen sie unternommen worden oder in dieser Angelegenheit noch unternommen werden könnte; die weltlichen Lehrer werden beauftragt, sich mit ihnen in christlichem Frieden zu vertragen." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 119.)

in their academic rights.* The sophism he and his followers used was this: they withdrew for a time from the colleges in which they had been accustomed to teach, and then declared that since they had left the University, the Bull of Pope Alexander did not apply to them. The two Bishops had a mind to visit them with censures; but they made an appèal to the Holy See, which, it must be confessed, bore very much the appearance of a threat: they protested that they would either transfer their schools elsewhere, or altogether retire from the responsibilities of teaching, to the liberty and repose afforded by their own country, rather than acquiesce in a measure which met their wishes in no way whatsoever. They begged the Holy Father to remove the excommunication which was upon them, and to restore them to their former position. But Pope Alexander would not hearken to them. He was determined to have the "*Quasi lignum*" put in force, and to that end, issued orders more stringent than those he had given before.

At this juncture, King Louis returned, after six years' absence, from his first expedition against the

* "Dagegen excipirte nun Wilhelm von St. Amour mit mehreren Anderen, eben jene Partei, die schon bei Innocenz den Dominicanern die zuvor erwähnte Rüge zuwege gebracht hatte. Sie zogen sich auf einige Zeit von den Hörsälen der Universität zurück und antworteten der Aufforderung, den Weisungen des Papstes sich zu fügen, die Bulle gehe sie nichts an, da sie sich nicht mehr zum Universitätskörper rechneten. Die beiden Bischöfe wollten mit Censuren gegen sie vorgehen; sie appellirten aber an den Papst und erklärten, dass sie lieber in ihr Vaterland zurückkehren als einem für sie in keiner Weise befriedigenden Austrage der Sache sich fügen wollten; der Papst möge die Excommunication zurücknehmen und sie in ihre vorigen Rechte wieder einsetzen. Der Papst hörte auf diese Bitten nicht, sondern erliess verschärfte Weisungen." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 119.)

infidel.* The troubles of the University were quickly brought before him. It pained him excessively to hear of the scandal of priests and religious carrying on uncharitable war. He especially felt it in this instance, since his two favourite Orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, were compromised in the matter. Naturally, he at once set about trying to bring all parties to an accommodation. He stopped the execution of the Papal Briefs. He hoped, without appealing to force, or to his kingly authority, by means of the joint remonstrances of the bishops, to prevail upon the litigating parties to settle their quarrels by arbitration—putting the whole case into the hands of the Archbishops of Bourges, Rheims, Sens, and Rouen.† These four prelates declared themselves willing to carry out the wishes of so holy a prince—of one who, not only had ever shown great esteem for the Episcopate, but had so tender an affection for the Orders of S. Dominic and S. Francis, that he is said to have declared that if he were able to divide himself in two, he would give one half to S. Dominic, and the

* "Saint Louis heureusement de retour de la Palestine ; pour étouffer ces contestations, & rétablir la paix dans l'Université, arrêta d'abord l'exécution des derniers Brefs ; & quoiqu'il pût commander avec autorité, il aima mieux disent les Historiens, joindre ses remontrances, á celles des Evêques assemblés à Paris, pour engager les uns & les autres, à s'en rapporter au jugement des Archevêques de Bourges, de Reims, de Sens, et de Roüen. Ces quatre Prélats se prêterent avec joie aux intentions pacifiques d'un si saint Monarque, qui honoroit de ses bontés un des plus illustres Corps de son Royaume ; & qui en même tems aimoit si particulièrement les Religieux de saint Dominique." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p.* 120.)

† "Le saint roi nomma comme arbitres les archevêques de Bourges, de Reims, de Sens et de Rouen." (Bareille, *Chap. XVI., p.* 171.)

other to S. Francis.* The archbishops, in due course, assembled, and, having heard each of the opposing parties, and having called in the assistance of other distinguished ecclesiastics, brought things, as they imagined, to an amicable arrangement. The conditions which they thought fair were as follows: The Dominicans were to be permitted, by the secular doctors, to possess, *in perpetuum*, their two chairs of theology, but upon three conditions—first, that they should give up the Bulls, which they had obtained from Rome; secondly, that they should not procure any others which were hurtful to the interests of the University; and thirdly, that they should use all their influence with the Pope, to induce him to recall all the edicts which had been issued in their favour by Innocent IV., and by himself, since the beginning of the disturbances.† To these conditions, both the seculars and the regulars agreed. And it is alleged that the Dominicans, in the fulness of their gratitude for the benefits which

* "Ludwig d. Hl. wünschte, dass diese Versammlung [*Paris synod*] auch über den Streit zwichen der Pariser Universität und den Mendicanten, deren Zulassung zum Lehramt betreffend, entscheide; aber sie wies die Sache von sich und es wurde dafür eine Commission von vier Erzbischöfen von Sens, Rheims, Bourges und Rouen bestellt." (Hefele, *B. VI.*, § 673, *p.* 45.)

† "Les Archevêques nommés ayant donc entendu les parties, & conféré sur cela avec plusieurs autres Prélats, ils prononcerent enfin le premier de Mars 1256. & firent convenir les Intéressés d'un accommodement, selon lequel les Docteurs Séculiers consentoient que les Dominicains possédassent à perpétuité les deux Chaires de Théologie, à certaines conditions, dont l'une étoit, qu'ils renonceroient aux Bulles qu'ils avoient obtenues, & qu'ils n'en solliciteroient point d'autres, qui pussent être contraires aux intérêts de l'Université; qu'ils s'employeroient au contraire, pour obtenir du saint Siége, la révocation de tout ce que les deux Papes, Innocent IV. & Alexandre IV. avoient déja prononcé en leur faveur, depuis le commencement de ces démêlés." (Touron, *Lib. III., Chap. VI.*, *p.* 120.)

the University had lavished upon them in the past, did all they could to induce the Holy See to recall the instruments it had published in their favour.*

Whether they knew the character of Alexander IV. sufficiently to read what course he would pursue, it is impossible to know for certain. It is, no doubt, a far easier thing to give way, if one's interests are attacked, when it is pretty certain that a stronger power will be ready to support them, than to give way when there is no prospect of any help at all. The Dominicans could afford to act a graceful part, as long as Alexander was in reserve. Their interests, by such a policy, far from being put in danger, would become infinitely safer than before; and it is hardly imaginable that men, so intimately connected with the Court of Rome, would not have made a pretty shrewd guess, that Pope Alexander would hardly consider himself respectfully treated, when his own business was taken, unasked, out of his hands; his rescripts abolished; and petitions made to him to reverse a method of procedure which, with full deliberation, and in a most formal manner, he had thought it his duty, as father of the faithful, to adopt.

Whatever shrewdness the friars may have possessed, the Holy Father took that course of action which, under the circumstances, alone was open to him.† He issued a new Bull (June 17,

* Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. III., p.* 121.

† Speaking of those prelates appointed by King Louis to bring the Regulars and the Seculars to a mutual understanding. Bareille says:—"Le jugement de ces prélats, dont les dispositions ménageaient également les intérêts des deux partis, semblait devoir rétablir entre eux la paix et la

1256), in which he freely spoke his mind. He declared that the whole matter of the accommodation had been carried through without his having been consulted, and in the teeth of his express decrees. And he declared William of Saint Amour, Odo of Douay, Nicholas of Bar, and Christian, Canon of Beauvais—whom he looked upon as the originators of this disorder—by name, deprived of all their grades and benefices; and he forbade them to teach, and inhibited any one from taking lessons from them. Moreover, he ordered them to be driven out of the kingdom, and instructed the Bishop of Paris to confer their benefices on other subjects; and threatened their adherents with a like penalty, if, within fifteen days of its publication, the Bull were not obeyed.* At the end of the same month, the Holy See issued two other decrees, confirming the action that had already been taken.

These measures of Rome may look to some as bordering on severity; but, in reality, they were acts

concorde; mais il blessait trop directement les droits du saint-siége et les décisions qu'il avait rendues à ce sujet. Le pape crut enfin devoir sévir contre les principaux auteurs de la rébellion, par une nouvelle bulle du 18 juin 1256; Guillaume de Saint-Amour, leur véritable chef, Odon de Douai, Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube, et Chrétien de Beauvais, y étaient nommément privés de leurs bénéfices, de leurs dignités et de leurs chaires. Ils demeurèrent ainsi frappés de ce silence qu'ils avaient suspendu sur la tête du public comme une orgueilleuse menace, auquel ils avaient voulu réduire, en effet, les docteurs réguliers." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas D'Aquin, Chap. XVI., p.* 171.)

* "Il demanda qu'ils fussent chassés du Royaume; enjoignit à l'Evêque de Paris, de donner leurs bénéfices; & déclara qu'il puniroit les autres de même peine, s'ils n'obéissoient quinze jours après la publication de ses Bulles. Ces mêmes ordres furent confirmés par deux autres Decrets, qui émanerent de sa Sainteté sur la fin du même mois. On vit donc disparoître encore une fois les douces espérances de la paix, qu'on avoit commencé de goûter." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p.* 121.)

of the greatest and wisest mercy. It was an assertion of the first principle of order, and a blow at the principle of anarchy King Louis, in his charity and haste, overstepped the bounds of his authority ; and the bishops who fulfilled his behest, trenched upon the prerogatives, and interfered with the right, of the supreme power. Without a bold, unflinching assertion of his position, Pope Alexander might have brought such difficulties upon the government of the Church, as would have hampered its free action, and so have injured the noblest instrument of justice and humanity on earth.*

Meanwhile, the regulars continued their public teachings in Scripture and Theology. Since the beginning of the year 1256, S. Thomas had been lecturing as Licentiate, and his great reputation drew to his schools the most promising intelligences of the day.† The way in which he was intro-

* The organization of the Church—her Divine polity being constructed by Divine wisdom—is the only system in the world which has been saved from the jars and contentions of restless and clever minds. Men may try and improve upon the systems of secular government ; they may one day prefer one form, another day, another ; and may, and will, continue thus vacillating to the end ; for man is not more than man, he is, that is to say, a frail, changeable creature ; and his creations bear upon them the stamp of his own infirmity. But one organism he must leave alone ; one power he must look up to and not meddle with ; and that one power—the one stable centre amongst men—is the universal Church of God, established by Christ, and filled with His Holy Spirit.

† "Cependant les Docteurs Réguliers continuoient toujours les leçons publiques ; & la réputation de saint Thomas augmentoit tous les jours, avec le nombre des Ecoliers, qui profitoient de ses instructions. Déja depuis le commencement de cette année 1256, il enseignoit comme Licentié : ce qui paroît par le Bref, que le Pape venoit d'adresser au Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris, pour lui marquer sa satisfaction, de ce qu'il avoit prévenu ses lettres Apostoliques, & rempli ses desirs, en accordant la Licence à cet excellent Religieux, si recommandable par son illustre naissance, par l'innocence de sa vie, & par le trésor de science, & de doctrine, que le Seigneur avoit mis en lui." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p.* 122.)

duced to his new office, speaks for the high esteem in which he was held, both at Paris and at Rome—not only by the Chancellor, but by the Pope. Without waiting for the Papal Rescript, the Chancellor appointed him to lecture in the schools; upon which, the Holy Father addresses a letter to that dignitary, expressing his satisfaction that he has anticipated the Apostolic wishes by bestowing the Licentiate upon "Brother Thomas of Aquino, of the Order of Preachers, a man eminent for his birth, and for his virtues, and for the treasure of science with which God has enriched him."* The Saint took no notice of the contests raging around him. Not that he was callous to what was going on; not that he did not pray, and inflict penance upon himself, to the end that all might co-operate to the advantage of religion; but he never entered into strife, without being forced to it by obedience and necessity. His only reply to William of S. Amour, and his associates, and to the violent onslaughts that were made upon the Order, and upon himself, was that of modest silence and humility. He lived in a region far more serene than that of ecclesiastical jealousies; and treated with disregard

* "Delectabile nobis est auditu percipere, quod te in his promptum reddis, et vigilem, quæ pietatem continent, vel sapiunt honestatem, prout patenter agnoscitur, quod fratri Thomæ de Aquino, Ordinis Prædicatorum, viro utique nobilitate generis, ac morum honestate conspicuo, ac thesaurum literalis scientiæ per Dei gratiam assecuto, dedisti licentiam in facultate Theologica docendi, priusquam illuc nostræ literæ pervenirent, quas tibi super hoc specialiter mittebamus. Quia vero condecens est, ut hujusmodi negotium, a te laudabiliter inchoatum, festinum habeat exitum, et felicem, devotionem tuam attente rogandam duximus, et monendam, per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatenus eumdem fratrem Thomam in prædicta facultate cito facias regiminis habere principium." (Vide *Bullarium Ord. FF. Prædic., Tom. I., p.* 298.)

the bitter and perseverant assaults made upon his character. As long as he was permitted to occupy his professorial chair, to preach, and to use his pen, he suffered little from the most vehement denunciations of passion and unreason.*

In fact, whilst others were wasting their energies in mutual recriminations, he was enjoying the sweetest and deepest of human gifts, the friendship of one, if not as able, at least as full of love as himself. Born at the foot of the beautiful mountains of Tuscany and Calabria, S. Bonaventure, like S. Thomas, was an Italian saint.† They were both about the same age—Bonaventure not being more than a twelvemonth older than his companion—and they both had dedicated their lives to God in the same year; the one joining the chivalrous S. Dominic, the other, that flame of love, S. Francis of Assisi. Both, at this period, were engaged in a similar pursuit:—S. Thomas lecturing under a Dominican

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* "Nel tempo della controversia, sebbene il nostro Santo fosse fatto segno agli strali della più sottile malizia, pure tenne sempre que' modi mansueti e soavissimi ch'erano da lui. Guglielmo da Sant'Amore dottore di Teologia nell'Università di Parigi, uomo di arditissimo e perverso ingegno, levossegli contra e trascorse ad eccessi; ed egli fu tutto pazienza e lenità." (Gibelli, *Cap. XVII., p.* 57.)

† "San Bonaventura nacque in Bagnarea nell' anno 1221; entrò nell'Ordine di S. Francesco nel 1243; ebbe a Maestro Alessandro di Ales; fu professore dell' Università di Parigi, e Generale dell' Ordine suo. I Cardinali si rimisero in lui, quanto all'eleggere un successore a Clemente IV.; e' propose Tibaldo arcidiacono di Liegi, il quale fu poi Gregorio X. S. Bonaventura fu da questo Pontefice creato Cardinale e Vescovo d'Alba; intervenne al secondo Concilio generale di Lione, e morì nel 1274. Fu chiarissimo di scienza e santità; Alessandro di Ales era usato di dire: *in fratre Bonaventura Adam peccasse non videtur;* da Lutero era chiamato *praestantissimus vir.* Scrisse molte opere, che sono Comenti sopra la Sacra Scrittura, e sopra il Maestro delle Sentenze, Sermoni, la Vita di S. Francesco, e preziose operette pertinenti a teologia morale e mistica. *V. San. Bonav. Opera, Maguntiae*—Molti filosofi moderni si son fatti belli di ciò ch'e' dice nella preziosa operetta: *Itinerarium mentis in Deum.*" (Gibelli, *Cap. XVII., p.* 69—70.)

professor, and S. Bonaventure, under the Franciscan, John of Rochelle. Both men exhibited, in a striking manner, the fundamental quality of the Order to which they respectively belonged. They were eminently representative men. In them, dogma, in its purest, and mysticism, in its best, met, and embraced, with something like that transport which draws natures, as nearly as possible, into one. Whilst both were founded on the same Catholic principles; whilst both had the same aim —earnest, utter love of the One Supreme—each was different from the other, and each found in the other that which was wanting in himself; and in that sweet discovery, experienced the full harmony of his entire being.* Bonaventure loved to look into the placid, earnest soul of Thomas, as into a deep glassy sea, with its marvellous transparency, and awful stillness; whilst Thomas was roused and brightened by the ardent, outpouring nature of his friend. S. Thomas was Angelical, S. Bonaventure was Seraphic—the one, the deep thinker; the other,

* Dante fully appreciated the relations of S. Thomas with S. Bonaventure.—"Entre ces deux hommes illustres," says Ozanam, "se partageaient toutes les sympathies du philosophe poëte. Ils avaient assez réçu pour le laisser témoin du deuil qui accompagna leur mort. Il rencontrait dans le monde savant leur mémoire toute récente et toute-puissante, leurs enseignements et leurs vertus confondus encore en un même et vivant souvenir, et, par conséquent le respect qu'ils inspiraient encore plein d'amour. Aussi traitait-il quelquefois avec eux comme avec de nobles mais bienveillants amis, citant à l'appui de ses opinions, avec une familiarité sublime, *le bon frère* Thomas . . . il plaçait dans une des plus belles sphères de son Paradis les deux anges de l'école; il les représentait dominant dans une souveraineté fraternelle la multitude bienheureuse des docteurs de l'Église." (Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au XIII.e Siecle (Ed. 2), Partie III., Chap. III., p.* 288—289.)

the tender poet.* Thomas was famous in the schools for the keenness of his thought, and for his depth and clearness; Bonaventure, for his eloquence and vivacity in exposition. Thomas, abandoning a high position, and bright prospects, hid himself in solitude, and sought an humble life; Bonaventure was born among the poor, and was elevated to the highest dignities of the Church. Thomas was, essentially, a child of contemplation; Bonaventure, of activity. Two characteristic and beautiful traits are related of these men: S. Thomas was in the habit of visiting, from time to time, his friend Bonaventure, and of discussing with him various religious questions of the day. On one occasion, as he entered Bonaventure's cell, with his *socius*, he perceived the Saint, deeply engrossed, writing at his table. S. Thomas knew at once that he was composing the life of S. Francis, so, turning to those present, he said to them: "Come away; let us not disturb a Saint, writing the life of a Saint."† On another

* Werner's appreciation of the Saints is worth recalling here:—"Thomas und Bonaventura waren jeder in ihrer Weise treue Repräsentanten des Geistes, welcher die Gründer der beiden Orden beseelt hatte; in ihrem heiligen Freundschaftsbunde umarmten sich die Genien der beiden unsterblichen Ordensstifter. In dem gemeinsamen Streben nach dem Einen Höchsten sich findend und verstehend, von gleicher Liebe zur Wissenschaft, von gleicher Sehnsucht nach den ewigen Dingen des Himmels beseelt, unterschieden sich dennoch beide von einander in solcher Art, dass jeder in dem anderen etwas fand, was ihn als ergänzender Gegensatz seines eigenen Wesens anzog und fesselte. In Thomas lebte der gedankentiefe Ernst der strengen methodischen Wissenschaft, in Bonaventura loderten die rasch entzündeten Flammen eines sinnigen, beweglichen Geistes, welcher durch seine Lebhaftigkeit anzog, während Thomas stille Achtung erweckte." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p.* 121—122.)

† "Andò un altra volta Tomaso per visitar S. Bonaventura, e gli fu detto, ch'egli era attualmente occupato in iscrivere la vita del suo Padre S. Francesco. Onde Tomaso non volendolo disturbare, disse a' padri del Convento, che l'accompagnavano: *Sinamus Sanctum pro Sancto laborare.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p.* 31.)

occasion, S. Thomas called upon S. Bonaventure, and, during conversation, said to him: "Show me, my brother, the books out of which you get those sublime thoughts in your writings." "There is the book,"* replied S. Bonaventure, pointing to a figure of the Crucified, which hung before him. Then S. Bonaventure, on returning the visit of S. Thomas, perceived what none of his companions were privileged to see—viz., an angel actively assisting the Angelical in the composition of his treatise on the Blessed Sacrament. Rejoiced at beholding so beautiful and touching a picture, in order to attract his attention, S. Bonaventure said to the great Dominican: "Are you writing, my brother Thomas?" "Yes," replied the Angelical, "and I am writing about the Most Holy Body of Christ;" and from this answer, Bonaventure got to know that S. Thomas, besides being gifted with great natural talents, was illuminated also by a supernatural light.†

* "Entrando un giorno nella cella di S. Bonaventura, pregollo a mostrargli que' libri, sopra de' quali studiava. Mostrogliene alcuni pochi, c'haveva alle mani, ma non appagato Tomaso, gli fe nuova instanza di poter leggere altri più segreti e rari, ond'ei ricoglieva sì esquisiti concetti e sì maravigliose sentenze. Allhora l'humil' e divoto Dottore additandogli un Crocifisso in pittura, che gli stava dirimpetto, con ogni candore soggiunse: Habbiate per certo, Padre, ch'io studiando su questo libro, traggo tutto quello, che leggo, predico, o scrivo, e che maggior lume riceve l'anima mia a piè di questo Crocifisso, e in udire e servire alle Messe, ch'in tutti gli altri esercitij letterali." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p.* 30.)

† "Un altra fiata occorse, che'l medesimo Santo restituendo la visita a Tomaso, mentreche questi presentialmente scriveva sopra il Santissimo Sagramento dell'Altare, vide un Angelo tuttoche a gli altri invisibile, che con la sua presenza il favoriva, e con l'opera in questo altissimo suo componimento l'aitava. Di sì lieto spettacolo maravigliandosi S. Bonaventura, per via d'interrogatione gli disse: Fra Tomaso mio scrivete voi? A cui egli soggiunse: Sì, e scrivo del Corpo santissimo di Christo." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p.* 31.)

Just as both Saints received their doctor's diploma on the same day, so both, after twenty years' labour for the Church, died in the same year; each giving his last energies in furtherance of that Council over which Bonaventure presided in the flesh, and over which, no doubt, S. Thomas presided in the spirit. If S. Thomas was called Angelical—in the words of Alexander of Hales: "Adam does not seem to have sinned in Bonaventure." Doubtless, Staudenmaier had such men as these before his mind, when he said that: "The acute and deep scholastics were, at the same time, high moral characters, pure, and in harmony with nature—exhibiting the wonderful phenomena of an interior Christian life."*

Nor was S. Thomas idle with his pen during the contests which were being waged by the University authorities. The Exposition of the Symbol of the Apostles, the Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelical Salutation; one Opusculum, on the Ten Commandments, and the Law of Love; and another, on the Articles of Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church, fall within this period. Then there is a Commentary on Isaias and Jeremias, on the work of Boethius, "*De Hebdomadibus*," and on the Pseudo-Dionysian work, "*De Divinis*

* "S. Thomas d'Aquin et S. Bonaventure, qu'il faut rappeler ici comme deux gloires italiennes. Moralistes profonds, ils furent encore poétiquement inspirés, l'un quand il composa les hymnes qui, devaient un jour désespérer Santeuil; l'autre, lorsqu'il écrivit le cantique traduit par Corneille." (Ozanam's *Dante, Partie I., Chap. III., p.* 99—100.)

Nominibus."* These five theological tractates, in reality, form a logical unity, which is expressed by the author himself, when, in his tract on the Precepts of Charity, he affirms that three things are necessary for man's salvation : a knowledge of what has to be believed, to be desired, and to be done. The first is taught in the symbol ; the second, in the Lord's Prayer ; the third, in the Law —that is to say, in the Commandments, and in the two precepts of charity.

There are some few points which it will be interesting to dwell upon, and some few expressions of the Saint full of depth and brilliancy, which will require no apology for their introduction. As a general critique upon these instructive portions of his writings, it may be said that they touch upon fundamental Catholic thought, and that the individuality of the writer is carefully kept out of sight. All flows from the Gospel, from the Fathers, and from the traditionary teaching of the Church, and there is no appearance of any other effort except that of placing orthodox doctrine upon a firm basis, and making its truth and utility apparent, by lucidity of style, logical division, and apt illustration. To those who have the cure of

* According to the Parma edition, they stand thus :—" Expositio super Symbolum Apostolorum (Opusc. VII., Vol. XVI., p. 133—151). Expositio orationis Dominicæ (Opusc. V., p. 123—132). Salutationis Angelicæ Expositio (Opusc. VI., p. 133—134). De duobus præceptis charitatis et decem legis præceptis (Opusc. III., p. 97—114). In Articulos Fidei et sacramenta ecclesiæ expositio (Opusc. IV., p. 115—122). Expositio in Isaiam et Jeremiam (Vol. XIV. p. 427—667). Commentaria in Libros sancti Dionysii de Divinis Nominibus (Vol. XV., p. 259—405). Expositio in librium Boëtii de Hebdomadibus (Vol. XVII., p. 339—348).

souls : who have, Sunday after Sunday, to instruct half-educated people, and sometimes, the learned too, in the first principles of Catholicity, these tractates would be of value. It is a misfortune that the teaching of the Angelical, on these matters, should have been so much neglected. Perhaps it may be partially accounted for, by a growing tendency to preach long, elaborate, and "fine" sermons, instead of breaking the bread of simple, homely, and familiar instruction to the people.

In the exposition of the first article of the Creed, the Saint draws from his store-house some telling and deep thoughts. The first thing necessary for a Christian, he says, is faith. Faith produces four good effects. First, by faith the soul is joined to God. S. Augustine, on these words of S. Paul : "Whatever is not of faith is sin," says : "where there is no recognition of the Eternal and Immutable Truth, virtue is counterfeit even in the best men." The second effect of faith is, the beginning of eternal life in us ; for eternal life is nothing else than to know God : "This is eternal life to know Thee, the only true God." *

* "Primum quod est necessarium Christiano, est fides, sine qua nullus dicitur fidelis christianus. Fides autem facit quatuor bona. Primum est quod per fidem anima conjungitur Deo : nam per fidem anima christiana facit quasi quoddam matrimonium cum Deo : Oseæ., II., 20. : 'Sponsabo te mihi in fide.' Et inde est quod quando homo baptizatur, primo confitetur fidem, cum dicitur ei, 'credis in Deum?' quia baptismus est primum sacramentum fidei. Et ideo sciendum est, quod nullus est acceptus Deo sine fide : Hebr., XI., 6 : 'Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo.' Et ideo dicit Augustinus super illud, Rom., XIV., 23 : 'Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est.' 'Ubi non est æternæ et incommutabilis veritatis agnitio, falsa est virtus etiam in optimis moribus.' Secundo quia per fidem inchoatur in nobis vita æterna : nam vita æterna nihil aliud est quam cognoscere Deum : unde dicit Dominus, Joan., XVII., 3 : 'Hæc est vita æterna, ut

The third effect is, that faith directs us in our present life. No philosopher, with all his efforts, could discover, before the coming of Christ, as much about God, and the conditions of Salvation, as a poor old woman knows, by means of faith, now that our Lord has come. Hence, Isaias: "The earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord."* The fourth effect, is, that by faith we overcome temptations: "The Saints through faith conquered kingdoms."† And this is evident, because all temptations proceed from the devil, the world, or the flesh; and faith offers arguments which are more powerful than any these can bring forward.‡

Some people affirm that it is foolish to believe

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cognoscant te solum verum Deum.' Hæc autem cognitio Dei incipit hic per fidem, sed perficitur in vita futura in qua cognoscemus eum sicuti est: et ideo dicitur Heb., II., 1. 'Fides est substantia sperandarum rerum.' Nullus ergo potest pervenire ad beatitudinem, quæ est vera cognitio Dei, nisi primo cognoscat per fidem, Joan., XX., 29. 'Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt.'" *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 135.)

* *Isai., XI.*, 9. † *Heb., XI.*, 33.

‡ "Tertio quia fides dirigit vitam præsentem: nam de hoc quod homo bene vivat, oportet quod sciat necessaria ad bene vivendum. Ipsa enim docet quod est unus Deus, qui est remunerator bonorum et punitor malorum: et quod est alia vita, et hujusmodi: quibus satis allicimur ad bonum, et vitamus malum. Habac., II., 4: 'Justus meus ex fide vivit.' Et hoc patet, quia nullus philosophorum ante adventum Christi cum toto conatu suo potuit tantum scire de Deo et de necessariis ad vitam æternam, quantum post adventum Christi scit una vetula per fidem: et ideo dicitur Isa., XI., 9: 'Repleta est terra scientia Domini.' Quarto, quia fides est qua vincimus tentationes: Heb., XI., 33: 'Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna.' Et hoc patet, quia omnis tentatio vel est a diabolo, vel a mundo, vel a carne. Diabolus enim tentat ut non obedias Deo nec subjiciaris ei. Et hoc per fidem removetur: nam per fidem cognoscimus quid ipse est Dominus omnium, et ideo sibi est obediendum. 1 Pet., V., 8: 'Adversarius vester diabolus circuit quærens quem devoret: cui resistite fortes in fide.' Mundus autem tentat vel alliciendo prosperis, vel terrendo adversis. Sed hæc vincimus per fidem. . . . Caro vero tentat inducendo nos ad delectationes vitæ præsentis momentaneas. Sed fides ostendit nobis quod per has, si eis indebite adhæremus, æternas delectationes amittimus. Ephes., IV., 16. 'In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei.' Sic ergo patet quod multum est utile habere fidem." *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 135.)

what cannot be seen. But, not so, if the imperfection of the human mind be considered. The mind is so weak that no philosopher was ever able perfectly to investigate the nature of the merest fly. But, if this be so, is it not foolish to believe only that concerning God, which the human mind is able to elicit of itself? In the second place, it may be replied, if a countryman denied the truth of a proposition stated by an expert in science, on the grounds that he did not understand it, would not that countryman be considered a fool? But it is certain that the intellect of an angel surpasses the intellect of the greatest philosopher, in a higher degree than the intellect of the scientific man surpasses that of the rustic. Therefore, that philosopher is a fool who rejects what angels say: and far more so, if he refuse to believe the Word of God.* Just as a king puts his seal to an instrument, and thus it is known to be the king's, so all that has been handed down to us by the saints,

* "Sed dicit aliquis: Stultum est credere quod non videtur, nec sunt credenda quæ non videntur. Respondeo dicendum, quod hoc dubium primo tollit imperfectio intellectus nostri; num si homo posset perfecte per se cognoscere omnia visibilia et invisibilia, stultum esset credere quæ non videmus; sed cognitio nostra est adeo debilis quod nullus philosophus potuit unquam perfecte investigare naturam unius muscæ; unde legitur, quod unus philosophus fuit triginta annis in solitudine, ut cognosceret naturam apis. Si ergo intellectus noster est ita debilis, nonne stultum est nolle credere de Deo, nisi illa tantum quæ homo potest cognoscere per se? Et ideo contra hoc dicitur, Job, XXXVI. 26: 'Ecce Deus magnus, vincens scientiam nostram.' Secundo potest responderi, quia dato quod aliquis magister aliquid diceret in sua scientia, et aliquis rusticus diceret non esse sicut magister doceret, eo quod ipse non intelligeret, multum reputaretur stultus ille rusticus. Constat autem quod intellectus Angeli excedit intellectum optimi philosophi, quam intellectus optimi philosophi intellectum rustici. Et ideo stultus est philosophus si nolit credere ea quæ Angeli dicunt: et multo magis si nolit credere ea quæ Deus dicit." (*In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 136.)

is stamped with the seal of God. This seal is formed of those miracles by which Christ confirmed the works and words of his Apostles.

The Saint goes on to treat of the first article of the Creed. "I believe in one God"* He says there are four causes why men have been drawn into adoring many Gods. The first is the weakness of the human mind, which has never pierced beyond visible things; the second arises from that spirit of adulation, by which kings and potentates have been turned into gods; the third, from overweening affection for children and relations—men having first erected statues of them, and then, in course of time, having fallen down and adored them; and the fourth comes from the malice of the devil. S. Thomas likens the feeling of a man looking on the beautiful order of the Creation, to one entering a house with a fire in the centre. He feels different degrees of warmth, and though he may not see the fire, he knows that different degrees of

* "'Credo in unum Deum.' Inter omnia quæ debent credere fideles, hoc est primum quod debent credere, scilicet quod sit unus Deus. Considerandum autem quid significet hoc nomen 'Deus:' quod quidem nihil est aliud quam gubenator et provisor rerum omnium. Ille igitur credit Deum esse qui credit omnes res mundi hujus gubernari et provideri ab illo. Qui autem credit quod omnia proveniant a causa, hic non credit Deum esse. Nullus autem invenitur adeo stultus qui non credat quod res naturales gubernentur, et provideantur, et disponantur; cum in quodam ordine et certis temporibus procedant. Videmus enim solem et lunam et stellas, et alias res naturales omnes servare determinatum cursum; quod non contingeret, si a casu essent; unde si aliquis esset qui non crederet Deum esse, stultus esset. Psalm XIII., 1: 'Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus.' Sunt autem aliqui qui licet credant Deum gubernare et disponere res naturales, non tamen credunt Deum esse humanorum actuum provisorem; qui scilicet credunt actus humanos non disponi a Deo. Cujus ratio est, quia vident in mundo isto bonos affligi, et malos prosperari: quod videtur tollere providentiam divinam circa homines: unde in persona eorum dicitur, Job, XXII., 14: 'Circa cardines cœli perambulat nec nostra considerat.' Hoc autem est valde stultum." (*In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 136.)

heat proceed from it. So man recognizes God in his works, and perceives them to be more beautiful, the nearer they approach to Him.* He compares the Manicheans, who said that visible things were created by the devil, to a man going into a carpenter's shop, and, in his stupidity, wounding himself with one of the tools, and then crying out against the carpenter. He likens those who declare the world to be eternal, to that boy spoken of by Rabbi Moses, who was born on a solitary island, and left by his mother, and, after he had grown up, would not believe that man begins by being conceived, is carried in the womb, and is born of a mother. It was impossible, he said, that man could dwell in his mother's womb. So, these men, looking upon the world in its present stage, cannot believe that it ever did begin.† The Saint

* "Sicut dictum est, primum quod credere debemus, est quod sit unus solus Deus: secundum est quod iste Deus sit creator et factor cœli et terræ, visibilium et invisibilium. Et ut rationes subtiles dimittantur ad præsens: quodam rudi exemplo manifestatur propositum, quod scilicet omnia sunt a Deo creata et facta. Constat enim quod si aliquis intraret domum aliquam, et in ipsius domus introitu sentiret calorem, et postmodum vadens interius sentiret majorem calorem, et sic deinceps, credent ignem esse interius, etiam si ipsum ignem non videret qui causaret dictos calores: sic quoque continget consideranti res hujus mundi. Nam ipse invenit res omnes secundum diversos gradus pulchritudinis et nobilitatis esse dispositas; et quanto magis appropinquant Deo, tanto pulchriora et meliora invenit. Unde corpora cœlestia pulchriora et nobiliora sunt quam corpora inferiora, et invisibilia visibilibus: et ideo credendum est quod omnia hæc sunt ab uno Deo, qui dat suum esse singulis rebus, et nobilitatem. Sapient., XIII., 1: 'Vani sunt autem omnes homines in quibus non subest scientia Dei, et de his quæ videntur bona, non potuerunt intelligere eum qui est, neque operibus attendentes, agnoverunt quis esset artifex;' et infra 5: 'A magnitudine enim speciei et creaturæ cognoscibiliter poterit creatorem horum videri.'" (*In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 137.)

† "Contra hoc ponit Augustinus tale exemplum. Si aliquis intraret domum fabri, et inveniret instrumenta ad quæ impingeret, et læderent eum, et ex hoc reputaret illum fabrum malum, quia tenet talia instrumenta, stultus esset, cum faber ea teneat ad opus suum: ita stultum est dicere, quod per hoc creaturæ sint malæ, quia sunt in aliquo nociva; nam qui uni

then combats the error that God did not make the world out of nothing, and concludes the article by pointing out five moral consequences, most consoling to the Christian, which flow from such considerations. In the second article, he manifests his acquaintance with the master-heresies of the past; and indicates how this second article bears on Photinus, who denied Christ's divinity; on Sabellius, who declared the Eternal Father became flesh; on Arius, who denied the divinity and the eternity of the Son, and His oneness of nature with the Father. He then proceeds to explain the difference between the Divine and human word, and states somewhat the same principles which he had laid down in his special treatise.* In the third article, he shows how the words: "He was conceived of the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary," strike down the heresies of Photinus,

est nocivum, alteri est utile. Hic autem error est contra fidem Ecclesiæ: et ideo ad hunc removendum, dicitur: 'Visibilium omnium et invisibilium.' Genes., I., 1: 'In principio creavit Deus cœlum et terram.' Joan., I., 3: 'Omnia per ipsum facta sunt.' Secundus est error ponentium mundum ab æterno . . . unde, sicut Rabbi Moyses dicit, istis contingit sicut puero, qui si statim cum nascitur, poneretur in insula, et numquam videret mulierum prægnantem, nec puerum nasci; et diceretur isti puero, quando magnus esset, qualiter homo concipitur, portatur utero, et nascitur; nulli crederet sibi dicenti, quia impossibile sibi videretur quod homo posset esse in utero matris. Sic isti considerantes statum mundi præsentem, non credunt quod inceperit. Est etiam hoc contra fidem Ecclesiæ: et ideo ad hoc removendum dicitur: 'Factorem cœli et terræ.'" *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 137.)

* "Non solum est necesse Christianis unum Deum credere, et hunc esse creatorem cœli et terræ et omnium; sed etiam necesse est ut credant quod Deus est Pater, et quod Christus sit verus Filius Dei. Hoc autem, sicut dicit beatus Petrus in Canonica sua, II. Cap., 1, non est fabulosum, sed certum et probatum per verbum Dei in monte: unde dicit ibidem 16: 'Non enim doctas fabulas secuti, notam facimus vobis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtutem et præsentiam; sed speculatores facti illius magnitudinis. Accipiens enim a Deo Patre honorem et gloriam, voce delapsa ad eum hujuscemodi a magnifica gloria: 'Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui, ipsum audite.'" *(Ibid., p.* 138.)

Manes, Ebion, Valentine, Arius, Apollinaris, and Nestorius, and then finishes with useful, practical reflections.* In the fourth article, he speaks of the guilt of the Jews, saying, that the Son of God is the Word of God; and the Word of God became incarnate, just as the word of a king is written down upon paper. If any one should tear up the royal document, it would be equivalent to tearing to pieces the royal word. And so the sin of the Jews was as great as if they had murdered the Word of God.† Before the Passion of Christ, few lived out of mortal sin; but since His Passion, many have lived, and continue to live, in a state of grace. He who would live a perfect life, let him only contemn what Christ contemned whilst on the Cross, and desire what Christ desired. There is no example of virtue which is not given us by the Cross.‡ If you seek

* "Non solum est necessarium credere Christiano Filium Dei, ut ostensum est: sed etiam oportet credere incarnationem ejus. Et ideo beatus Joannes postquam dixerat multa subtilia et ardua, consequentur insinuat nobis ejus incarnationem, cum dicit (Joan., I., 14): 'Et verbum caro factum est.' Et ut de hoc aliquid capere possimus, duo exempla ponam in medium. Constat quod Filio Dei nihil est ita simile sicut verbum in corde nostro conceptum, non prolatum . . . aliud exemplum est, quia licet verbum prolatum cognoscatur per auditum, tamen non videtur nec tangitur; sed cum scribitur in charta, tunc videtur et tangitur," *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p.* 140.)

† "Sed si Judæi non occiderunt Divinitatem, videtur quod non magis peccaverunt quam si occidissent unum alium hominem. Ad hoc est dicendum, quod dato quod rex esset indutus una veste, si quis inquinaret vestem illam, tantum reatum incurreret ac si ipsum regem inquinasset. Ideo Judæi licet non possent Deum interficere, tamen humanam naturam a Christo assumptam occidentes sunt tantum puniti ac si ipsam Divinitatem occidissent. Item, sicut dictum est superius, Filius Dei est Verbum Dei, et Verbum Dei incarnatum est sicut verbum regis scriptum in charta. Si igitur aliquis dilaniaret chartam regis, pro tanto habetur ac si dilaniaret verbum regis. Et ideo tanto habetur peccatum Judæorum ac si occidissent Verbum Dei." *(Ibid., p.* 141.)

‡ "Homo semel peccando credit postmodum a peccato posse continere; sed totum contrarium accidit; quia per primum peccatum debili-

an example of patience, you will find a most excellent one in the Cross. Patience is shown in two ways: when heavy trials are borne with resignation, or when those things are suffered, and are not avoided, which can be avoided. And Christ did both these. "If thou seekest an example of humility, look on the Crucified." He was, moreover, an example of obedience, and an example of contempt of earthly things.* The fifth article is full of beautiful and profound instruction. It touches on praying for the dead. S. Augustine says they can be helped principally in three ways: by masses, prayers, and alms-deeds; S. Gregory adds a fourth, namely, fasting: "Nor is it strange, for in this world also, one friend can satisfy for another." S. Thomas then speaks of the Resurrection, of the pious belief that our Lady, as well as

tatur, et fit pronior ad peccandum; et peccatum magis dominatur homini, et homo, quantum de se est, ponit se in tali statu ut non surgat, sicut qui in puteum se projicit, nisi ex divina virtute. Unde postquam homo peccavit, natura nostra fuit debilitata et corrupta; et tunc homo fuit pronior ad peccandum. Sed Christus hanc infirmitatem et debilitatem diminuit, licet non totam deleverit." (*In Symb. Apost.*, *Opusc. VII.*, *Art. I.*, *Vol. XVI.*, *p.* 141.)

* "Sed non minor est utilitas quam ad exemplum. Nam, sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, passio Christi sufficit ad informandum totaliter vitam nostram Quicunque enim vult perfecte vivere, nihil aliud faciat nisi quod contemnat quæ Christus in cruce contempsit, et appetat quæ Christus in cruce appetiit. Nullum enim exemplum virtutis abest a cruce. Si enim quæras exemplum caritatis, 'majorem caritatem nemo habet ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.' . . . Si quæris exemplum patientiæ, excellentissima in cruce invenitur. Patientia enim ex duobus magna ostenditur: aut cum quis magna patienter suffert, aut cum ea suffert quæ vitare posset, et non vitat. Christus autem magna in cruce pertulit. Thren., I., 12: 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus;' et patienter, quia, 'cum pateretur, non comminabitur.' . . . Si quæris exemplum humilitatis, respice crucifixum: nam Deus judicari voluit sub Pontio Pilato, et mori. Job, XXXVI., 17: 'Causa tua quasi impii judicata est.' Vere impii: quia, 'morte turpissima condemnemus eum.' . . . Si quæris exemplum obedientiæ, sequere eum qui factus est obediens Patri usque ad mortem. Rom., V., 19: 'Sicut per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi: ita per unius obedientiam, justi constituentur multi.'" (*Ibid.*, *p.* 142.)

S. John the Evangelist, rose from the dead. Then come four practical points, with a quotation from Venerable Bede, regarding the difficulty of shaking off the devil after he has had long possession: "The longer the devil has hold of a man, the more difficult he is to get rid of." The sixth article is short, and consists of three heads, with their subdivisions.* The seventh would be a useful study for those who are in the habit of giving Spiritual Exercises, as it treats, with great power, on the Last Accounting Day. The Divinity will appear, on that day, in the form of a man; because not even the damned could look upon the Godhead without being seized with joy. The Judgment is to be feared for four reasons: on account of the wisdom of the Judge; on account of His power; on account of His inflexible justice; and, fourthly, on account of His anger—"How straight are the ways of Judgment for sinners,"

* "Post Christi resurrectionem oportet credere ascensionem, quia in cœlum ascendit die quadragesima: et ideo dicit: 'Ascendit ad cœlos.' Circa quod debes notare tria. Primo scilicet quod fuit sublimis, rationalis, et utilis. Sublimis quidem fuit, quia ascendit ad cœlos. Et hoc tripliciter exponitur Primo super omnes cœlos corporeos. (Eph. IV., 10) . . . Secundo ascendit super omnes cœlos spirituales, scilicet naturas spirituales. (Eph. I., 20). . . . Tertio ascendit usque ad sedem Patris. (Dan. VII., 13. . . . Marc. ult. 19.; Isai. XIV., 13.; Psal. CIX., 1.) . . . Secundo Christi ascensio fuit rationalis, quia ad cœlos; et hoc propter tria. Primo quia cœlum debebatur Christo ex sua natura (Joan. XVI., 28): . . . Secundo debebatur Christo cœlum ex sua victoria (Apoc. III., 21). Tertio ex sua humilitate. Nulla enim humilitas est ita magna sicut humilitas Christi, qui cum esset Deus, voluit fieri homo, et cum esset Dominus, voluit formam servi accipere, factus obediens usque ad mortem. . . . Tertio Christi ascensio fuit utilis: et hoc quantum ad tria. Primo quantum ad ducem: nam ad hoc ascendit ut nos duceret: nos enim nesciebamus viam, sed ipse ostendit. . . . Secundo quantum ad securitatem: ad hoc enim ascendit ut interpellaret pro nobis. . . . Tertio ut ad se corda nostra traheret. (Matth., VI., 21.): 'Ubi est thesaurus tuus ibi est et cor tuum.'" *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. VI., Vol. XVI., p.* 144—145.)

says Origen. Against this fear, there are three remedies: good works, confession, and alms-deeds, which make all things clean. The eighth article, on the Holy Ghost, is full of Scripture quotation. The ninth, on the Church, contains matter worthy of remark. As in one man there is one soul and one body, and yet there are many members; so in the Church there is one body, but it has divers members. The soul animating this body is the Holy Spirit. The Church of God has four conditions: it is one, holy, catholic—that is, universal; and it is strong and firm. In this Church alone, man can be saved; just as outside the ark of Noah, nobody could help perishing. The Church of Peter, alone, was always steadfast in faith; and whilst elsewhere there is no faith, or little faith mixed with many errors, the Church of Peter is strong in faith, and is clean of errors. Nor is this astonishing, since our Lord said to Peter: "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not." * The tenth article, on the Communion of

* "Circa quartum sciendum est, quod Ecclesia est firma. Domus autem dicitur firma, primo si habet bona fundamenta. Fundamentum autem Ecclesiæ principale est Christus. Apostolus I, Corinth., III., 11: 'Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus.' Secundarium vero fundamentum sunt Apostoli, et eorum doctrina; et ideo firma est: unde in Apoc., XXI., dicitur, quod civitas habebat duodecim fundamenta, et erant ibi scripta nomina duodecim Apostolorum. Et inde est quod dicitur Ecclesia apostolica. Exinde etiam est quod ad significandum firmitatem hujus Ecclesiæ B. Petrus dictus est vertex. Secundo apparet firmitas domus, si conquassata non potest destrui. Ecclesia autem nunquam potuit destrui, nec a persecutoribus; immo persecutionibus durantibus magis crevit, et qui eam persequebantur, et quos ipsa persequebatur, deficiebant: Matth., XXI., 44: 'Qui acciderit super lapidem istum, confrigetur: super quem vero ceciderit, conteret eum:' nec ab erroribus; immo quanto magis errores supervenerunt, tanto magis veritas manifestata est: 2 Tim., III., 8: 'Homines mente corrupti, reprobi circa fidem; sed ultra non proficient:' nec a tentationibus dæmo-

Saints, and the Remission of Sins, draws out a striking and well-known analogy between the effects of the Sacraments, and the requirements, wants, and necessities of the soul, and of the body; illustrating the spiritual by means of the material.* Regarding the state of grace, we are told, that not only the virtue of the Passion of Christ is communicated to us, but also the merits of the life of

num: Ecclesia enim est sicut turris, ad quam fugit quicumque pugnat contra diabolum: Proverb. XVIII., 10: 'Turris fortissima nomen Domini.' Et ideo diabolus principaliter conatur ad destructionem ejus; sed non prævalet, quia Dominus dixit, Matth., XVI., 19: 'Et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam;' quasi dicat; Bellabunt adversum te, sed non prævalebunt. Et inde est quod sola Ecclesia Petri (in cujus partem venit tota Italia, dum discipuli mitterentur ad prædicandum) semper fuit firma in fide: et cum in aliis partibus vel nulla fides sit, vel sit commixta multis erroribus, Ecclesia tamen Petri et fide viget, et ab erroribus munda est. Nec mirum: quia Dominus dixit Petro, Luc., XXII., 32: 'Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua.'" *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. IX., Vol. XVI., p.* 148.)

* "Sicut in corpore naturali operatio unius membri cedit in bonum totius corporis, ita in corpore spirituali, scilicet Ecclesia. Et quia omnes fideles sunt unum corpus, bonum unius alteri communicatur. . . . Bonum ergo Christi communicatur omnibus Christianis, sicut virtus capitis omnibus membris; et hæc communicatio fit per sacramenta Ecclesiæ, in quibus operatur virtus passionis Christi, quæ operatur ad conferendam gratiam in remissionem peccatorum. Hujusmodi autem sacramenta Ecclesiæ sunt septem. Primum est baptismus, qui est regeneratio quædam spiritualis. . . . Generatio [spiritualis] fit per baptismum. . . . Secundum sacramentum est confirmatio. Sicut enim in illis qui corporaliter nascuntur, necessariæ sunt vires ad operandum: ita spiritualiter renatis necessarium est robur Spiritus Sancti. . . . Tertium sacramentum est Eucharistia. Sicut enim in vita corporali, postquam homo natus est et vires sumpsit, necessarius est ei cibus, ut conservetur et sustentetur; ita in vita spirituali post habitum robur necessarius est ei cibus spiritualis, qui est corpus Christi. . . . Quartum sacramentum est pœnitentia. Contingit enim in vita corporali quod quandoque quis infirmatur, et nisi habeat medicinam, moritur; et ita in vita spirituali quis infirmatur per peccatum: unde necessaria est medicina ad recuperandam sanitatem et hæc est gratia quæ confertur in pœnitentiæ sacramento. . . . Quintum sacramentum est extrema unctio. . . . Quia nullus potest intrare vitam æternam nisi sit bene purgatus, necessarium fuit aliud sacramentum quo homo purgaretur a peccatis, et liberaretur ab infirmitate, et præpararetur ad introitum regni cœlestis; et hoc est sacramentum extremæ unctionis. . . . Sic ergo patet quod per quinque sacramenta quæ prædicta sunt habetur perfectio vitæ. Sed quia necessarium est quod hujusmodi sacramenta conferantur per determinatos ministros, ideo fuit necessarium sacramentum ordinis. . . . Septimum sacramentum est matrimonium. . . . Per hæc autem septem sacramenta consequimur peccatorum remissionem: et ideo hic statim subditur, 'Remissionem peccatorum.'" *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII, Art. X., Vol. XVI., p.* 148—149.)

Christ. Whatever good the saints have done, is participated in by those who dwell in charity, "because we are all one." And, hence, he who abides in charity, is partaker in all the good that is done throughout the world. So, the merits of Christ are communicated to all, and the virtue of one man has its effect upon his neighbour; thus, those under excommunication, being out of the Church, lose a share of all the good that is done, which is a greater misfortune than the loss of any temporal possession. And there is this other consideration, namely: by these suffrages, the devil is prevented from tempting us; whilst, on the contrary, when a man is excluded from them, Satan easily overcomes him. Hence, when in the early Church, a man was excommunicated, the devil immediately began worrying him in the body. In the eleventh article, on the Resurrection of the Dead, we are assured that all will rise at the mature age of about thirty-two or thirty-three; nor will those who had been blind, or halt, rise with their defects.*

* "Quadruplex conditio attendi potest in resurrectione. Prima est quantum ad identitatem corporum resurgentium: quia idem corpus quod nunc est, et quantum ad carnem et quantum ad ossa resurget. . . . Secunda conditio erit quantum ad qualitatem, quia corpora resurgentia erunt alterius qualitatis quam nunc sint: quia et quantum ad beatos et quantum ad malos corpora erunt incorruptibilia, quia boni erunt semper in gloria, et mali semper in pœna eorum. . . . Tertia conditio est quantum ad integritatem, quia omnes et boni et mali resurgent cum omni integritate quæ ad perfectionem hominis pertinet: non enim erit ibi cæcus vel claudus, nec aliquis defectus. Apostolus 1 Corinth., XV., 52: 'Mortui resurgent incorrupti,' id est impassibiles quantum ad corruptiones præsentes. Quarta conditio est quantum ad ætatem, quia omnes resurgent in ætate perfecta, id est triginta trium vel duorum annorum. Cujus ratio est, quia qui nondum pervenerunt ad hoc, non habent ætatem perfectam, et senes hanc jam amiserunt: et ideo juvenibus et pueris addetur quod deest, senibus vero restituetur. Ephes., IV., 15: 'Donec occurramus omnes in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi.'" *(In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. XI., Vol. XVI., p.* 150.)

In the twelfth article, on "Life Everlasting," these beautiful words of S. Augustine's are quoted: "All joy will not enter into those who rejoice, but all those who rejoice will enter into all joy."

One or two points may be mentioned in the treatise on the Lord's Prayer. The "Our Father" has five excellencies which belong to prayer: for prayer should be confident, becoming, well-ordered, devout, and humble. These qualities, in a special manner, are found in the "Our Father." Nobody recites this prayer without fruit; for by means of it, says S. Augustine, venial sins are forgiven. It is a most difficult thing to know what to ask in prayer, because it is most difficult to know what we ought to desire. Here, Christ is our Teacher, and we are safe. Nor is prayer to be long, for too great prolixity interferes with devotion; hence, our Lord says: "When you are praying, speak not much;" and S. Augustine: "Let there be few words, but much earnestness, in prayer, if the object be ardently desired." * In the first peti-

* "Inter alias orationes oratio dominica principalior invenitur. Habet enim quinque excellentia, quæ in oratione requiruntur. Debet enim esse oratio secura, recta, ordinata, devota et humilis. Secura quidem, ut cum fiducia adeamus ad thronum gratiæ. . . . Debet etiam esse oratio nostra recta, ut petat orans a Deo quæ sibi conveniunt. Nam Damascenus dicit: 'Oratio est petitio decentium Deo.' . . . Debet etiam esse oratio ordinata sicut desiderium, cum oratio sit desiderii interpres. Est autem hic debitus ordo, ut spiritualia carnalibus, cœlestia terrenis desiderando et orando præferamus, secundum illud Matth., VI., 33: . . . Debet etiam oratio esse devota, quia pinguedo devotionis facit sacrificium orationis esse Deo acceptum. . . . Devotio autem plerumque propter prolixitatem orationis obtunditur: unde Dominus superfluam orationis prolixitatem docuit vitare, dicens Matth., VI., 7: 'Orantes autem nolite multum loqui.' Et Augustinus dicit ad Probam: 'Absit ab oratione multa locutio; sed non desit multa provocatio, si fervens perseveret intentio.' . . . Debet etiam oratio esse humilis, secundum illud Psalm. CI., 18: 'Respexit in orationem humilium:' et Luc., XVIII., de pharisæo et publicano: et Judith, IX., 16: 'Humilium et mansuetorum semper tibi placuit deprecatio.'" *(Opusc. V. In Orat. Dominicam Exposit, p., 123.)*

tion, a touching anecdote is told of S. Ignatius, who, when Trajan ordered him to deny the name of Christ, said, that it could not be driven from his mouth; and when threatened with death, if he should persevere in using the Holy Name, said: "If you take it out of my mouth, you will never be able to draw it from my breast; for I have that Name engraved upon my heart, and hence, I cannot cease calling upon it:" and it was found by Trajan, written in letters of gold, on the martyr's heart, after his death.* Holy, means firm: the Blessed are called holy, because they are fixed in eternal felicity.† On earth, there can be no perfect holiness, for all is in continual motion, hence, S. Augustine: "I have turned away from Thee, O Lord, and have erred exceedingly; I have wandered from Thy stability." Under the second petition, we read, that man will find all he seeks from the world in God; but in a more perfect, and more excellent manner. If you desire pleasure, you will discover its perfection in God; if riches, in Him you will find all fulness; hence, S. Augustine: "The soul,

* "Exemplum de Beato Ignatio, qui intantum nomen Christi dilexit, quod cum Trajanus requireret ab eo ut nomen Christi negaret, respondit quod de ore ejus removeri non posset; et cum ille minaretur sibi caput abscindere, et Christum de ejus ore removere, dixit: 'Et si de ore abstuleris, nunquam tamen de corde eripere poteris: hoc enim nomen cordi meo inscriptum habeo, et ideo ab ejus invocatione cessare non valeo.' Quod audiens Trajanus, et probari cupiens, servi Dei abscisso capite, cor ejus extrahi jussit, et inventum est habens nomen Christi in se scriptum litteris aureis. Posuerat enim super cor suum hoc nomen quasi signaculum." (*Opusc. V., Vol. XVI. In Orat. Dominic. Exposit., Petitio Prima, p.* 125.)

† "Sanctum autem tripliciter dicitur. Sanctum enim idem est quod firmum: unde omnes beati qui in cœlo sunt, sancti dicuntur, quia sunt in æterna felicitate firmati. In mundo non possunt esse sancti, quia sunt continue mobiles. Augustinus: 'Defluxi, Domine, a te, et erravi nimis: devius factus sum a stabilitate tua.' Secundo sanctum idem est quod non terrenum. . . . Tertio dicitur sanctum, id est sanguine tinctum." (*Petitio, I., p.* 125–126)

when it departs from Thee, seeks out of Thee those things which it does not find pure and spotless, save when it returns to Thee." In the third petition, our Lord did not say "Do," nor "Let us do;" but He said, "Thy will be done," because two things are necessary for eternal life: the grace of God, and the will of man; and though God made man without man, He does not justify him without his concurrence. Presume not then of thyself, but trust in the grace of God; and be not negligent, but perform thy share. For He did not say: "Let us do," lest it should seem that the grace of God achieved nothing; nor did He say "Do," lest it might appear that our will and endeavour were wholly idle; but he said: "Let it be done," expressing the grace of God, and the co-operation of the human will.* In the fourth petition, there is nothing very striking. In the fifth: "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," the Saint says that we owe to God that which we receive from Him, and which is His possession by right. His right, is that we should do His will, and prefer it to our own. We

* "Notandum autem, quod ex modo loquendi datur nobis doctrina. Non enim dicit, Fac, non etiam Faciamus; sed dicit, 'Fiat voluntas tua:' quia ad vitam æternam duo sunt necessaria; scilicet gratia Dei et voluntas hominis: et licet Deus fecerit hominem sine homine, non tamen justificat eum sine eo. Augustinus super Joan.: 'Qui creavit te sine te, non justificabit te sine te:' et quia vult quod homo cooperetur. Zach., II., 3: 'Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos.' Apostolus 1 Corinth., XV., 10: 'Gratia Dei sum id quod sum et gratia ejus in me vacua non fuit.' Non ergo præsumas de te, sed confidas de gratia Dei: nec negligas, sed adhibeas studium tuum: et ideo non dicit, Faciamus, ne videretur quod nihil faceret gratia Dei: nec dicit, Fac, ne videatur quod nihil faceret voluntas et conatus noster sed dicit, 'Fiat' per gratiam Dei, adhibito studio et conatu nostro." *(Petitio III., p.* 127.)

therefore take away His right, when we prefer our own will to His will, and this is sin. Sins, therefore, are "our trespasses." It is, hence, a counsel of the Holy Spirit, that we should beg God's pardon for our sins; therefore we pray, "Forgive us our trespasses." Two consequences follow from this petition: first, that man should be ever humble, and should fear. Some so far presumed as to say that, of himself, man could avoid sin. But this grace has been given to none but Christ, who had the Spirit, not according to measure; and to the Blessed Virgin, who was "full of grace," in whom no sin was found; as S. Augustine says: "Concerning whom (viz., the Blessed Virgin), I do not wish to speak, when there is question of sin."* The other consequence is, that we should always live in hope. The Novatians sinned against this hope, because they taught that whoever fell, after Baptism, would never rise again. The sixth petition gives a definition of temptation: "To tempt a man is to test his

* "Possumus autem in his verbis tria considerare. Primum est quare fit hæc petitio; secundum quando inpleatur; tertium est quid requiratur ex parte nostra ut impleatur. Circa primum sciendum, quod ex hac petitione possumus duo colligere, quæ necessaria sunt hominibus in vita ista. Unum est quod homo semper sit in timore et humilitate. Aliqui enim fuerunt ita præsumptuosi quod dicerent quod homo poterat vivere in mundo isto ita quod ex se poterat vitare peccata. Sed nulli datum est, nisi soli Christo, quia habuit spiritum non ad mensuram, et Beatæ Virgini, quæ fuit plena gratia, in qua nullum peccatum fuit, sicut dicit Augustinus: 'De qua (scilicet Virgine) cum de peccatis agitur, nullam volo fieri mentionem.' Sed de aliis sanctis nulli concessum est quin ad minus veniale peccatum incurreret: 1 Joan., I., 8: 'Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est:' et hoc etiam probatur per petitionem istam. Constat enim quod omnibus sanctis etiam hominibus, convenit dicere 'Pater noster,' in quo dicitur: 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.' Ergo omnes recognoscunt et confitentur se peccatores vel debitores. Si ergo peccator es, debes timere et humiliari. Aliud est quod semper vivamus in spe: quia licet simus peccatores, non debemus desperare." (*Petitio, V.*, *p.* 129.)

virtue." A man's virtue is proved in two ways : by avoiding evil, and by doing good. The seventh petition : " But deliver us from evil," is a general petition against evils of all kinds—sins, infirmities, and afflictions, according to the teaching of S. Augustine. At the conclusion of this treatise, there is added a short Exposition of the entire prayer.*

The Tractate on the " Angelical Salutation" has some points of interest. For instance, in the Blessed Virgin's case, we have the first example of an angel doing reverence to man. Men used to show angels reverence, and for three reasons : on account of their dignity, their familiarity with God, and on account of the plenitude of their splendour, and of their grace : for the angels participate in the Divine light in the completest fulness. Hence, as the act of reverence was reversed in our Blessed Lady's case, it follows that she surpassed the angels in these three gifts. This, the Saint goes on to prove, by many texts of Holy Scripture. Hugh of

* " Ut in summa exponatur, sciendum est, quod in oratione dominica continentur omnia quæ desiderantur, et omnia quæ fugiuntur. Inter omnia autem desiderabilia illud plus desideratur quod plus amatur, et hoc est Deus : et ideo primo petis gloriam Dei, cum dicis : 'Sanctificetur nomen tuum.' A Deo autem desideranda sunt tria, quæ pertinent ad te. Primum est quod pervenias ad vitam æternam ; et hoc petis cum dicis : 'Adveniat regnum tuum.' Secundum est quod facias voluntatem Dei et justitiam ; et hoc petis cum dicis : 'Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra.' Tertium est ut habeas necessaria ad vitam ; et hoc petis cum dicis : 'Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.' Et de his tribus dicit Dominus, Matth., VI., 33 : 'Primum quærite regnum Dei,' quantum ad primum ; 'et justitiam ejus,' quantum ad secundum : 'et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis,' quantum ad tertium. Illa autem quæ vitanda sunt et fugienda, sunt illa quæ contrariantur bono. Bonum autem quod primo desiderabile est, est quadruplex . . . primum est gloria Dei. Secundum est vita æterna . . . tertium est justitia et bona opera. . . . Quartum sunt bona necessaria : et huic contrariantur adversitates et tribulationes : et ad hoc removendum petimus, 'sed libera nos a malo. Amen.' " *(Compendiosa Expositio Totius Orationis, p.* 132.)

S. Victor's is quoted in testimony to her intense love of the Almighty: "Because the love of the Holy Spirit," he says, "burned in a special manner in her heart, wonderful things were done in her flesh, things so wonderful, that of her was born God and man." In all danger, safety can be found in this glorious Virgin. She exceeds the angels in plenitude of grace; hence, she is called "Mary"—which is interpreted to mean, illuminated with interior light.* She is called "The royal dwelling-place of the Blessed Trinity." The word "Mary," also signifies "Star of the Sea," because, as those at sea are directed into port by a star, so, Christians are led to glory by Mary.† The Blessed Virgin, in the Fruit of her womb, found all that Eve expected to find in the apple of sin; for she hoped to be as a god; to have pleasure; and to look upon beauty. All this, our Lady experienced, in possessing the Fruit of her womb, Jesus.

Under the heading of the two precepts of charity, and the ten Commandments of the Law, there are

* "Antiquitus erat valde magnum quod Angeli apparerent hominibus; vel quod homines facerent eis reverentiam, habebant pro maxima laude. . . . Quod autem Angelus faceret homini reverentiam, nunquam fuit auditum, nisi postquam salutavit Beatam Virginem, reverenter dicens: 'Ave.' Quod autem antiquitus non reverebatur hominem Angelus, sed homo angelum, ratio est, quia Angelus erat major homine; et hoc quantum ad tria. . . . Beata Virgo excessit Angelos in tribus: et primo in plenitudine gratiæ. . . . Secundo excellit Angelos in familiaritate Divina. . . . Tertio excedit Angelos quantum ad puritatem: quia Beata Virgo non solum erat pura in se, sed etiam procuravit puritatem aliis." (*Opusc. VI. In Salut. Angelic. Exposit.*, *p.* 133.)

† Some have tried to prove that S. Thomas held the doctrine of the "Immaculate Conception." It is to be feared that their arguments are rather proofs of their great love of the Saint and of the Dogma, than of the general laws of logic: "Sed Christus," says the Angelical, "excellit Beatam Virginem, in hoc quod sine originali [peccato] conceptus et natus est. Beata autem Virgo in originali est concepta, sed non nata. Ipsa etiam omnium virtutum opera exercuit, alii autem sancti specialia quædam. . ." (*Opusc. VI. In Salut. Angelic. Exposit.*, *p.* 133.)

some noteworthy thoughts ; in fact, the whole of these Opuscula of the Angelical are so studded with noble ideas, and so interwoven with Scripture, that it is difficult, by a few extracts, to give an adequate idea of them—let us look at his theory on the Law : *"The Law" teaches us how to act, and it is fourfold ; the Law of Nature, which is nothing else than the light of the intellect placed in us by God ; by it, we know what to do, and what to avoid. God gave man this light, and this Law, when He created him. The Law of Concupiscence destroyed the Law of Nature ; so there was given to man the Written Law. Then came the Law of Charity and Grace, which is the Law of Christ. But since all men cannot be learned, Christ has instituted a short Law, which all may know, and from which no one can be held excusable on account of ignorance : and this is the Law of Divine Love, "A short

* "Tria sunt homini necessaria ad salutem : scilicet scientia credendorum, scientia desiderandorum, et scientia operandorum. Primum docetur in symbolo, ubi traditur scientia de articulis fidei, secundum in oratione Dominica ; tertium in lege. Nunc autem de scientia operandorum intendimus ; ad quam tractandam quadruplex lex invenitur. Prima dicitur lex naturæ ; et hæc nihil aliud est nisi lumen intellectus insitum nobis a Deo per quod cognoscimus quid agendum et quid vitandum. Hoc lumen et hanc legem dedit Deus homini in creatione sed multi credunt excusari per ignorantiam, si hanc legem non observant : sed contra eos dicit. Propheta in Psalm., XLVI. . . . Sed licet Deus in creatione dederit homini hanc legem, scilicet naturæ, diabolus tamen in homine superseminavit aliam legem, scilicet concupiscentiæ. . . . Quia lex naturæ per legem concupiscentiæ destructa erat, oportebat quod homo reduceretur ad opera virtutis, et retraheretur a vitiis : ad quæ necessaria erat lex scripturæ. Sed sciendum, quod homo retrahitur a malo et inducitur ad bonum ex duobus. Primo timore . . . per legem Moysi. . . . Sed quia modus iste insufficiens fuit . . . ideo est alius modus retrahendi a malo et inducendi ad bonum, modus scilicet amoris : et hoc modo fuit data lex Christi, scilicet lex evangelica, quæ est lex amoris." *(Opusc. III. In duo Præcept. Carit. et in Decem Legis Præcep. Exposit., Vol. XVI., p. 97.)*

word shall the Lord make upon the earth."* This Law should be the rule of all human acts, and, as the Angelical teaches, it produces four effects: first, it causes spiritual life—as S. Augustine says: "For as the soul is the life of the body, so, God is the life of the soul." As a corpse, dressed up with gold and precious stones, would not be living; so, the soul, had it all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, to the exclusion of charity, would be dead. S. Gregory says: "The love of God is never idle; if it really exists, it works great things; what does not work, cannot be love."† The second effect of love is the observance of the Divine Commandments; the third, is that it guards us against assault; and the fourth, that it leads to happiness. Love is the measure of bliss. Then comes the explanation, development, and illustration of the first great Commandment, in which man has to give to God his heart, soul, mind, and strength. The "heart" which is given to God, is the good intention with which a man acts.

* "Sicut ergo jam prædictum est quadruplex lex invenitur: et prima quidem lex naturæ, quam Deus in creatione infundit; secunda lex concupiscentiæ; tertia lex scripturæ; quarta est lex caritatis et gratiæ, quæ est lex Christi. Sed manifestum est quod non omnes possunt scientiæ insudare; et propterea a Christo data est lex brevis, ut ab omnibus posset scire, et nullus propter ignorantiam possit ab ejus observantia excusari; et hæc est lex divini amoris. Apostolus, Rom., IX., 28: 'Verbum breviatum faciet Dominus super terram.'" *(Opusc. III. In duo Præcept. Carit. et in Decem Legis Præcep. Exposit., Vol. XVI., p. 97.)*

† "Si quis habet omnia dona Spiritus sancti absque caritate, non habet vitam. Sive enim sit gratia linguarum, sive sit donum fidei, vel quicquid sit aliud, sine caritate vitam non tribuunt. Si enim corpus mortuum induatur auro et lapidibus pretiosis; nihilominus mortuum manet. Hoc est ergo primum quod efficit caritas. Secundum quod facit caritas, est divinorum mandatorum observantia. Gregorius: 'Nunquam est Dei amor otiosus: operatur enim magna si est; si vero operari renuit, amor non est.' Unde manifestum signum caritatis est promptitudo implendi divina præcepta. Videmus enim amantem propter amatum magna et difficilia operari." *(In Præcept. Legis, p. 98.)*

Frequently, however, men act with a good intention, but without fruit, because an upright will is lacking. For instance, were a man to commit a robbery to feed a beggar, he would have a good intention; but the rectitude of a right will would evidently be wanting. A good intention is no excuse for doing evil: "Who say let us do evil that good may come; whose damnation is just."* A good will is joined to the intention when the will of man is in harmony with the will of God.† The Saint then shows that the other conditions which make up the full rendering of the whole being to the Almighty, should so combine, as to tend towards that one consummation. There are four influences which urge us to practise charity towards man, viz.: the Divine love, the Divine precept, and the communication of nature: "Every animal loves its like;" and finally, the utility that follows from such a course. Two things tend to the consolidation of friendship: patience,

* *Rom., III.*, 8.

† "Interrogatus Christus ante passionem, a legisperitis, quod esset maximum et primum mandatum, dixit, Matth., XXII., 37; 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua: et hoc est maximum et primum mandatum.' Et vere istud est majus et nobilius et utilius inter omnia mandata, sicut satis manifestum est: in hoc enim omnia mandata implentur. Sed ad hoc quod istud præceptum dilectionis possit perfecte impleri, quatuor requiruntur. Primum est divinorum beneficiorum rememoratio. . . . Secundum est divinæ excellentiæ consideratio. . . . Tertium est mundanorum et terrenorum abdicatio magnam enim injuriam Deo facit qui aliquid ei adæquat. Isa., XL., 18: 'Cui similem fecistis Deum.' Tunc autem alia Deo adæquamus, quando res temporales et corruptibiles simul cum Deo diligimus. Sed hoc est omnino impossibile: propterea dicitur, Isa., XXVIII., 20: 'Coangustatum est stratum, ita ut alter decidat: et pallium breve utrumque operire non potest.' Ubi cor hominis assimilatur strato arcto et pallio brevi. Cor enim humanum arctum est in respectu ad Deum; unde quando alia ab eo in corde tuo recipis, ipsum expe llis; ipse enim non patitur consortem in anima, sicut nec vir in uxore." (*In Præcept. Legis, p.* 99—100.)

and humility, from which patience springs.* He who thinks much of himself, and lowly of another, cannot bear with the defects of that other. God loves and hates—loves man's nature, but hates his vice. Blessed Stephen, in praying for his enemies, did a great service to the Church—he converted Paul.†

Now, just to touch upon the ten precepts of the Law, simply culling out, here and there, some striking thoughts :—

1. The Law of Moses is founded on the two precepts. They were engraven upon two stone tablets. On the first, three of the Commandments are inscribed—these belong to the precept of loving God : on the second, the seven remaining ones are written, and they are included in the second precept, of loving our neighbour. The greatest and most horrible of all sins is the worship of devils. There are five reasons why we should adore one only God : on account of His dignity, His

* "Sciendum, quod duo sunt quæ juvant ad amicitiam conservandam. Primum est patientia : 'vir enim iracundus suscitat rixas,' ut dicitur Prov. XXVI., 21. Secundum est humilitas, quæ causat primum, scilicet patientiam : Prov. XIII., 10 : 'Inter superbos semper jurgia sunt :' qui enim considerat magna de se, et despicit alium, non potest defectus illius pati." *(In Præcept. Leg., p.* 101.)

† "Dictum est, quod tu peccas, si non parcis veniam postulanti ; et quod perfectionis est, si tu eum ad te revocas, licet non tenearis. Sed ad hoc ut eum trahas ad te, multæ rationes inducunt. Prima est propriæ dignitatis conservatio . . . Secunda est victoriæ acquisitio . . . Tertia est multiplicis utilitatis consecutio . . . quarta est, quia ex hoc preces tuæ facilius exaudiuntur : unde super illud Jerem., XV. 'Si steterint Moyses et Samuel coram me,' dicit Gregorius, quod fecit potius de istis mentionem, quia rogaverunt pro inimicis. Similiter Christus ait Lucæ, XXIII., 34 : 'Pater, dimitte illis.' Item beatus Stephanus orando pro inimicis magnam utilitatem fecit Ecclesiæ, quia Paulum convertit. Quinta est peccati evasio, quam maxime desiderare debemus." *(Ibid., p.* 102.)

generosity, the stability of His promises, the slavery of diabolical domination, and the immensity of the reward: "They will be like the angels of God in heaven." *

2. Swearing is like medicine, only to be made use of in case of necessity. Our Lord insists upon this teaching, on account of a man's tongue being his most unruly member; for nobody has thoroughly mastered it. The name of God can be used under six circumstances: in confirmation of what has been said, as in an oath; unto sanctification, as in Baptism; for the expulsion of adversaries, like the devil; in confession of the Name itself; as a defence: "The name of the Lord is a strong tower;" and in the completion of any work. †

* "Sicut jam dictum est, tota lex Christi dependet a caritate. Caritas autem pendet ex duobus præceptis; quorum unum est de dilectione Dei, reliquum de dilectione proximi: et de istis duobus jam dictum est; nunc autem sciendum, quod Deus dando legem Moysi, dedit decem præcepta in duobus tabulis lapideis scripta; quorum tria in prima tabula scripta pertinent ad amorem Dei septem vero scripta in secunda tabula pertinent ad amorem proximi; et ideo tota lex fundata in duobus præceptis. Primum autem quod pertinet ad amorem Dei est, 'Non habetis deos alienos:' et ad hujus intellectum sciendum est, quod antiqui multipliciter hoc præceptum transgrediebantur. Quidam enim colebant dæmonia: Psalm., XCV., 5: 'Omnes dii gentium dæmonia.' Hoc autem est maximum omnium peccatorum et horribile. . . . Contra hoc præceptum peccant Astrologi, qui dicunt hæc esse animarum rectores; cum tamen propter hominem facta sint, cujus solus Deus rector est. . . . In quorum errorem inciderunt homines qui inferioribus male utuntur, nimis ea diligentes. . . . Alii errantes colebant homines, vel aves, vel alios, vel seipsos; quod quidem contingit ex tribus. Primo carnalitate. . . . Secundo ex adulatione. . . . Tertio ex præsumptione; quidam enim ex præsumptione fecerunt se vocari deos, sicut patet Judith, III., de Nabuchodonosor." *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 102.)

† "Sicut non est nisi Deus quem debemus colere, ita non est nisi unus quem debemus maxime venerari: et primo quantum ad nomen: unde 'non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum.' Sciendum, quod vanum dicitur tripliciter. Aliquando enim dicitur falsum. Ps. XL., 3. Assumis ergo nomen Dei in vanum, quando assumis illud ad confirmationis falsitatis. Zach., VIII., 17: Ibid., XIII., 3: 'Non vives, quia locutus es mendacium in nomine Domini.' Talis autem facit injuriam Deo, sibi ipsi, et omnibus hominibus. Deo quidem, quia cum jurare per Deum nihil aliud sit nisi invocare ejus testimonium: cum juras falsum, aut credis Deum nescire verum, et sic ponis ignorantiam in Deo, cum tamen

3. In the first Commandment, we venerate God with our heart; in the second, with our mouth; in the third, with our work: "Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath Day." There are five reasons for this: first, the destruction of the error of those who would teach the eternity of the world. The Sabbath was kept by the Jews in memory of the Creation. Christians keep Sunday in memory of the New Creation by Christ, who rose gloriously from the dead. Then, secondly, as a testimony of faith in the Redeemer, for the flesh of Christ did not corrupt in the tomb; thirdly, as a confirmation and figure of the truth of the Promise. We expect rest from three things: from the labour of the present life; from the temptations of concupiscence; and from the servitude of the devil. Fourthly, the precept was given to inflame love:—"For the corruptible body is a load upon the soul:" fifthly, that those who are subject, might have an opportunity for works of piety. Work may be done on the Sabbath under four circumstances: through necessity; for the benefit of the Church—as the priests did all that was necessary in the temple on the Sabbath; in rendering a service to one's neighbour, and, finally, by the

omnia nuda et aperta sint oculis ejus, ut dicitur ad Hebr. IV.; aut quod diligat mendacium, cum tamen optat ipsum: Psal. V., 7: 'Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium:' aut derogas potentiæ, quasi non possit de eo punire . . . Et, nota, quod juramentum est sicut medicina, quæ non semper accipitur, sed in necessitate: et ideo, ut dicitur Matth. V., 37, 'quod his amplius est, a malo est.' Eccl., XXIII., 9: 'Jurationi non assuescat os tuum: multi enim casus in illa. Nominatio vero Dei non sit assidua in ore tuo, et nominibus sanctorum ne admisceaaris: quoniam non eris immunis ab eis.'" *(In Precept. Legis, p.* 104.)

authority of a superior.* S. Jerome tells Rusticus to be ever occupied with some good work, so that the devil may always find him busy. There are three things which we ought to do on the Sabbath: to offer sacrifices of our soul, our body, and our goods; to study the Word of God; and to perform spiritual exercises. But, before the soul can really rest, three kinds of repose must precede: repose from the unrest of sin, from the passions of the flesh, and from the occupations of the world, and after this has been done, the soul can rest freely in God.

4. Now commence the seven precepts of the second tablet of stone. Man must fly evil, and do good. So in the precepts, some of them lead to good, and others prohibit evil. Above all, we ought to do good to those who are our relations. "First, we should love God," says S. Ambrose; "and then our father and mother." For, from our parents, we

* "Hoc est tertium mandatum legis, et convenienter. Primo enim debemus Deum venerari corde: unde præcipitur quod non colatur nisi unus Deus: unde 'non habebis deos alienos coram me.' Secundo ore: unde 'non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum.' Tertio opere: et hoc est 'Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices.' Voluit enim ut esset certus dies in quo intenderent homines ad servitium Dei. Habetur autem hoc præceptum quinque rationibus. Primo enim datum fuit ad destructionem erroris. . . . Secundo datum fuit ad instructionem fidei Redemptoris. . . . Tertio datum fuit ad roborandum sive figurandum veritatem promissionis. . . . Quarto datum fuit hoc præceptum ad inflammationem amoris. . . . Quinto datum fuit ad opera pietatis respectu subjectorum. . . . Sciendum quod opera corporalia possunt fieri in sabbato propter quatuor. Primo propter necessitatem. . . . Secundo propter Ecclesiæ utilitatem. . . . Tertio propter proximi utilitatem: unde Dominus curavit in die sabbati habentem manum aridam, et confutavit Judæos reprehendentes eum, ponens exemplum de ove. Quarto propter superioris auctoritatem: unde Dominus præcepit Judæis ut circumciderent in die sabbati, ut dicitur Joan., VII. . . Homo diem festum debet sanctificare . . . primo in faciendis sacrificiis . . . secundo in verborum Dei studiis." *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 105—106.)

receive three things: our being, our food and support, and our education.* Five desirable promises are made to those who honour their parents: that they shall have, first, grace in the present life: and, secondly, glory in the future: "He that honoureth his father shall enjoy a long life."† But, bear this in mind, that a life is long, when it is full; and fulness, according to the philosopher, is not measured by time, but by action; and a life is full, when it is virtuous. But they that injure their parents shall die: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and that despiseth the labour of his mother in bearing him, let the ravens of the brooks pick it out, and the young eagles eat it."‡ The third promise is, that they shall have grateful and acceptable children; the fourth, that they shall have a praiseworthy fame; and the fifth, that they shall possess riches:§ "The father's blessing

* "Perfectio hominis consistit in dilectione Dei et proximi: et ad dilectionem Dei pertinent tria præcepta quæ scripta fuerunt in prima tabula; ad dilectionem vero proximi septem quæ sunt in secunda tabula. Sed, sicut dicitur 1. Joan., 3, non debemus diligere verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate. Homo enim sic diligens debet duo facere: scilicet fugere malum, et facere bonum: unde quædam sunt in præceptis inducentia ad bonum, alia autem sunt prohibentia facere malum. Et sciendum, quod cavere a malo faciendo est in potentia nostra; sed facere cuilibet bonum non possumus: et ideo dicit beatus Augustinus, quod nos omnes debemus diligere, sed non omnibus tenemur benefacere. Sed inter omnes debemus benefacere, conjunctis nobis . . . Inter omnes autem propinquos sunt nobis propinquiores pater et mater; et ideo dicit Ambrosius: 'Primo debemus diligere Deum, secundo patrem et matrem.' . . . Et hujusmodi rationem reddit Philosophus, qui dicit, quod ex magno beneficio recepto ab eis non possumus eis respondere ex æquali: et ideo bene potest pater offensus expellere filium, sed non e converso. Dant autem parentes filio tria. Primo stabilimentum quo ad esse. . . . Secundo nutrimentum sive fulcimentum quo ad necessaria vitæ. Tertio documentum. Hebr., XII., 9: 'Patres quidem carnis nostræ eruditores habuimus.'" *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 106—107.)

† *Eccli., III.*, 7. ‡ *Prov., XXX.*, 17. § *Eccli., III.*, 11.

establisheth the houses of the children; but the mother's curse rooteth up the foundation."*

5. We have not only to do good, but to avoid evil. One of the greatest evils we can inflict upon our neighbour, is to kill him. Regarding this fifth precept, there is a three-fold error. Some have said that it is not lawful to kill even brute animals. But this is not so; all animals are subject to man. And the philosopher says, in his Politics, that "hunting is like a just war." "Whatever is sold in the shambles, eat, asking no questions for conscience sake."† Others have declared it to be unlawful, under any pretext, to put a man to death; so that, according to them, judges, and others, are murderers. But S. Augustine is against this, when he declares that "God does not deprive Himself, by this precept, of the power of putting to death." What is lawful to God, is lawful to His ministers, when He orders them to execute

* "Sciendum est quod honorantibus parentes quinque desiderabilia promittuntur. Et primum est gratia in præsenti, et gloria in futuro, quæ maxime desiderantur. . . . Contrarium debetur maledicentibus, et etiam in lege maledicuntur a Deo, ut dicitur Deut., XXVII. . . . . Sed vita naturalis quasi nihil est in comparatione ad vitam gratiæ. Si ergo non recognoscis beneficium vitæ naturalis quam habes a parentibus, indignus es vita gratiæ quæ major est, et per consequens vita gloriæ, quæ maxima est. . . . Secundum desiderabile est vita; unde 'ut sis longævus super terram.' Dicitur Eccli., III., 7: 'Qui honorat patrem suum, vita vivet longiore.' Et nota, quod vita longa est quando est plena: quæ non mensuratur tempore, sed actione, secundum Philosophum. Tunc plena est vita quando est virtuosa: et ideo virtuosus et sanctus diu vivit, quamvis cito moriatur corporaliter. . . . Præmium est vita corporalis. Sed contrarium, scilicet mortem, acquirunt illi qui injuriantur parentibus. . . . Prov., XXX., 17: 'Oculum qui subsannat patrem, et qui despicit partum matris suæ, suffodiant eum corvi de torrentibus et comedant eum filii aquilæ.' Per filios aquilæ intelliguntur reges et principes, per corvos, officiales. Tertium est habere filios sibi gratos et acceptos. . . . Quartum est habere famam laudabilem. . . . Quintum est habere divitias." *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 107—108.)

† 1 *Cor.*, *X.*, 25.

His law: "I will kill, and I will make to live." * Others have said that this precept does not include suicide; and therefore, that suicide is lawful. But S. Augustine answers them, when he says: "He who kills himself, without doubt, kills a man." †

Is all anger contrary to virtue? There are two opinions. The Stoics taught that true virtue consisted in peace of mind: the Peripatetics held that a wise man might be moderately angry—and this seems nearer the truth, and is evident, from the Gospel, from the example of Christ, and from reason; for the irascible power would have been given in vain, were no anger ever permitted. So, anger is sometimes a virtue, and sometimes not a virtue. Anger may be considered in three ways: when it resides only in the judgment of the reason, without any disturbance of mind, and then it is not, in reality, "anger," but "judgment;" and it is in this way that God is affected, when He punishes the wicked. Next, it may be considered

* *Deut., XXXII.*, 39.

† "In lege Divina, per quam ordinamur ad dilectionem Dei et proximi, præcipitur non solum facere bonum, sed etiam declinare a malo. Inter alia autem majus malum quo possit fieri proximo, est occidere eum; et hoc prohibetur cum dicitur 'Non occides.' Circa quod præceptum tripliciter est erratum. Quidam enim dixerunt, quod non licet occidere etiam bruta animalia . . . quidam dixerunt prohibitum esse homicidium hominis omnino: unde homicidas dicunt esse judices sæculares, qui condemnant secundum leges aliquos: contra quos dicit Augustinus, quod Deus per hoc præceptum non abstulit sibi potestatem occidendi. . . . Id enim quod licitum est Deo, licitum est et ministris ejus, per mandatum ipsius. . . . Est ergo sensus; 'Non occides' propria auctoritate. Alii vero dixerunt, quod per hoc quod dicitur, 'Non occides' prohibetur non occidere alium; unde dicebant, quod licitum erat occidere seipsum. Sic enim invenitur de Samsone Judic. XVI., et de Catone, et de quibusdam virginibus quæ se in flammas injecerunt, sicut recitat Augustinus I. de Civitate Dei. Sed ad hoc respondet Augustinus ibidem, dicens: 'qui se occidit, hominem utique occidit.' Si ergo hominem non licet occidere, nisi auctoritate Dei: ergo nec seipsum, nisi vel auctoritate Dei, vel instinctu Spiritus sancti, sicut dicitur de Samsone, ergo 'Non occides.'" (*In Præcept. Legis, p.* 108.)

as a passion, and then it resides in the sensitive appetite, and is twofold—for sometimes it is regulated by the dictates of reason; when, for instance, a man is angry when he should be, and as much as he should be, and no more—and then, anger is a virtue. At other times, man's anger gets the better of his reason, and then, it is sinful.* The difference between anger and hatred is this, that the former is soon over, whilst the latter is abiding; and, therefore, a mortal sin. "He who hates his brother, is a murderer." † S. Augustine says in his Rule: "Have no contentions; or, if you have any, end them as soon as possible; lest anger develop into hatred, and the mote be turned into a beam; and the soul become guilty of murder." In all our doings, we should observe two things: justice, and mercy. Anger prevents us from so doing. Hence, a philosopher said to one who had offended him: "Were I not angry, I would punish you." Christ

* "Sed numquid omnis ira est contraria virtuti? Circa hoc duplex est opinio. Stoici enim dixerunt, quod nulla passio cadit in sapientem: immo volebant quod vera virtus esset in quiete mentis. Peripatetici autem dixerunt, quod ira cadit in sapientem, sed moderata: et est opinio verior. Et patet primo auctoritate, quia in Evangeliis invenimus istas passiones Christo attributas, in quo fuit fontalis plenitudo sapientiæ. Secundo patet ratione: nam si omnes passiones virtuti contrarientur, essent aliquæ potentiæ animæ quæ essent frustra, immo quæ essent homini in nocumentum, quia irascibilis et concupiscibilis frustra datæ essent homini. Et ideo dicendum est, quod aliquando ira est virtus, aliquando non. Accipitur enim ira tripliciter. Primo prout est in solo judicio rationis absque commotione animi; et ista non dicitur proprie ira, sed judicium. Sic enim Dominus puniens malos, iratus dicitur Mich., VII., 9: 'Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei.' Secundo accipitur prout est passio; et ista est in appetitu sensitivo; et est duplex: quia aliquando ordinatur ratione et continetur sub terminis rationis, quando scilicet quis irascitur quando debet et quantum debet et pro quo debet, et hujusmodi: et tunc est actus virtutis, et dicitur ira per zelum. . . . Est et tertia ira quæ refugit judicium rationis, et ista semper est peccatum: sed aliquando veniale, aliquando est mortale." *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 109.)

† 1 *John, III.*, 15.

wishes us to abstain from the beginnings of evil; anger is the beginning of homicide; therefore, our Lord warns us against anger. *

6. Adultery is forbidden after murder, and fitly, for man and wife are, as it were, one body: "They shall be two in one flesh." † A wife seems to be guilty of a greater sin in committing adultery than a husband. She commits three grave sins. The first, is incredulity, because she misbelieves the Law; she sins against the ordination of God, and also against the Statutes, or Sacrament, of the Church. The second, treachery, for she abandons her husband. The third consists in the commission of a theft; and it is the greatest theft, for she gives the whole inheritance to the children of another. The woman, therefore, who is an adultress, commits sacrilege, and is a traitor, and a robber. Nor do husbands sin less than their wives, and this, on three accounts: because of the equality

* "Homicidium videtur esse actus peccati mortalis ex suo genere, quia directe ordinatur contra præceptum divinum: et ideo consensus in homicidium est peccatum mortale ex genere: quia si actus est mortalis, et consensus erit mortalis. Aliquando autem peccatum mortale est ex genere, sed tamen motus non est peccatum mortale, quia est sine consensu; sicut si ascendit motus concupiscentiæ ad fornicandum, et non consentitur, non est peccatum mortale; similiter ira: est enim motus ad injuriam illatam vindicandam: hæc enim est proprie ira. . . . Secunda ratio quare debemus non provocari cito ad iram, est, quia omnis homo diligit libertatem et odit servitutem. . . . Secundo cavere debet ne diu in ira permaneat. . . . Tertio cavere debet ne in ira procedat. Primo in corde, quod fit quando pervenit ad odium. Est enim differentia inter iram et odium, quia ira subita est, odium vero diuturnum; et ideo est mortale peccatum: 1 Joan, III., 15: 'qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est:' et ratio hujus est, quia et se interficit spoliando se caritate, et alium. Augustinus in Regula: 'Lites aut nullas habeatis, aut quam celerrime finiatis, ne ira crescat in odium, et trabem faciat de festuca, et animam faciat homicidam.' Genes., XLIX., 7: 'Maledictus furor eorum quia pertinax, et indignatio eorum, quia dura.'" *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 109.)

† *Gen., II.*, 24.

they enjoy; on account of the superior strength of the man; and on account of his authority—for the man is the head and the teacher of the woman. But the sin of a priest is greater than that of a layman, and that of a bishop greater than that of a priest. Similarly, a husband committing adultery is guilty of a breach of faith.* But let wives attend to that which Christ says: "All things, therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do ye not, for they say, and do not."† S. Gregory says that carnal sins, though less culpable, are more infamous than spiritual offences; and the reason is, because they render a man like to a beast.

7. The Law forbids injury, first, to persons: "Thou shalt not kill;" secondly, to the married: "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" and thirdly, in respect of goods: "Thou shalt not steal;" S. Augustine says

* "Post prohibitionem homicidii prohibetur adulterium; et congrue, quia vir et uxor sunt quasi unum corpus. . . . Et ideo post injuriam quæ infertur personæ, nulla major est quam illa quæ infertur conjunctæ. Prohibetur autem adulterium uxori et viro. Sed prius dicendum est de uxoris adulterio, quia majus peccatum videtur committere. Committit autem tria peccata gravia uxor mœchando. . . . Primo ergo peccat per incredulitatem, quia legi incredibilis fit. . . . Item facit contra Dei ordinationem. . . . Item contra Ecclesiæ statuta, vel sacramentum: fit enim matrimonium in facie Ecclesiæ; et ideo adducitur Deus quasi in testem et fidejussorem de servanda fide. . . . Secundo peccat per perditionem, quia derelinquit virum. . . . Tertio per furti commissionem quia ex alieno viro constituit sibi filiis; et hoc maximum furtum est, quia totam hereditatem dat alienis filiis. Et nota, quod ista deberet studere quod filii intrarent religionem, vel aliquid aliud facerent, ita quod in bonis viri non succederent. Est ergo mulier mœchans, sacrilega, proditrix, furatrix. Viri vero peccant non minus quam uxores, licet sibi quandoque blandiantur: quod patet ex tribus. Primo ex æqualitate quam habet. . . . Secundo ex viri fortitudine. . . . Tertio ex ejus auctoritate; quia vir est caput mulieris: unde mulieres non debent loqui in Ecclesia; sed domi viros interrogare, ut dicitur, 1 Corinth., XIV. Est ergo vir doctor mulieris: et ideo Deus præceptum dedit viro." (*In Præcept. Legis, p.* 110.)

† *Matth., XXIII.*, 3.

that: "All unlawful possession is a theft." This precept forbids all unjust taking away. And there are many reasons to induce us to avoid this sin. First, on account of its gravity, for it is likened to the crime of murder: "He that sheddeth blood, and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire, are brothers." * Secondly, on account of the ruinous danger it implies. † For no sin is so ensnaring; since it cannot be remitted without satisfaction and penance. A man may quickly repent; just as a man's anger subsides after a murder; or his passion ceases after his sin. But here, though a man may repent, he does not so easily make satisfaction, since he not only has to restore the goods, but to repair the damage done; and, besides all this, he has to do penance for his sin: "Woe to him that heapeth together that which is not his own; how long also doth he

* *Eccli.*, XXXIV., 27.

† "Dominus prohibuit principaliter in lege sua injuriam proximi: et primo injuriam in propriam personam, ibi, 'Non occides:' secundo in persona conjuncta, ibi, 'Non mœchaberis;' tertio in rebus, hic, 'Non furtum facies.' Et sciendum, quod in hoc præcepto prohibetur omne male ablatum. Committitur enim furtum multis modis. Primo occulte accipiendo. . . . Secundo violenter auferendo: et hæc est major injuria. . . . Tertio mercedem non solvendo. . . . Quarto fraudem in mercationibus committendo. . . . Debent nos inducere multæ rationes ad hoc [furtum] cavendum. Prima sumitur ex gravitate: assimilatur enim hoc peccatum homicidio. . . . Secunda ex periculi qualitate: nullum enim peccatum est ita periculosum. Nullum enim peccatum remittitur sine satisfactione et pœnitentia. . . . Tertio ex talium inutilitate: non enim sunt utilia, neque spiritualiter. Prov., X., 2: 'Nil proderunt thesauri impietatis:' divitiæ enim spiritualiter prosunt ad eleemosynas et sacrificia. Prov., XIII., 8: 'Redemptio animæ viri divitiæ suæ:' sed de non propriis dicitur. Isai., LXI., 8: 'Ego Dominus diligens judicium, et odio habens rapinam in holocaustum.' Eccli., XXXIV., 24: 'Qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperum, quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris sui:' nec temporaliter, quia parum durant. Habac., II., 9: 'Vae qui congregat avaritiam in malum domui suæ . . . et liberari se putat de manu mali.'" *(In Præcept. Legis., p.* 111—112.)

load himself with thick clay?" * Thirdly, on account of the inutility of such a sin; and, fourthly, on account of the singular harm which results from it, for it brings destruction along with it, like fire when thrown upon straw :† "Fire shall devour their tabernacles who love to take bribes." ‡

8. We have seen that God forbids man to injure his neighbour, by deed; now, he commands that he should not injure him, by word : § "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." This may be done in two ways : in giving judgment, or in common conversation. In judgment, three sins may be committed : by accusing falsely—and, remember, that as you cannot say what is false, so you must not conceal what is true; then, by witnessing to a lie; and, finally. by an unjust sentence. In common conversation, five kinds of persons sin

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* *Habac., II.*, 6.

† "Prov., XXVIII., 8 : 'Qui coacervat divitias usuris, et fenore liberali in pauperis congregat eas :' Prov., XIII., 22 : 'Custoditur justo substantia peccatoris.' Quarto ex nocumenti singularitate : faciunt enim perdere alia : sunt enim ignis paleis commixtus. Job, XV., 34 : 'Ignis devoravit tabernacula eorum qui munera libenter accipiunt.' Scias insuper, quod talis non solum suam amittet animam, sed etiam filiorum, quia illi tenentur reddere." *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 112.)

‡ *Job, XV.*, 24.

§ "Prohibuit jam Dominus, quod nullus injurietur proximo suo opere ; nunc autem præcepit quod non injurietur verbo ; et hoc est : 'Non loquaris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.' Hoc autem potest esse dupliciter : vel in judicio, vel in communi locutione. In judicio autem tribus modis, secundum quod tres personæ possunt facere contra hoc præceptum. Prima persona, scilicet accusantis falso. . . . Item persona testificantis mentiendo. . . . Item persona judicis male sententiando. . . . In communi locutione peccant aliquando contra hoc præceptum quinque genera hominum. Scilicet detractores. . . . Item qui detractores libenter audit. . . . Item susurratores, qui scilicet recitant quidquid audiunt. . . . Item blanditores, idest adulatores. . . . Item murmuratores ; et hoc maxime abundat in subditis. 1 Corinth., X., 10 : 'Neque murmuraveritis.' Sapient., I., 11 : 'Custodite vos a murmuratione, quæ nihil prodest.'" *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 112.)

against this command: detractors, who are hateful to God; those who freely listen to them; gossips, who relate all they hear; flatterers, that is, adulators; and murmurers. By this Commandment, all lies are forbidden, and for four reasons: because lies render men similar to the devil—a liar is the devil's son: "For thy speech doth discover thee;" * on account of inveracity tending to bring about the dissolution of society—for men could not live together, if the truth were not told; because lies destroy a man's reputation; and, finally, because they work the perdition of the soul: "The mouth that belieth, killeth the soul." † The Saint then gives some of the principal causes which lead men to tell lies, ending with the case of those who tell lies in fun. And of this we must be careful, lest, through custom, we be led on to mortal sin:

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* "Eccl., VII., 14: 'Noli velle mentiri omne mendacium; assiduitas enim illius non est bona': et hoc propter quatuor. Primo propter diaboli assimilationem: talis enim efficitur diaboli filius. . . . Item homines quidam sunt de genere diaboli. . . . Secundo propter societatis dissolutionem. Homines enim simul vivunt: quod esse non posset si simul verum non diceret. . . . Tertio propter famæ amissionem: qui enim assuescit mendaciis, non creditur sibi, etiam si verum dicat. . . . Quarto propter animæ perditionem: occidit enim homo mendax animam suam: Sapient., I., 11: 'Os quod mentitur, occidit animam.' Psalm. V., 7: 'Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium.' Unde patet quod est peccatum mortale. Unde advertas, quia ipsorum mendaciorum quoddam est mortale, quoddam veniale. Mortale autem est mentiri in his quæ sunt fidei; quod pertinet, ad præclaros magistros et prædicatores: et hoc est gravius omnibus aliis speciebus mendacii: 2 Petr., II., 1: 'In vobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perditionis.' Et aliqui aliquando talia dicunt, ut videantur scire. Isa., XLVII., 4: 'Super quem lusistis, super quem dilatastis os, et ejecistis linguam? Numquid non vos filii scelesti, semen mendax?' Item aliquando mentiuntur aliqui in damnum proximi. Coloss., III., 9: 'Nolite mentiri invicem.' Et hæc duo mendacia mortalia sunt. Aliqui autem mentiuntur pro seipsis: et hoc multipliciter. Aliquando ex humilitate. . . . Aliqui ex verecundia levitate. . . . Aliqui ex utilitate. . . . Aliqui propter alterius commodum. . . . Aliqui propter ludum." *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 112—113.)

† *Wisdom, I.,* 11.

"For the bewitching of vanity obscureth good things."*

9. This is the difference between the Divine and the civil law, viz. : the civil law only judges words and actions; the Divine law judges thoughts also; and the reason is, because the former is made by man, who judges things from the outside; the latter is from God, who sees both within and without : "Man seeth those things that appear, but the Lord beholdeth the heart."† With God, the "will" is equivalent to the action; not only are we not to steal the property of another, but we are not even to covet it. And there are many reasons for this : first, on account of the infiniteness of concupiscence. And the reason why covetousness is never satiated is, because the heart of man was made for God;‡ hence, S. Augustine : "Thou hast made us, O Lord, for Thyself, and our heart is not at rest till it rests in

* *Wisdom, IV.*, 12. † *Reg., XVI.*, 7.

‡ "Hæc est differentia inter legem divinam et mundanam : quia lex mundana judicat facta et dicta : divina autem non hæc tantum, sed etiam cogitata. Et ratio hujus est, quia illa est per homines, qui judicant ea quæ apparent exterius; sed divina est a Deo, qui exterius interiusque conspicit : Psalm., LXXII., 25 : 'Deus cordis mei.' 1 Reg., XVI., 7 : 'Homo videt quæ foris sunt, Deus autem intuetur cor.' Dictum est autem de præceptis quæ pertinent ad dicta et facta; nunc ergo dicendum est de cogitatis. Nam apud Deum voluntas pro facto reputatur : unde 'non concupisces;' id est, non solum non auferas facto, sed nec etiam 'rem proximi tui concupisces;' et hoc propter multa. Primo propter concupiscentiæ infinitatem : concupiscentia enim quid infinitum est. . . . Et quod concupiscentia nunquam satietur, ratio est, quia cor hominis factum est ad recipiendum Deum. . . . Secundo quia aufert quietem, quæ multum est delectabilis : semper enim cupidi soliciti sunt acquirere non habita, et habita custodire. . . . Tertio quia causat in divitiis inutilitatem : facit enim divitias esse non utiles nec sibi nec aliis. . . . Quarto, quia tollit justitiæ æquitatem. Quinto quia necat caritatem proximi : 'quia secundum Augustinum, quanto magis habet quis de caritate, tanto minus de cupiditate, et e converso :' Eccl., VII., 20 : 'Neque fratrem carissimum auro spreveris.'" *(In Præcept. Legis, p.* 113.)

Thee." What is less than God cannot fill the heart. Secondly, because it disturbs repose, which is very pleasant; for the covetous are eager to obtain what they do not possess, and to preserve what they have got hold of. And on this account, Christ likened riches to thorns, as S. Gregory tells us. Thirdly, because it makes riches useless, to the owner, as well as to others, for all he does is to hoard them up. Fourthly, because it does away with the equity of justice. Fifthly, because it destroys charity; for, according to Augustine, "the more charitable a man is, the less covetous he is, and conversely." Sixthly, because it brings forth all iniquity, and is the root of all evils.

10. On account of the corruption consequent on sin, Christ and the glorious Virgin alone escaped concupiscence. * Sin reigns in the flesh, first, when concupiscence, by consent, domineers in the heart. Secondly, when it rules in the mouth, by giving expression to the

* "Beatus Joannes in 1 Canonica sua, II. Capite, vers. 16, dicit, quod 'omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ:' unde omne desiderabile in his tribus consistit; sed duo ex istis intelliguntur prohibita per hoc præceptum. 'Non concupisces domum proximi tui.' In domo enim intelligitur et altitudo, per quam avaritia designatur: Psalm III., 3: 'Gloria et divitiæ in domo ejus.' Qui ergo desiderat domum, desiderat dignitates. Et ideo post hoc præceptum. 'Non concupisces domum proximi tui,' ponitur aliud, per quod prohibetur carnis concupiscentia. 'Non,' inquit 'desiderabis uxorem proximi tui.' Et est sciendum, quod post peccatum, propter corruptionem nullus evadit concupiscentiam præter Christum et Virginem gloriosam. Et quandocumque concupiscentia adest, adest vel cum veniali, vel cum mortali, quando scilicet dominatur. . . . Regnat peccatum in carne, quando primo in corde regnat concupiscentia, consentiendo. . . . Voluntas apud Deum pro facto reputatur. Secundo quando dominatur in ore, conceptum exprimendo. . . . Ephes., IV., 29: 'Omnis sermo malus ex ore vestro non procedat.' Et ideo non est sine peccato componere cantiones vanas, etiam secundum Philosophos; quia et Poetæ fingentes carmina amatoria debebant expelli ex civitatibus. Tertio, quando egreditur in opere. . . . Isti ergo sunt gradus concupiscentiæ." (*In Præcept. Legis, p.* 114.)

concept of the mind—so, even according to the philosophers, they are not without sin who compose wanton songs; for poets who wrote love-songs were driven out of the cities. Thirdly, when it is put into act—and these are the three degrees of concupiscence. Much labour must be expended in conquering this sin, for it is intrinsic to us, and a domestic enemy is conquered with difficulty. But there are four ways of overcoming it: by flying external occasions—"Can a man hide fire in his bosom, and his garments not burn?" * Secondly, by not giving admittance to thoughts which are an occasion of exciting concupiscence; and this is done by punishing the flesh: "I chastise my body, and bring it under subjection." † Thirdly, by being constant in prayer. ‡ If two men are fighting, and you wish the one to conquer, and not the other, you must strengthen the one, and weaken the other:

* *Prov., VI.*, 27. † 1 *Cor., IX.*, 27.

‡ "Et sciendum quod in fugiendo istud peccatum oportet multum laborare, cum sit intrinsecum: difficilius enim vincitur inimicus familiaris. Vincitur autem quatuor modis. Primo occasiones exteriores fugiendo, ut puta malam societatem, et omnia inducentia occasionaliter ad hoc peccatum. Eccli., IX., 5: 'Virginem ne conspicias, ne forte scandalizeris in decore illius . . . Noli circumspicere in vicis civitatis, nec observeris in plateis illius. Averte faciem tuam a muliere compta, et ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt, et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit.' Prov., VI., 27: 'Numquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, ut vestimenta illius non ardeant?' Et ideo præceptum fuit Lot ut fugeret ab omni circa regione, Gen. XIX. Secundo cogitationibus aditum non præbendo, quia occasio sunt excitandæ concupiscentiæ: et hoc faciendum est per carnis afflictionem: 1 Cor., IX., 27: 'Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo.' Tertio orationibus insistendo quia 'nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam:' Psalm., CXXVI., 1. Sapient., VIII., 21: 'Scivi quoniam aliter non possum esse continens, nisi Deus det:' Matth., XVII., 20: 'Hoc genus dæmoniorum non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium.' Si enim duo pugnarent; et velles unum juvare, alterum vero non: oportet primo auxilium dare, secundo vero subtrahere." (*In Præcept. Legis, p.* 114.)

hence, if you want the spirit to be victorious, you must assist it; and this is done by prayer. And you must reduce the flesh, and that is done by fasting—for, by fasting, the body is weakened. Fourthly, by persevering in lawful occupations: "Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister—pride, fulness of bread, and abundance, and the idleness of her and of her daughters."* Amongst all occupations, the best is the study of the Holy Scriptures. S. Jerome writes to Paulinus: "Love the study of the Scriptures, and thou wilt not love the vices of the flesh."†

The reader must now be left to form his own judgment upon the minor works of the Angelical, written at this period. Some of the most telling thoughts have been selected, and the general tone and method of the Saint's mind have been displayed. But, it stands to reason, that, fully to

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* *Ezech., XVI.*, 49.

† "Inter spiritum autem et carnem est prælium continuum: unde oportet quod si vis quod spiritus vincat, quod des ei auxilium, et hoc fit per orationem; carni vero subtrahas, et hoc fit per jejunium; nam caro per jejunium debilitatur. Quarto licitis occupationibus insistendo: Eccli., XXXIII., 29: 'Multam malitiam docuit otiositas;' Ezech., XVI., 49: 'Hæc fuit iniquitas Sodomæ, superbia, saturitas panis, et abundantia, et otium.' Hieronymus: 'Semper aliquid boni facito, ut te diabolus inveniat occupatum.' Inter omnes autem occupationes melior est studium Scripturarum. Hieronymus ad Paulinum: 'Ama studia Scripturarum, et carnis vitia non amabis. Hæc ergo sunt decem verba, de quibus dicit Dominus. Matth., XIX., 17: 'Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata,' Duæ enim sunt radices principales omnium mandatorum, scilicet dilectio Dei et proximi. Diligenti autem Deum tria necesse est facere: Scilicet quod non habeat alium Deum, et quantum ad hoc dicit: 'Non coles deos alienos.' Secundo quod honoret eum, et quantum ad hoc dicit: 'Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum.' Tertio quod libenter quiescat in eo; et quantum ad hoc dicit: 'Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices.' Diligentem autem proximum oportet quod primo faciat ei honorem debitum. . . . Secundo quod abstineat a faciendo ei malum vel facto . . . vel corde." (*In Præcept. Legis, p.* 114.)

appreciate the depth and solidity of his mind, and the consecutive chain of his reasoning, the works themselves must be studied in their relation of part to part. What, perhaps, is more striking than anything else in these Expositions, is this: that, in the entire handling of each subject, the profoundest theological science is made manifest, and an acquaintance with Holy Scripture is evinced, which shows at once what a deep knowledge, and what a complete grasp, the Angelical had of the Sacred Text. It is difficult to say which is the most extraordinary—the ingenuity with which he illustrates the minutest point of morals with passages of Holy Writ, or the memory which he displays in the number of his quotations, or the readiness of his resource in bringing them to bear, or, finally, the vividness with which he appears to perceive an association of ideas where less elastic minds would never have discovered any at all. Then, again, what is particularly valuable in these Expositions is, that the analysis of the various virtues, and vices, and passions, which come under discussion, is made with extreme care, and with undoubted success. The Saint's appreciation of the human heart, his singular clearness of mind, his logical directness of expression, and his thorough mastery of the moral theory of the Stagyrite, fitted him, in a remarkable degree, for such undertakings. Then, once more, his great purity of life, his intense power of prayer, his associations with the unseen world, his intimate

relations with his Maker and his Master, and the calmness of his intellectual vision, which was never disturbed by prejudice or by passion, by narrowness or by feeling, but was always fixed, gently, yet steadily, on Truth, gave him a steadiness and a force, a brilliancy and a depth, which has made him the light of the Church, as well as the Angel of the Schools.

Many more points of great interest might, of course, be touched upon, in the writings of our Saint, at this period ; but there are other events, of a less peaceful nature than the learned disquisitions and tracts of the theologian, which must not be passed over. In times of tranquillity, the Angelical manifested high and splendid virtue ; but, after all, it was in days of contest, and amidst the jarring of contending parties, that his greatest nobleness was shown ; for this simple reason, that such occasions offer the most favourable opportunities for the practice of distinguished virtue, and for the display of true heroism of soul.

CHAPTER XXII.

WILLIAM OF SAINT-AMOUR.

Whilst S. Thomas was busily engaged in teaching, preaching, and writing, those antagonistic elements, which can be traced in the history of every thinking race, were fermenting, and preparing for a great explosion. The condition of the Paris University has already been dwelt upon—how the rationalism and irreverence of the disciples of the school of Abelard had spread abroad; how the Eastern heresies had lodged in the heart of the University; how the whole intellectual atmosphere of the greatest theological centre of the world was charged with principles of misbelief; how a fanaticism of a singular nature had possessed many minds, and had driven them into all manner of spiritual insanities; and how, in fine, the fierceness of the political order added fuel to the general excitement.

As the religious Orders, particularly those of S. Dominic and S. Francis, seem to have been

raised up to create a barrier to this press of unreason and disorder—and, by holy vows, by abrogation of private judgment, abandonment of family ties, and renunciation of worldly goods, to become organized witnesses to stability of faith, to subjection of will, and to control of mind and imagination—it stands to reason that they would be the first to be attacked. There is a subtle instinct in man—as there is in the animal—by which, with the rapidity of infallible intuition, he detects, at a distance, and at once, those who are his natural enemies, however artfully they may have endeavoured to simulate friendship, or to hide their hostile dispositions. Then, antagonism on one side, elicits opposition from the other; till what were, at first, almost imperceptible germs, grow into vast organic and conflicting powers. If it be truth against error; or against truth mixed with a little alloy; or, again, against error mixed with a little truth—the battle may be protracted, and the fight, at times, may seem doubtful; but, in the long run, the stronger prevails, the weaker is overpowered, is cast to the earth, decays into it, and at length disappears altogether.

Now, at this period, rationalism and irreverence had been worked up to a vigorous display of themselves, through the successes of their rivals. That frame of mind which belonged to the liberal school, could not endure to behold men, whose very appearance preached veneration, reverence, self-control, and custody of tongue and eyes, by degrees

gaining a firm hold on the minds of youth.* Men can bear, with comparative patience, a word or a blow; but nothing is so mortifying, because nothing is so withering, as the silent condemnation of a living principle which, without the effort of words, by simply letting itself be seen, scourges folly, rebukes pretence, and shames the shallowness of self-assertion, and the emptiness of self-conceit. The noisy, and the thoughtless, are never more at ease than when with men of the same build as themselves; and never less so, than when there happens to be in the company, some quiet, thoughtful man, who says, perhaps, nothing, but who, nevertheless, is known to be a critic, and an observer of his kind.

Much more reason had the liberals to dislike the Mendicants, who were guilty of two unpardonable faults: they were religious, and they were successful. They had already penetrated into the University. They had, in a few years, expanded into powerful corporations; and, like a network, had spread their meshes

* Dr. Newman forcibly expresses the principle when he says:—"Every religion has had its eminent devotees, exalted above the body of the people, mortified men, brought nearer to the Source of Good by austerities, self-inflictions, and prayer, who have influence with Him, and extend a shelter and gain blessings for those who become their clients. A belief like this has been, of course, attended by numberless superstitions; but those superstitions vary with times and places, and the belief itself in the mediatorial power of the good and holy has been one and the same everywhere. Nor is this belief an idea of past times only, or of heathen countries. It is one of the most natural visions of the young and innocent. And all of us, the more keenly we feel our distance from holy persons, the more we are drawn near to them, as if forgetting that distance, and proud of them because they are so unlike ourselves, as being specimens of what our nature may be, and with some vague hope that we, their relations by blood, may profit in our own persons by their holiness." (*Grammar of Assent, Chap. X., p.* 402—403.)

over the surface of the Church. Their mortified appearance, their unmistakeable rejection of the world, their eloquence in the pulpit, and their influence in the confessional, drew thousands under their control; and thus, they did away with the prestige, and lessened the power, of the secular clergy, and the secular professors. There was, for instance, Albert, called the Great, who drew such crowds, that he had to lecture in the open air; and he was but one amongst many more who caught the ear of the promising student, and drew him under monastic influences, and often into the Order itself. And now, Thomas and Bonaventure were imitating Albert, and were blighting, by their brilliancy, the reputation and the prospects of less able men.

Then, it was not forgotten that, when the Doctors were unanimous in their desire to assert the dignity of the University, the Mendicants stood aloof; and, in fact, ever seemed to keep their right eye steadily fixed on the advancement and reputation of their own Society. Again, besides being living protests against Abelardine principles, the Mendicants were *successful* protests, inasmuch as they counted amongst their number, men, who, into whatever position they were cast, would, from their own intrinsic merit and ability, act as leaders of the world.

Still, light, however brilliant, is not without its shadows. The most splendid and perfect institution, if it grow, and occupy a large space, if

many join it, will have, amongst its members, imprudent, ardent, and therefore, dangerous men—men, who through their very love of their religion, by trying to elevate it rashly, bring it to the verge of ruin: or, at least, offer so fair a pretext to the malevolent for attacking it, that the combined learning and prudence of many years will hardly make good the damage done The mass of men do not deal in fine distinctions; they see only broad outlines; to distinguish, with them, is casuistry; and casuistry, they consider to be next door to systematized imposture. Point out some telling scandals against some member of a large organized body; be they only three or four, or true or false, repeat them often enough, couple the name of that organized body with them; and the "public" will pass the verdict of guilty upon the whole, and condemn both the system, and him who sins against it.

So was it with the Dominicans and Franciscans at this period. They represented the great principles of monasticism, as opposed to the liberalism and irreverence of that day.* But the

* "Man sah überdiess in den Mendicanten ein Element in die Universität eindringen, welches den freien Gemeingeist derselben zu beeinträchtigen drohte, jedenfalls den selbstständigen Bewegungen des autonomen Körpers hindernd entgegenstand. Man dachte also daran, ihnen überhaupt den Beruf zum öffentlichen Lehren abzusprechen. Die Gunst, welcher sie sich von Seite des Papstes und des Königs erfreuten, gab um einen Grund mehr, sich ihrer, wo möglich, zu entledigen; die grosse Menge, welche an den mancherlei Reibungen der Universität mit den Behörden und öffentlichen Gewalten Wohlgefallen hatte, und in dem Universitätskörper ein willkommenes Element liberaler Opposition gegen die bevorrechteten Stände und Organe der öffentlichen Gewalten erblickte, war für diese Absicht nicht schwer zu gewinnen; zumal wenn man die Mendicanten in Verruf brachte als Leute, welche vom Geiste der Hoffart durchdrungen seien und unter dem heuchlerischen Scheine der Armuth Schätze häuften, kein Mittel zur Erwerbung derselben verschmähend." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III.*, *p.* 158–159.)

Dominicans and Franciscans formed a powerful and influential body of men. There were spots amongst them—and some very large and ugly spots. There had been, and still were, abuses amongst them—and large and ugly abuses too—in a word, they were human, and they lived in the thirteenth century.

Now, the great practical work which S. Thomas did against rationalism and irreverence, was to save the religious Orders from being wholly overpowered. He has, in his writings, laid down the principles of true reason, which, when developed and applied, overset the rationalistic spirit. Had he not possessed a clear head, and had he not been gifted with extraordinary genius, in all probability, the cause of monasticism would have suffered a very terrible blow. One thing is a set of principles buried in a book, or taught, even, in the chair; another thing is the organized power, or system, which embodies them, and expresses their energy and power. The high motives of love, reverence, purity, and adoration, in their noblest form, would soon disappear from the consciousness of men—would soon, indeed, be wholly misunderstood, and then be hated by society—if their living exponents were thrust on one side; that is, if men who felt themselves called to devote their whole beings to the Divine service, were thwarted of their purpose, and forbidden to carry out, in their lives, the highest teachings of the Cross.

S. Thomas must clearly have seen that the

adversaries of the religious life—that rationalism and irreverence, in one word—were bent upon sweeping away, not simply the theoretical teaching of the principle of reverence and authority, not merely monastic theology, but monastic *men*. The liberals perceived, shrewdly enough, that if the Mendicants were deprived of that training which gave them half their power, the world would soon abandon them, and then despise them, and rob them of the other half; that, if it could in some way be shown that the fundamental truths of monastic life were vain, or absurd, or unbecoming; that freedom, and independence, and self-assertion, were more worthy than subjection and self-repression, and an humble life; then, those promising young men who formed the rising generation, would forsake the cloister, join in the struggles of the world, and become the admirers and slaves of irreverence or infidelity.

There is no doubt that the contest which eventually raged in the Paris schools, between the two great parties—between the secular element and the regulars—was no sudden creation of mutual antagonism. The University, ever since these two elements, had grown into anything like a powerful life, had been the scene of much rivalry, and no little jealousy and ill-feeling. Principles cannot possibly assert themselves, in the shape of living, active men, without very soon coming into collision; and of all principles, religious principles, as far as the experience of history goes, appear

to be the most inflammable and explosive. Often, two opposite parties smoulder, and smoke, and threaten, for a long time, before actually encountering each other. Much depends on the accident of individuals. It happens, at times, that in either party no one rises up who can be chosen as a centre, or can be trusted as a leader. As long as there is no one to take this initiative, the fire spreads, steadily and gradually, but silently, and without being seen. The principles which are eating their way into the minds of many, and every day fixing themselves on some new subject on the one side, at length come in contact with the antagonistic principles which have been advancing unimpeded in exactly the same way upon the other: till, finally, on one side or the other, some man who has energy, talent, and enthusiasm, is roused into activity by the influence that comes suddenly upon him, and at once, like a spark amongst prepared combustibles, the whole material, on either side, bursts out into flame.

In the present instance, S. Thomas and William of S. Amour were the representatives of two sets of principles, which, for a long course of years, had been growing in opposition—S. Amour combating on the rationalistic side; S. Thomas, on that of authority.

The work S. Thomas did, in this respect, cannot be understood without a reference to the rise, progress, and close of the great University struggle in which he had to take a leading part.

William of S. Amour is a fair specimen of one of those conceited and turbulent men who seem never to be wanting in the Church—possibly to teach her pastors to watch, and to be patient. Without Abelard's brilliancy or gifts, without his polish or generosity, he possessed, in an exaggerated degree, his contentious spirit and rationalistic malady. He was master of all that astuteness, cunning, and elasticity of conscience—all that talent for throwing a trifling difficulty into a distorted form, and that ability in playing the injured man, which seems, by a sort of fatality, to accompany a self-sufficient, and an irreverent teacher. And William of S. Amour was also a violent man; and, it is to be feared, he was hardly honest. He may have had his own reasons for what he said, and his own explanations—doubtless, he had—but he did not always strictly tell the truth. Morally, very possibly, he may have been innocent enough. He had a vast and an unruly imagination, and, when on fire, it blazed without control. To have thrown water upon it—to have dropped into it a truth here and there—would only have been to have created noise, to have multiplied confusion, and to have generated much more smoke than before.

Some writers, who do not seem to look much below the surface, have ventured the opinion that William's quarrel was simply a personal matter. Is it not more philosophical to suppose it to have been the first note of a war of principle? Had it been merely a private difference, the whole world

of Catholic thought at Rome and Paris—popes and kings, bishops and generals of Orders, professors of Universities and students of the schools—would not have been set so violently in motion. No, it was the call of the bugle; the shrill clarion, sounding for a charge, which was the prelude to a general engagement.

The fact is, before William of S. Amour had penned the first line of his celebrated "Perils of the Last Times," he had incurred serious suspicion, on account of his unorthodox beliefs and teachings. He had been charged with divers errors, not only before the Bishop of Paris, and in the presence of several attendant prelates; but he had also, through the influence of the Papal Legate, been accused of holding dangerous views, before the King of France himself.* William, with that cunning which generally accompanies misbelief, turned all this to the best possible account; and played the part, so often acted since his time, of making himself out to be a martyr. And very likely he might have been privileged to remain one, had he not been so imprudent as to publish a great many

* "Il est vrai que ce Docteur fut accusé de diverses erreurs, tantôt devant le Roi saint Louis, sur les plaintes du Nonce Apostolique; tantôt devant l'Evêque de Paris, ou en présence de plusieurs autres Prélats assemblés dans cette Capitale: Il est vrai encore, que l'accusé se défendit toujours, & qu'il tâcha de se justifier, soit en désavouant ce qu'on lui attribuoit, soit en donnant quelquefois à ses paroles un sens, qui pouvoit paroître tolérable. Mais enfin ce qu'il s'étoit contenté d'avancer d'abord dans quelques entretiens particuliers, il voulut le mettre par écrit: & en publiant son livre, il se priva lui-même de l'avantage, qu'il avoit eu jusqu'alors, d'expliquer ou de nier à son gré ses propres discours; & il a fait perdre à son Apologiste, toute espérance d'en être cru sur sa parole." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VIII., p.* 126.)

of his errors in his notorious attack upon the Mendicants.* He penned it, he declared, at the request of the bishops; an assertion as unjustifiable as gratuitous, for the bishops were excessively scandalized at the appearance of the book, nor had a single one of them ever given to it the slightest indication of approval, either before or after its condemnation by Pope Alexander.

The ostensible object of the work was to draw out, by means of Holy Scripture, the character of those false prophets who are to appear at the end of the world; and who are spoken of by S. Paul, in his second Epistle to Timothy: "Know also this, that in the last days, shall come on dangerous times. Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers, slanderers, incontinent, unmerciful, without kindness. Traitors, stubborn, puffed up, and lovers of pleasure more than of God." † The author undertakes to prove ‡

* "Le livre sur lequel on peut juger sûrement si la doctrine & la conduite de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, fondoient de justes plaintes contre lui, est intitulé *des périls des derniers tems.* Il le composa (à ce qu'il prétendoit) par ordre des Evêques, pour faire connoître par l'Ecriture sainte, le caractère des faux Prophêtes, qui devoient venir dans les derniers tems, faisant partout allusion à un passage de S. Paul, qu'il entreprend d'expliquer." (*Loco Citato, Cf.* Bareille, *Chap. XVII., p.* 184.)

† *Cap. III., p.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

‡ "Sie begann mit der Warnung vor falschen Propheten, vor welchen die Kirche nicht genug auf ihrer Hut sein könne; ein solcher falscher Prophet sei, wer ohne Beruf predige, und diess sei bei den Mendicanten der Fall. Denn das Predigen stehe einzig den Bischöfen als Nachfolgern der Apostel, und den Pfarrern als Nachfolgern der zweiundsiebenzig Jünger des Herrn zu. Was gegen die kanonischen Satzungen der Kirche sei und die Rechte der Bischöfe verletze, könne selbst der Papst nicht erlauben. Die Bischöfe würden dem Unfuge der Mendicantenprediger am Besten steuern, wenn sie den Mönchen das Almosensammeln verböten; das Betteln erzeugt Schmeichler, Lästerer, Lügner. Es ist unwahr, dass Christus und seine Jünger bloss von Almosen gelebt hätten; der heilige Paulus wollte lieber von seiner Hände Arbeit leben, als der Mildthätigkeit

that the Church was to be exposed to great vicissitudes. He says, he will show what kind of men they are who are to bring these perils upon her; and will make known the nature of the perils. He says that they are close at hand, and must be faced; and that those who are too blind to foresee them, or fail to take precautions against them, will perish. He explains who those are who ought to foresee them, and put the faithful on their guard; and indicates what punishment they will be visited with, who are wanting in this important duty. And then he points out how these evils may be warded off; and how those dangerous men, who are to draw them upon the Church, may be clearly recognized.

Then, as if knowing full well in what sense his work would be understood, he artfully protests that he is simply treating the matter in the abstract; that he refers to nobody in particular; nor does he allude to any religious Order approved of by the Church.* Yet, without exception, when the book came out, and it was translated into French to increase its circulation, the whole

der Gläubigen zur Last fallen. Die Mönche dispensiren sich von der Nachahmung des Apostels Paulus durch das Vorgeben, dass ihnen ihre Studien dazu keine Zeit liessen; indess könnten sie vielleicht, trotz aller ihrer geistigen Anstrengungen, die denn am Ende doch nur in gelehrten, der einfachen, gesunden Lehre verderblichen, und das Gemüth vertrocknenden Spitzfindigkeiten bestehen, fortwährend im Zustande der Verdammniss leben." (Werner, *Cap. III., p.* 158.)

* "Il a beau protester de la pureté de ses intentions, de la résolution où il est de ne désigner personne, il peint avec tant de précision les disciples de saint François et ceux de saint Dominique, qu'il ne saurait couvrir la perfidie de ses attaques du silence affecté qu'il garde sur leur nom. Ces institutions nouvelles sont, d'après lui, une source inépuisable de malheurs pour la société. Il n'est pas de corruption, de calamités publiques, dont les religieux mendiants ne doivent porter, à son avis, l'effrayante responsabilité." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII., p.* 183.)

world declared, with one accord, that it was aimed straight at the Mendicant Orders, and at the Dominican Order in particular. In point of fact, William of S. Amour had simply committed to writing, and had published, opinions, accusations, libels, slanders, and lies, which had been heard coming from his mouth incessantly, against the religious principle with which he was ever implacably at war. He was saying nothing new; he was simply giving in the gross, what he had poured out in detail, in his public, and his private life. He, with his fierce, "liberal" spirit, and his overbearing arrogance, fumed in presence of the poor and humble followers of S. Dominic and S. Francis.*

* S. Amour not only wrote the "De Periculis novissimorum temporum," but also preached a sermon, "De Publicano et Phariseo," and published a treatise or question, "De Valido Mendicante," which contained many dangerous errors. Amongst his many heresies are the following :— "Religiosi mendicantes, etsi a summo Pontifici et ab episcopo missi sint, prædicare non possunt, nisi a plebanis fuerint invitati. De evangelio non possunt vivere. Vivere debent de labore corporis. Periculum est in mendicando quoniam qui de mendicitate vivere volunt, fiunt adulatores, detractores, mendaces, et fures, et a justitia declinantes. Omnia pro Christo relinquere, et sequi Christum mendicando, non est opus perfectionis. Viro perfecto, postquam reliquerit omnia, vivendum est aut operando corporaliter manibus, aut intrando monasterium ubi habeat necessaria vitæ. Regularibus, quos ecclesia permittit, mendicare non licet, quum faciant contra apostolum, et alias scripturas : et diuturnitas temporis non diminuat peccata, sed augeat. Quapropter, si etiam confirmatum esset ab ecclesia per errorem, nihilominus comperta veritate revocari deberet. Inveniuntur seductores isti inter Christianos apparentes pios, studio literarum semper deditos, astutos et sciolos, in conciliis dandis famosos, non tantum ad præcepta Domini, sed etiam ad consilia obligatos : et tales qui sapientiores et sanctiores in ecclesia apparebunt, propter quod electa membra redemptoris esse credentur ; et ideo vehementer et subito nocebunt ecclesiæ. Illi qui non invitati, procurant prædicare plebibus alienis, quod est officium honoris, præcipue in conciliis, et synodis, et conventibus magnis, nec non in curiis regum, et prælatorum, non sunt veri apostoli, sed pseudo. Prædicatores qui vadunt ad orthodoxos, qui proprios habent apostolos, sc. episcopos suos et presbyteros, non vadunt ad suam legationem, sed tantum ad alienam. Unde non sunt veri apostoli, sed pseudo. Et summe timendum est ne per tales periclitetur ecclesia, nisi expellantur ab ea. Valido mendicanti facienda non est eleemosyna. Mendicans validus graviter delinquit. . . . Ergo qui scienter se ponit in tali statu, videtur quod non sit in statu salvandorum.

He saw all their actions through a distorted and a coloured medium—they possessed, in his eyes, all those qualities and attributes by which the false prophets, who are to seduce men during the last days of the world, are characterized in Holy Writ. What he appears to have hated most, seems to have been their poverty. He did not content himself with striking at abuses, but he launched out at the very principle itself upon which regular life was founded; and at that Rule, and at that authority which approved of it. In fact, he would have blotted out the whole Order of friars, if he could have done so; and would have broken down the entire organism, by means of which, alone, the monastic principle could be upheld. "It is true," he says, "that the Church permits, or at least has, for some time, tolerated the practice of begging in some regular Orders; but it does not follow that she ought to permit it always, for that would be against the authority of S. Paul. If she has countenanced it through error, she ought to recall her concession, when she has recognized the truth."

Besides writing this book, William of S. Amour made free use of his tongue in propagating all

Si frater illius qui prædicavit, etiam post prædicationem petit ab illis quibus prædicavit, simoniam committit, ergo non est ei dandum. Religiosis non licet procurare ut fiant magistri, quia magisterium honor est. Fratres non sunt admittendi ad societatem scholasticam sæcularium magistrorum, nisi de ipsorum voluntate. Nam quum sint in statu perfectionis, tenentur ad consilia: consilium autem Domini est Matt., XXIII.: *Nolite vocari Rabbi.* Quum ergo velint docere solemniter, faciunt ut vocentur magistri, et sic vivunt contra Domini consilium; et ita publice peccant, et scandalizant; et sic sunt evitandi." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl. Sæcul. XIII., Tom. VI., Art. VII., p.* 167–168.)

manner of libellous stories against the Mendicants. He said they were hypocrites, who were greedily scraping wealth together, whilst they were making a great profession, and display, of poverty; that they made profession of humility, and aped the externals of that virtue; but that, in reality, they were steeped in satanic pride. Such accusations as these, quite in keeping with the cravings of what in these days, is called "the public," were caught up, and repeated, and circulated amongst the lower orders; they were popularized by self-made idiots, court buffoons, and wandering poets; and were improved upon, and embellished, by all the idlers and gossipers about the town. Rutebœuf, the crowned court poet of Louis IX., who was as spiteful as a monkey, and about as mischievous, was never wearied of pouring out his splenetic and his scoffing humour upon the Order of S. Dominic. He declared that the Dominicans taught peace, and spoke of unity, and of faith, with their tongue: but, from the practice of their lives, he found that to talk was one thing, and to act was quite another. "I refer to the Jacobites" (Dominicans), he says, "who preach to us that it is sinful to be angry, and sinful to be envious, whilst they themselves carry on war for a chair in the University; they must, they *will* obtain it.* . . . When the

* "Die Universität wollen sie unter ihre Kutte bringen. Wer aber schuldet ihr grösseren Dank als sie? Die Universität hat sie bereichert, mit Büchern, mit Geld, mit Brot versorgt. . . . Doch sie haben für die empfangene Gastfreundschaft den Herrn aus seinem eigenen Hause gejagt . . . Mag alle Welt sie für ehrliche Leute halten; der Process, den sie in Rom geführt, lässt mich anderer Meinung sein. Diess eine Probe aus

Jacobites first came on the earth, they dwelt with mother Humility; they were then simple, and pure of heart, and troubled themselves little with what did not belong to God. Now, it is no longer so; envy and haughtiness have entered into them, and all uprightness has departed from amongst them." This scoffer, by his very scoffing at the religious bodies, gives testimony to their power and influence. "The Jacobites are persons of such weight," he says, "that they can do everything in Paris, and in Rome. They are kings, they are apostles; their riches are so great, that they pass all calculation. Woe to him who does not make them his executors, for he is certain to lose his soul! . . . How fortunate that such folks are our instructors! No one dare tell them the truth; for to do so would be to set one's life in jeopardy." Is it to be wondered at, when such a tone as this pervaded the poets and troubadours, and those who afforded amusement to the people, that deep-rooted prejudice should have been created against the friars?

The jealousy and passion of the masters, scholars, and auditors of the secular schools, added

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Rutebœufs's Spottgedichten, nach Harry Hörtel's Ubersetzung aus den *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebœuf, publ. par A. Jubinal. Vol. I.,, pag.* 151.—Eine andere Stelle: Die Jacobiner sind Leute von solcher Wichtigkeit, dass sie in Paris und Rom Alles vermögen. Sie sind Könige, sie sind Apostel, ihre Reichthumer sind unermesslich. Wehe dem, der sie nicht zu seinen Testamentsvollstreckern macht, der Verlust seiner Seele is ihm sicher. Wie glücklich, dass solche Leute dem Lehramt vorstehen! . . . Niemand wagt ihnen die Wahrheit zu sagen, er wollte denn sein Leben dafür einsetzen; ich, der ich für meiner unbesonnenen Kopf fürchte, ich sage euch weiter nichts, als es sind, es sind. . . . Mensch." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 159—160.)

to the general disturbance. These men went about amongst the Parisians doing all they could to prevent them giving alms to the Mendicants, so as to reduce the enemy by starvation. Besides this, not content with moral force, the secular party occasionally used physical violence against the friars; so much so, that, at one time, the Dominicans had not the courage to leave their convent of S. James's to seek from the faithful the food necessary for their support. To this harsh treatment, was added a determined resistance to the teaching of the friars. The masters and scholars of the rival schools would not permit young men to attend the lectures of the Dominicans, nor allow the young Dominicans to be present at secular disputations and defensions. To such a state of misery had the friars been reduced, that the Pope had several times to interfere; and no better notion of the despotism, brutality, and cruelty of the University doctors could be gained, than by reading the Bulls, issued in defence of the Mendicants, by Pope Alexander.*

* For example, see *Bullarium, Ord. Prædic., Vol. I., p.* 296. *Episcopo Parisiensi ut Magistros ac Scholares Parisienses Fratribus Prædicatoribus molestias exhibentes excommunicatione devinciat.* For instance, take this :—"Nonnulli Clerici Parisius commorantes in offensam Dei non modicam, Religionis æmuli, turbatores quietis, et eorum operum temerarii detractores, ipsorum [Fratrum Prædicatorum] famam, laudis dignam præconio, falsis satagunt accusationibus obfuscare : varias literas per quas ipsos, et eorum Ordinem, quos vitæ commendat puritas, suis gratum approbatum fructibus, impio diffamationis morsu dilacerant ; diversarum Prælatis partium scribere præsumpserunt ; et ut nihil prætereant inoffensum adeo in eorum cordibus malitia ebullitur, quod nonnullos ex Fratribus ipsis Parisiensibus, Divino timore postposito . . . sacrilegis manibus verberibus affecerunt. . . . Inde est, quod Fratres jam dicti Ordinis Parisius existentes, qui fidelium duntaxat eleemosynis sustentantur, eorundem Clericorum timore perterriti, vix Claustrum suum audeant egredi pro acquirendis eleemosynis, eorum victui opportunis." *(Bullarium Ord. Prædicatorum, Vol. I., p.* 301.)

The Pope always speaks with great reverence of the meekness, poverty, and religious spirit of the Dominicans. If what he says be true—and it is scarcely probable that he did not know the real position of affairs—there is little doubt that the successes, and the earnest piety, of the religious Orders, the name they had acquired, and the influence they were exercising, formed the one deadly sin for which the University was punishing them. Jealousy and brutality go often hand in hand; and in this case, it is difficult to tell which was the more pronounced. The popular feeling, and the feeling of the schools, had been worked upon, and unless something were done, the friars were likely to lose their hold on the University.

Again, William of S. Amour was not content with doing all he could to turn the Parisians against the Mendicants; he also tried to play upon the secular clergy, and through them, upon the bishops. He said that the Church should be on her guard against false prophets; that those prophets were false who preached without being sent; that the Mendicants had not been sent; and, therefore, that they were false prophets—for preaching belongs to bishops, as the successors of the Apostles; and to parish priests, as the successors of the seventy-two disciples of the Lord. Moreover, what is contrary to the Canons, and what infringes on the rights of the Episcopate, cannot be permitted, even by the Pope.* The Bishops

* "In vilium vestium usum acrius declamans, religiosos viros oblique perstringere visus est: quamvis quosdam regulares secundum regulam

should stop the Mendicants from begging; for begging makes flatterers, blasphemers, and liars. It is false that our Lord and His disciples lived only upon alms. S. Paul, for instance, preferred working with his hands to being a burden to the community. The Mendicants think to excuse themselves by alleging that they are engaged in study—study which results in their obscuring the true teaching of the Church by their pedantry and hair-splitting, and serves to keep them in a state of permanent damnation. In fact, there was nothing too bad which could be said or written of these men by William of S. Amour; and no trouble was too great, to ingrain into the minds of rich and poor, high and low, a detestation and an abhorrence of the principles of monastic life.*

When the reader calls to mind the excited condition of society at this period, he can imagine for

suam vilibus indumentis uti debere fateretur. Asserebat summum pontificem non posse toti ordini potestatem dare prædicandi, confessiones audiendi, et absolvendi pœnitentes per totum orbem, et quod pontificiis privilegiis muniti, sacra illa munia obire non possent absque licentia parochialium presbyterorum. Fratribus ab episcopo vel papa canonice destinatis confessus, non satisfacit statuto, *omnis utriusque sexus.* Nam præceptum est prælatis curam animarum habentibus, quod ipsi cognoscant vultus pecorum suorum, id est, conscientias subditorum suorum. Constat autem quod animos et actus singulorum non potest prælatus considerare, nec plene cognoscere nisi audiendo confessiones illorum. Rom. ecclesiam carpebat, quod tot mendicantium religiones diversas, a tempore concilii generalis Lateranensis III. inventas æquanimiter toleraret. Religiosos mendicantes velut pseudo-prædicatores, hypocritas, penetrantes domos, otiosos, curiosos, gyrovagos sugillabat." (Natalis Alex., *Hist. Eccl.*, *Vol. XV.*, *Cap. VII.*, *p.* 168—169.)

* To show what a dangerous condition the schools were also in about this period, I need merely cite a few propositions which required the whole weight of the theological faculty of Paris to condemn them. For instance:—"I. Divina essentia in se nec ab angelo, nec ab homine videtur, vel videbitur. II. Licet divina essentia eadem sit in Patre, Filio et Spiritu Sancto, tamen ut hæc est essentia, et in ratione formæ, una est in Patre et Filio, non in Spiritu Sancto. III. Spiritus Sanctus prout est amor et nexus, non procedit a Filio, sed tantum a Patre. IV. Multæ veritates fuerunt ab æterno, quæ non sunt ipse Deus. V. Primum nunc, vel principium, et creatio passio, non sunt creator vel creatura. VI. Angelus malus in primo instanti suæ creationis fuit malus, et numquam

himself the turmoil which was created by William of S. Amour flinging down the gauntlet in the way he did. The friends and the foes of the Mendicants had been worked into excessive irritation, and a fierce contest was ready to be waged.

S. Amour and his party were keen enough to be aware that the book on the "Perils" was too flagrant an attack upon powerful and holy institutions, approved of by the Holy See, to be left alone. The work would, sooner or later, they must have felt pretty sure, be sent to Rome for examination and for condemnation. But they were not the men to be behindhand in tactics of that description. If the friars got the "Perils" of S. Amour condemned, S. Amour would get the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" of the friars condemned.* If he was to be stained, they

fuit non malus. VII. Nec animæ glorificatæ, nec corpora gloriosa, vel glorificata, erunt in cœlo empyreo cum angelis; immo nec beata Virgo, sed in cœlo aqueo vel crystallino. VIII. Angelus in eodem instanti potest esse in diversis locis, et est ubique si velit. IX. Cujus meliora fuerunt naturalia, necessario major erit gratia et gloria. X. Diabolus numquam habuit unde posset stare: nec etiam Adam in statu innocentiæ." (Natalis Alex., *Vol. XV., Art. VI., p.* 165—166.)

* Natalis Alexander gives the following account of the Abbot Joachim: —"Joachim, Florensis monasterii in Calabria, unde oriundus erat, abbas, ord. Cisterc. vir pius et vaticiniis etiam suis prophetæ famam quodam modo assequutus, Lucii III., Urbani III., Gregorii VIII. Clementis et Cœlestini III. Rom. pontificum temporibus floruit, ab anno 1181, ad an. 1200, quo obiisse traditur. Commentaria in varios scripturæ sacræ libros, præsertim in Apocal. jussu Lucii III., et Urbani III. incœpta, Clemente III. adhor tante perfecit." The historian then goes on to speak of the errors of the Abbot founded on his attack upon the Lombard, and then proceeds to treat of "The Introduction to the Eternal Gospel":—"Alii errores, non tam a Joachimo abbate asserti, quam ex ejus scriptis male intellectis a fanaticis quibusdam hominibus fabricati, præsertim ab auctore libri, qui inscriptus erat: *Evangelium Æternum.* . . . Prophetam non fuisse Joachimum abbatem, quamvis nonnulla prædixerit, quæ secundum ejus vaticinia evenere, docet S. Thomas in 4 Sententiarum, Dist. XLIII., Quæst. I., Art. III., Quæst. III., '*Abbas Joachim,*' inquit, '*non prophetico spiritu, sed conjectura mentis humanæ, quæ aliquando ad verum pervenit, aliquando fallitur, de futuris aliqua vera prædixit, et in aliquibus deceptus fuit.*'" (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl., Tom., XV., Art. III., p.* 156—157.)

should be stained as well. Such was the view of the liberal party which made contention in the Church at that day.

And it cannot be denied that the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" offered to the enemies of the friars a terrible weapon wherewith to castigate them. Whatever the Mendicants might say of William of S. Amour and his "Perils of the Last Times," William and his friends could retort with equal violence upon the Franciscans respecting the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," which was so intimately connected with one of their Order.* For, in fact, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" was, if possible, more fundamentally opposed to the principles of Christianity, than were the writings of the secular professor himself: and it certainly was more blasphemous and infidel. Carried away by the reveries of the Abbot Joachim, and by the heretical spirit of Amaury, whose memory and whose doctrine had been con-

* Werner shows at once how compromised the Franciscans were, by the following remarks on the authorship of the work:—He calls it, "Eine Sammlung von Schriften des Abtes Joachim von Flora, welcher Gerhard, ein Franciscanermönch und vertrauter Freund des Ordensgenerals Johann von Parma, einen gedrängten Auszug der Hauptgedanken Joachim's: *Introductorius in evangelium æternum* genannt, vorausgeschickt. In der That hatte Gerhard die an sich schon gewagten und schwärmerischen Ansichten Joachim's in einen völlig häretischen Sinn umgedeutet, und den bevorstehenden Eintritt eines neuen, dritten Weltalters verkündet, dessen Führer und Leiter nach Beseitigung der bisherigen Gewalten der sichtbaren Kirche einzig die Söhne des heiligen Franciscus mit ihrer strengen Ascese und Armuth sein sollten. Diese Verirrung einer extremen Partei des Franciscanerordens wurde nun allen Mendicanten zur last gelegt und als Beweis geltend gemacht, wessen man sich für die Zukunft von ihren hochmüthigen und herrschfüchtigen Ansprüchen zu versehen habe. Sobald daher die Dominicaner ihre Klage über das Buch *de periculis* an den Papst geleitet hatten—folgte Wilhelm's Partei mit einer Denunciation des ewigen Evangeliums nach." (*Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 161.)

demned, the author of this work filled his pages with impious and destructive propositions. Just as the book of William, whilst pretending to attack theoretical abuses, and touch upon theoretical mistakes, was, in point of fact, a violent onslaught upon the existing Orders approved of by the Church; so, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," whilst it simulated the defence and glorification of the regulars, was, in reality, upsetting the first principles of Christianity, and bringing again into life the effete and exploded follies of an earlier age.* Some of the propositions contained in the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," are as follows :—

The doctrine of the Abbot Joachim is more perfect than that of Jesus Christ; and hence, more perfect than that contained in the Old and the New Testaments. For the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or the New Testament, does not lead to perfection: like the Old Testament, it will be abolished; and will only remain in force till the year twelve hundred and sixty.

At this period, the third era of the world will

* Bareille thus speaks of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" :— "Les universitaires, de leur côté, préparent une grande ambassade. Fidèles à leur plan de ruse et de déception, ils n'iront pas justifier précisément le livre incriminé, mais déférer au même tribunal un ouvrage encore plus scandaleux, intitulé *l'Evangile éternel*, insidieuse apologie de la vie religieuse, qui, sous prétexte d'en exalter le zèle et l'abnégation, offrait à chaque page les plus détestables doctrines, et tendait à renouveler les erreurs de quelques sectaires du siècle précédent sur la durée de l'Eglise et le prétendu règne du Saint-Esprit. Plusieurs crurent alors que la pensée de donner le change, en appelant ailleurs l'attention de l'autorité, et un vague espoir de faire peser sur leurs adversaires la responsabilité de cette œuvre impure, ne furent pas étrangers à cette seconde dénonciation faite par les docteurs de Paris." (*Chap. XVII. p.* 185.)

commence, which will be the era of the Holy Spirit. Those who live during this time, will be in a state of perfection; and there will be another gospel, and another priesthood. The preachers of this third era, will be men of still greater authority than the fathers of the primitive Church.* The understanding of the spiritual sense of the New Testament was never confided to the Popes—but only a knowledge of its literal signification. The Greeks did well to separate from the Roman Church; and they walk more according to the Spirit than the Latins. As the Son works the Salvation of the Latins, so the Eternal Father works the Salvation of the Greeks.

Whatever afflictions God may send the Jews in this world, He will still protect them, and deliver them, in the end, from all the attacks of their enemies; although they remain in their Judaism.

Jesus Christ, and the Apostles, were by no means

* These are the principal errors of the work:—"I. Quod doctrina Joachim abbatis excellit doctrinæ Christi, et consequenter veteri novoque testamento. II. Quod evangelium Christi, non est evangelium regni, et ideo non est ædificatorium. III. Quod novum testamentum est evacuandum, sicut vetus evacuatum est. IV. Quod novum testamentum vim non habebit ultra A.D. 1260. Et qui postea vivent homines, erunt in statu perfectorum. V. Quod evangelio Christi evangelium alterum succedet, nimirum lex spiritus. VI. Spiritualem intelligentiam novi testamenti non esse commissam pontifici Rom. sed tantum litteralem. VII. Solos nudipedes idoneos esse ad reliquos homines edocendos res spirituales et æternas. VIII. Deum Judæos etiam in judaismo pertinaces beneficiis cumulaturum, et ab hostium impugnatione liberaturum. IX. Ecclesiæ Græcæ a Romana secessionem excusabat, laudabat: Græcosque secundum spiritum magis ambulare asserebat, quam Latinos. Et quod sicut filius operatur salutem populi Romani, sive Latini, qui filium repræsentat; sic Pater operatur salutem populi Græci, qui spiritum repræsentat. X. Monachos non teneri ad mortis discrimen subeundum, et profundendum sanguinem pro defensione fidei, aut conservatione cultus christi. XI. Spiritum sanctum recipere aliquid ab ecclesia, sicut christus in quantum homo accepit a Spiritu Sancto." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, *Tom. XV.*, *Art. III.*, *p.* 157.)

perfect in the contemplative life. It was only since the time of Abbot Joachim that contemplation commenced to bring forth fruit. Up to his time, men were engaged in the active life, which was useful then, though now it is no longer so. Hence, it follows, that the clerical Order will have to perish.* And from amidst the religious Orders, one Order will rise up more worthy than all the rest; and this was predicted by the prophet, when he said: "The lines are fallen unto me in goodly places."† No man, purely a man, is capable of instructing others, if he does not walk about barefoot. Persons who go about barefoot are not obliged, as other men are, to expose their lives in defence of the faith. They will pass over to the infidel, when they are persecuted by the clergy; and it is to be feared that they will induce the

* "XII. Christum et apostolos vitæ contemplativæ perfectionem non fuisse consequutos. XIII. Vitam activam ad tempus usque Joachim abbatis utilem fuisse, sed nunc inutilem evasisse. Vitam vero contemplativam ab ipso Joachim fructuosam fuisse, et amodo in perfectis ejus successoribus perfectius mansuram, fructusque laturam uberiores. XIV. Quemdam monachorum ordinem futurum, qui dignitate et gloria reliquis antecellet, in quo implebitur prophetia Psalmistæ dicentis: *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris: etiam hæreditas mea præclara est mihi.* Et qui tunc maxime florebit et convalescet, quum clericorum ordo peribit. XV. Sicut in primo statu mundi commissum fuit a patre totius ecclesiæ regimen aliquibus ex ordine conjugatorum, sic in tertio mundi statu committendum a Spiritu Sancto aliquibus ex ordine monachorum. XVI. Monachorum præfectos de recessu a sæcularibus, et reversione ad antiquum populum Judæorum cogitare debere. XVII. Prædicatores ultimi status mundi majoris dignitatis et auctoritatis futuros, quam prædicatores ecclesiæ primitivæ. XVIII. Prædicatores et doctores religiosos, quando infestabuntur a clericis ad infideles transituros, timendumque ne ad hoc transeant, ut cogant eos in prælium contra Rom. ecclesiam, juxta doctrinam Joannis, Apoc. 15. Hos errores ex libris Joachim abbatis, et verbis ejus traxisse illorum auctorem, et multos habuisse sectatores sub specie quadam sanctitatis, et librum illum pestiferum, cui titulus erat *Evangelium Æternum*, ab Alexandro IV. fuisse damnatum Ptolomæus Lucensis . . . testatur." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl., Tom. XV., Art. III., p.* 157—158.)

† *Psalm., XV.*, 6.

infidel to make war against the Roman Church, as is written in the Apocalypse.

These propositions are sufficient to show the drift of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," and how, even in the severe religious Orders, spirits can break forth which, overpassing every legitimate control, commit those very errors which the religious Order to which they attached themselves was instituted to repress. A kind of coarse Manicheism seems to have pervaded many minds about this time.* The smoke of the contest which was going on about them, blinded men's vision. Some imagined that they could see on earth two powers—two militant churches: one, carnal, under the dominion of the Pope; the other, spiritual, rejoicing in all the liberty which is given by the Spirit of the Almighty.

No doubt, the dominant tendencies of the day were fully appreciated by the authorities at Rome. The "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel"

* For example:—"Stadinghorum diabolica hæresis in Germania erupit (circa 1230). Dæmone magistro utebantur; qui sub diversis formis, in secretis eorum scholis conspicuum se præbebat, eosque suo cultui ac servituti adstrictos, ad turpissima et ipso auditu horrenda flagitia informabat. Cui morem gerentes, extinctis lucernis, promiscuam libidinem accendebant. Corpus Domini singulis annis in paschate de manu sacerdotis recipiebant, illudque in ore servantes, ex cloaca illa animata in latrinam expuebant. Cælorum Dominum violenter, injuste, fraudulenter, Luciferum ad inferos detrusisse blasphemabant. Omnia Deo placita non agenda, immo potius agenda quæ odit, asserebant tartarei homines. . . . " Others held (1248):—"Romanum Pontificem esse hæreticum, omnesque episcopos et prælatos hæresi pariter et simonia infestos. Nec ligandi et solvendi, neque conficiendi corpus Christi potestatem habere, quod mortalibus peccatis constricti essent. Neminem omnino, nec papam, nec episcopos, divinis officiis et sacramentis interdicere posse. . . . " Others, like the Flagellants, were filled with spiritual pride:—"Neminem enim a peccatis absolvi asserebant, qui sectæ suæ nomen non dedisset. Mutuo esse, audita confessione, a peccatis absolvebant, etsi Laici." (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl., Tom. XV., Art. IV., p.* 160—161.)

would certainly be looked upon as the exponent of a large class of dazed fanatics, and heated dreamers. If the anti-regular party could only manage to fasten the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" on the backs of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and compromise those two powerful bodies with its corrupting errors, the Holy See would not be in a very great hurry to maintain their chairs for them at the University. If such an issue could be brought about, William of S. Amour, notwithstanding his book on the "Perils," would thus achieve the victory he so ardently desired.

Whilst William and his party, on the one hand, were preparing their attack upon the friars, on the other, the question of the condemnation of the "Perils" was being discussed with considerable agitation. The professors and students of the University were in a state of great excitement. The religious, even those living in the distant provinces, were thrown into painful suspense with regard to their future prospects, seeing themselves opposed by such unscrupulous, and such formidable enemies. Scandalized at the turn things were taking — good men deeply lamenting such divisions in the centre of Christian learning; and rationalists and libertines making a mockery of religious persons—the bishops of the provinces of Sens, and Rheims, who happened, at the time, to be in Paris, proposed to assemble in council; to call together the most able theologians from the

provinces; and once for all, put an end to these scandalous disputes. But, the past had taught the Dominicans a lesson. There was very little to be gained by coming to a judgment which might, in a few weeks, be altogether reversed by a higher authority.* King Louis, this time, was more circumspect in his dealings with the Holy See. Instead of deciding the whole question off-hand himself, he set about accomplishing his good intentions, through the proper channels. He sent two doctors of theology to the Court of Rome, who were duly instructed, and who took with them the "Perils of the Last Times," for the Pope's examination. The Dominicans also sent their representatives, who were to support these doctors, and to defend the Order against the threatened onslaught.

Nor was the University idle. It despatched a powerful deputation to Rome, to represent the interests of the seculars; and to make the Holy See fully acquainted with that terrible book, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" of the Fransciscans; which had been adopted by members of the regular

* "Ce n'étoit donc guéres à propos, que Guillaume de Saint-Amour avoit osé se parer de l'autorité ou du nom respectable des Evêques, pour rendre moins odieux un ouvrage, qui ne servit qu'à irriter de plus en plus les esprits, & à augmenter toujours le scandale. Selon du Boulai, & quelques autres Historiens, les Evêques de la Province de Sens, & de celle de Reims, qui se trouvoient à Paris, offrirent de tenir un Concile, où ils prétendoient appeller les plus habiles Théologiens des Provinces voisines, pour mettre quelque fin à ces longues dissensions, qui faisoient rire les libertins, & gémir tous les gens de bien. Mais le passé devoit instruire pour l'avenir; & il étoit facile de prévoir, que tout ce qui pourroit être fait sans la participation, ou le consentement du Pape, ne suffiroit pas pour terminer une affaire, dont Sa Sainteté étoit comme saisie depuis long-tems." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VIII., p.* 128.)

Order. William of S. Amour was the leader of this deputation; then, there was Odo of Douai; Christian, Canon of Beauvais; Nicholas of Bar-sur-Aube, together with John Belin, and the Englishman John of Gecteville, Rector of the University.*

It can be imagined what sort of excitement prevailed at Paris when these two antagonistic parties were on their way to the Eternal City. They were both powerful. Both appeared to have strong reason for acting with energy. Each was intent upon procuring from the Holy See the condemnation of the other. Both were represented by men of great acuteness and ability; and it remained to be proved whether the Mendicants would be driven out of Paris, together with the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," which was connected with their name; or whether William of S. Amour, and his followers, would have to submit to the condemnation of the "Perils of the Last Times," and be obliged, after all, to work side-by-side with the despised children of S. Francis and S. Dominic.

* "C'est pourquoi Louis envoya en Cour de Rome deux Docteurs, bien instruits de ses intentions, qui porterent avec eux le livre *des périls des derniers tems*, pour le faire examiner par le Pape. L'Université envoya aussi des Députés de sa part; sçavoir, Guillaume de S. Amour, Odon de Douay; Chrétien, Chanoine de Beauvais; Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube; Jean Belin, & Jean de Gecteville, Anglois, Recteur de l'Université, qui devoient poursuivre de leur côté la condamnation d'un autre livre anonyme, & encore plus dangereux, appellé *l'Evangile éternal*. Les FF. Prêcheurs firent partir en même tems quelques Religieux pour l'Italie. Cependant les esprits, dans la Capitale du Royaume, étoient dans l'agitation qu'on peut imaginer, chacun prenant parti pour ou contre les Réguliers, selon son inclination. Matthieu Pâris, qui raconte ces faits, n'étoit pas lui-même exemt de partialité, ainsi que le remarque M. Fleury." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VIII., p.* 128—129.)

The solemn deputation of the University, as became grave and learned doctors, after long and careful preparation for the journey, finally set out for the Eternal City; and, after a somewhat slow advance, at length reached Anagni, where the Pope, Alexander IV., was holding his Court.* It found that the Envoys of King Louis, and the representatives of the Dominicans, had arrived before them, and had already brought under the attention of the Holy See the incriminated book of William of S. Amour. Alexander, at once, appointed four Cardinals to examine it: Eudes de Châteauroux, Cardinal-bishop of Tusculum; John Francioge, Cardinal-priest of the title of S. Lawrence; Hugh of S. Caro, Cardinal-priest of the title of S. Sabina; and John de' Ursini, Cardinal-deacon of the title of S. Nicholas.†

The Holy Father was not content with one commission. He instructed the General of the Dominicans, Humbert de Romanis, to have the work thoroughly examined by theologians of the Order;‡ and expressed a wish to see Thomas of Aquino employed amongst the number.

* Werner speaks thus:—"Verfolgen wir zuerst den Verlauf der Klage wider Wilhelm's Schrift. Sogleich nach Veröffentlichung derselben hatten sich zwei in Paris anwesende Bischöfe, von Sens und Rheims, angeboten, die Sache auf einem Provincialconcil untersuchen und ausgleichen zu lassen. Indess hielten die Dominicaner nach ihren bisher gemachten Erfahrungen mit Grund dafür, dass ohne Dazwischentreten des Papstes eine endgültige Austragung der Sache nicht zu erreichen sein würde, und riethen daher, unmittelbar den römischen Stuhl entscheiden zu lassen. König Ludwig gieng hierauf ein, und sandte Wilhelm's Schrift an Alexander IV., der damals sich in Anagni aufhielt. Der Papst beauftragte somit vier Cardinäle mit deren Prüfung: den Cardinalbischof Eudes von Tusculum, die Cardinalpriester Johann Francioge und Hugo von St. Caro und den Cardinaldiacon Johann de' Ursini." *(Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 161.)

† Vid *Bullarium, Ord. Præd., Vol. I., p.* 318.

‡ Vid. *Bullarium, Ord. Præd., Vol. I., p.* 319. *Note,* "*Damnat.*"

The Saint had, during all this time, been continuing his labours of teaching, preaching, and private sanctification, undisturbed by the noise and turmoil that raged round him.* He had his duty to do, and he did it. He did not look beyond it. He was employed in what obedience had placed before him ; and he was in his vocation. But in the midst of these peaceful occupations, the command came to him to gird himself for the strife. The General sent him orders to leave his routine of occupations at Paris, and to come at once to Italy, to engage in the great contest that was at its height; and to defend, by his extraordinary ability, the honour of the Order in which he had made his vows.

S. Thomas, without delay, set about obeying the injunctions of his superior. The Franciscans also were in full activity, and sent their best men forward to Anagni, to defend the children of the Seraphic Father. They, as well as the Dominicans, could not conceal from themselves the peril of the attack to which they were exposed. S. Bonaventure was sent on the same errand as S. Thomas.† The

* "Ma cosa maravigliosa in questo frangente fu che inquietando le dette turbulenze di Parigi quasi tutta l'Europa, essendo que' turbini nello spatio di otto anni per tutto distesi, l'anima però di Tomaso tuttoche nel vivo toccato, godeva un ciel tranquillo e sereno, senza punto alterarsi ; tanto era egli d'ogni amor proprio dispogliato : potendoseli molto bene adattaro quell' elogio, da esso all' huom saggio appropriato : '*animus sapientis est quasi mundus super lunam ; semper enim in serenitate est.*'" (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., n.* 11. *p.* 32.)

† Frigerio speaks of these two great men with enthusiasm :—"Furon questi due Santi, come habbiam detto, chiarissimi lumi di quel secolo, de' quali parlando Sisto Papa V. in una sua Bolla, si stende nell' infrascritte parole, che recate nel volgar nostro, così sonano : Questi sono due olivi, e due candelieri splendenti nella casa di DIO, i quali con l'olio della carità e

venerable Albertus Magnus had, a year ago, gone from the depths of Germany to take the post of danger, and to be ready, with his vast learning and experience, to maintain the cause of holiness and truth. However great the dangers may have been with which the Mendicants were threatened, one thing is certain, viz., that they had most able, and most saintly defenders on their side. For their champions were filled with truth, and justice, and heroism; they were gifted with high and noble natures; and they were animated with true spirit of sacrifice, for they had been trained in the science of the Saints. It is evident that this was a supreme moment for the religious Orders, and for the principle of monastic life. The rationalistic, and the dogmatic principle were coming into collision. The serious view taken by Pope Alexander; the care of the regulars to select their best men for their defence, and the very fact of calling them in from Germany and France; then the efforts of the University, with its powerful deputation, all point to an important and acknowledged crisis.* How did the contest

con la luce della loro scientia tutta la Chiesa illustrano. Questi per singolar providentia di DIO usciron come due stelle nel medesimo tempo di due chiarissimi Ordini per difendere la cattolica Religione, e con le lor fatiche aitarla e servirla. Da questi due santi Instituti, come da una fertile e bencoltivata terra, escono ogni giorno con la divina gratia ammirabili e fruttuose piante, che sono gli huomini per santità, o per dottrina insigni, tutti rivolti a soccorrere la nave di Piero per tante parti dall'onde e dalle tempeste combattuta, per porgere aiuto al Romano Pontefice, che ne regge il timone, e con tanta fatica e sollecitudine la governa." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p.* 33—34.)

* Touron defends the theologians who took part on the side of the regulars in this strife from all thought of uncharitableness:—"Ils sçavoient se mépriser eux-mêmes, aimer sincérement leurs ennemis, oublier, ou pardonner les injures, & souffrir avec patience d'être persécutés pour la justice. Mais ils ne croyoient pas que ces grands sentiments, que l'humilité

end? Its history will not take very long to tell. Three able pens were employed in the defence of the regular Orders: that of Albert, that of Bonaventure, and that of Thomas of Aquino. But of the three, that of S. Thomas was the most powerful, in logic, lucidity, and method; and to him may fairly be attributed the final overthrow of that arrogance and despotism, which the Paris professors had ever displayed in their relations with the Mendicants.*

The General of the Dominicans was exceedingly troubled, when he saw the tempest which threatened to burst over those gentle and loving beings confided to his charge. And even had not the Holy Father sent him a command, he would, without doubt, have called to his assistance, at this hour, the most learned

& la charité chrétienne doivent mettre dans le cœur de tous les véritables Disciples de J. C, pussent jamais être incompatibles avec le zèle le plus vif, qui nous oblige quelquefois à nous élever avec force, pour les interêts de la Religion, contre les entreprises de ceux qui ne craignent point de l'attaquer. Telle étoit la maxime d'un ancien Pere, dont notre Saint a fait mention dans plusieurs endroits de sa Somme, & qu'il a mise en usage dans l'occasion. La patience d'un particulier, qui souffre en silence, & sans se plaindre, les outrages qui sont faits en sa personne, est véritablement digne de louange, dit S. Chrysostome; mais ce seroit une indifférence criminelle & pleine d'impiété, que de se montrer insensible à ce qui est contraire à l'honneur de Dieu & de la Religion. *In propriis injuriis esse quempiam patientem laudabile est; injurias autem Dei dissimulare nimis est impium.*" (*Liv. II., Chap. IX., p.* 130.)

* "Frère Bonaventure avait également reçu de ses supérieurs l'ordre de se rendre en Italie pour le même motif. Albert-le-Grand, leur maître et leur modèle, venu du fond de l'Allemagne, où nous l'avons laissé, était déjà depuis un an sur le point attaqué. La religion convoque le ban et l'arrière-garde des intelligences dévouées à son service. Ce rendez-vous général grandit singulièrement, à nos yeux, le péril qui la menaçait, le talent de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, la puissance du parti qui marchait sous ses enseignes." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII., p.* 187.)

"Zugleich befahl er dem Ordensgeneral Humbert, die Schrift durch Theologen seines Ordens genau prüfen zu lassen, und bezeugte den Wunsch, dass auch Thomas von Aquino hiezu beigezogen würde. Thomas verliess im Auftrag seiner Oberen ohne Verzug Paris, und erschien zu Anagni am päpstlichen Hofe, wo er nach einjähriger Trennung seinen Lehrer Albert wieder fand; bald darauf traf auch Bonaventura ein." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 161—162.)

and acute doctors belonging to the Order. Now the General seems to have placed his greatest trust in the genius and address of Thomas of Aquino. There was not one, in the whole range of the Paris schools, who had so swift an eye for error, such self-command, such lucid power of exposition, and such boundless gentleness and charity. He would be the man to unmask, and thoroughly to expose, the sophisms of S. Amour.*

The Dominicans had a house at Anagni; and the friars-preachers there, were, as may be conceived, in great agitation respecting the issue of the trial which was coming off. On the arrival amongst them of S. Thomas from Paris, the General summoned a Chapter of the brethren. He wished to do all in his power to cheer and encourage them in their suspense. He called the Angelical from his place—and we can see the brothers, in imagination, with their loving and wondering eyes fixed upon the

* Tocco speaks of William of S. Amour's action against the regulars thus:—"Prædictus Doctor [S. Thomas] Parisiis destruxit alium de novo exortum [errorem]; qui error non fuit ab infideli commentatione exortus, sed a fidelibus, in hoc non fidelibus, Guilhelmo de Sancto Amore, Segero et aliis eorum sequacibus adinventus. Qui errando dicebant, quod Religiosi mendicantes, non laborantes manibus, non poterant in sola studii contemplatione salvari, consiliorum perfectioni et supererogatæ justitiæ detrahentes: addentes et multa alia erronea simul et falsa sophismata contra religiosos, paupertatem, et eorum salutaria instituta; volentes funditus paupertatis Religiones suffodere, quos, sola eos simulante invidia, non poterant tolerare. Quorum error tanto magis periculum fidelibus afferebat, quanto magis magistratus auctoritas fidem dabat: quem cum redigissent in scriptis, accusaverunt suam malitiam, a qua nec diutius meditantes, dum scriberent, se avertere noluerunt: advertere nolentes, quanta erat iniquitas Sanctos Dei ex sola invidia impugnare, qui ad eorum perniciem volumen volans maledictionis et impietatis hæreticæ scripserunt. Quod tum ut in aures divulgaretur universalis Ecclesiæ, ad pauperum Religiosorum infamiam, et subversionem religionis paupertatis et vitæ, ac in ruinam dejectionis perpetuæ, sanctissimo Patri Domino Clementi Papæ quarto, [!] quasi zelatores Ecclesiæ, et propugnatores fidei obtulerunt." (Tocco, *Boll. in Vita, Cap. IV., n.* 20, *p.* 664.)

Saint — whilst Humbert addressed him thus: "Behold, my son," he said, "behold the Order of S. Dominic, attacked by powerful enemies, is left to your lights, and to your zeal for its defence. Take, therefore, this fatal book which has excited, or has added to the storm which rages against us, and which appears likely to give trouble to the Church for some time to come, and to stand in the way of that fruit which would otherwise spring from our preaching, and from the example of lives which are without reproach. Read it, examine it, and see, before God, how it had best be answered; not in order to keep alive, but to bring to an end, the scandal into which the Church is plunged. I here unite my own prayer to the command which comes to you from the Vicar of Jesus Christ."*

When the General had made an end, S. Thomas approached him, and received out of his hands the book of William of S. Amour; and then, turning to his brethren, he implored them to assist him by

* "Le Général de l'Ordre de saint Dominique, pour se consoler lui-même dans la vive affliction, dont il étoit pénétré, & rassurer en même tems l'esprit de ses Freres, contre les mortelles inquiétudes, que leur causoit la continuation de tant de troubles, assembla tous les Religieux de la Communauté, & adressant son discours à Thomas d'Aquin, il lui parla à peu près de la sorte: Voilà, mon fils, l'Ordre de saint Dominique attaqué par de puissans ennemis, qui semble maintenant confié à vos lumieres & à votre zèle. Prenez donc ce livre fatal, qui a excité, ou augmenté l'orage contre nous, & qui paroît si propre à troubler long tems toute l'Eglise, & à empêcher une partie du fruit, que nous devrions y faire par nos prédications, & par l'exemple d'une vie sans reproche. Lisez, examinez, voyez devant Dieu, ce qu'il convient de répondre, non pas pour continuer: mais pour faire cesser au plutôt le scandale. Je joins ici ma priere au commandement, que vous en fait le Vicaire de J. C." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. IX., p.* 130—131.)

their earnest prayers; and having left the Chapter-room, he quietly retired to his cell.*

But before S. Thomas set himself down to the task appointed to him, according to his invariable custom, he sought for light and strength in prayer. He humbled himself before his Lord, and after having poured out his whole soul before his Master, and begged for help, and guidance, he sat down in his place, drew the book before him, opened it, and examined it, from beginning to end, with that quickness and penetration for which his intellect was justly celebrated. As by intuition, when he had once grasped his plan, he saw through the entire fallacy of his opponent, and detected all the trickery whereby William thought to substantiate and bolster up his allegations. We are assured that the Angelical had mastered the whole work, and had formed in his mind a complete refutation of it, in less time than a professor of ordinary ability would have required for understanding its drift, and for discovering its leading artifices.

It can well be imagined how eagerly the con-

* "Ritrovandosi all'hora il Generale in Parigi ove era san Tomaso, chiamò i Padri della Religione a Capitolo; & a quelli con le lagrime agli occhi esponendo il successo dell'opinioni di Guglielmo, loro pregò, che affatigar si dovessero per potere oviare a tale opinioni, & tanto più si dovevano in questo sforzarsi; perche l'autor del libro, ch'era Guglielmo era huomo di gran fama per lettere. All'hora san Tomaso prese quel libro leggendolo, & nel leggerlo vi scoperse molte bugie. Conobbe etiandio, che l'autore non era spento da altro solo, che da un'odio, c'haveva contro la Carità: per questo a i Padri della Religione rivoltandosi nell'istesso luogo, ove erano congregati, mostrando brevemente l'aversaria malignità, lor disse, che se il peso del rispondere dato l'havessero, sperava con l'aiuto del Spirito Santo rifiutarlo a fatto: si che mai piu non havesse da comparire nel mondo cosi manifesta sceleraggine. Tutti i padri sapendo quanto era grande il valore di S. Tomaso, diedero a lui questo peso pregandolo, che il pietoso officio mandasse in essecutione." (*Vita, p.* 18—19.)

vent awaited the issue of the young professor's studies; and how both young and old prayed fervently to God to give him the grace to overthrow his adversary. The following day, the General again assembled the Chapter.* Thomas appeared once more in the midst of his brethren, like an angel of peace, bringing joy to their hearts. "Fear not," he said to them, "let us place our confidence in His powerful goodness Who has drawn us to His service. The book which has caused you so much anxiety, will not bring upon you the evil it announces. God has given me the grace to discover whatever is false, captious, erroneous, and impious in it. With our Lord's assistance, I shall bring into such clear light the faults with which it is filled; and shall make it to be so sensibly felt that the doctrine contained in it is contrary to the grounds of faith, and to the true sense of the Fathers—whose writings the

* Tocco thus speaks of this crisis of the regulars:—"Quod cum ad petitionem Reverendi Patris Fratris Joannis de Vercellis præfati Magistri Ordinis, cui incumbebat, de mandato Summi Pontificis, prædicto volumini respondere, fuisset prædicto Doctori cum Anagniæ in Capitulo esset coram Fratribus non sine singultu et lacrymis assignatum, qui de statu Ordinis et pugna adversariorum tam gravium dubitabant: Frater Thomas ipsum volumen accipiens, et se Fratrum orationibus recommendans, cum perlegisset attentius, et intellexisset profundius, reperit prædictos Magistros, quos non amor agnitæ veritatis afflabat, nec zelus fraternæ salutis accenderat, sed veritatis æmula, et inimica caritatis invidia perurgebat, a fundamentis errasse fidei, et male intellexisse Sanctorum auctoritates inductas. Unde vocatis iterum in Capitulo de mandato Magistri Ordinis Fratribus, Frater Thomas afflatus divino Spiritu, quo in omnibus agebatur, dixit: Fratres, in Deum confidite, qui vos vocavit in suum obsequium: quia libellum legi impugnantis perfidiæ, et inveni ipsum male fundatum in veritate fidei, et male constructum Sanctorum auctoritatibus in auxilium fulcimenti. Cui nefando libello invocato Sancto Spiritu, qui falsa denudat, cum revelat abscondita, per libellum veritati consonum respondebo." (Tocco *in Vita, Boll., Cap. IV., n.* 20, *p.* 664.)

author has misused—that, after the judgment which the Holy See will then pronounce upon it, the faithful will take no more notice of it; or, if they do, it will simply be to condemn its teaching, and to reject it, with all the contempt which it deserves!" *

These words must have greatly consoled and encouraged those who heard them. Few men, who have not devoted themselves to serve God in religion, under certain conditions of heroism, can wholly realize the sovereign love which religious men feel for the religious state. There is the love of husband and wife, strong, tender, enduring; there is the love of son for mother, boundless and pure, as it is mighty and sweet; there is the love of brother for brother, equally enchaining, mutually close and uncompromising; there is the love of country, vague perhaps, yet, in spite of its want of outline, all-pervading in the spirit: but there is a love which, when once it has fastened its grapples in the heart, more fully

* "Après s'être humilié devant le Seigneur, & avoir répandu son ame en sa présence, il ouvre le livre, qu'on l'a chargé de réfuter; il lit, il parcourt, il examine tout, avec cette pénétration qui lui est naturelle: du premier coup d'œil il apperçoit tout le foible de l'Ouvrage, & tous les artifices de l'Auteur. Le plan d'une Réfutation complette est tout formé, presqu'en moins de tems qu'il n'en faut pour lire un Ecrit rempli de mille subtilités, & d'un grand nombre de passages, employés avec autant d'esprit que de mauvaise foi."

"Le Chapitre ayant été assemblé le lendemain par le Pere Général, Thomas parut au milieu de ses freres, comme un Ange de paix, qui porta la joie dans leur cœur. Ne craignez point, leur dit cet autre Joseph, mettons toute notre confiance en la puissante bonté de celui qui nous a appellés à son service. Le livre qui vous a allarmés, ne vous fera pas tout le mal qu'il vous annonce. Dieu m'a fait la grace de découvrir tout ce qu'il contient de faux, de captieux, d'erroné & d'impie." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. IX., p.* 131.)

masters the human spirit than all of these together—for it is more powerful in its grasp of the entire man, it more completely satisfies the highest cravings of his being, and binds itself, with more heroic bonds, about his heart—and that love is the soul's love of Christ, intensified by the vows of religion. It is the passion of the Saints. Its condition is sacrifice of self—and by that sacrifice, by that one moral death, the spirit rises up in the love of Christ. A true monk is a man who is dead, and out of whose perfect self-annihilation, out of the tomb of whose royal sacrifice, the glorious spirit of Christ is born. Such a man, in one word, no longer lives, but Christ it is who lives in him.

Now it was for this principle of life and death that the Angelical had to combat. Was this principle to be cut out, root and branch, and to be dragged away and buried in the earth; or charred in the kiln of human passion, till all life was extinct—till it was withered, and all its sap was dry? Were love, and adoration, and reverence, and purity, to rule? or were conceit, and pride, and self-assertion, and carnality, to domineer? Were old standards and patterns to be torn to shreds, and new ones to take their places? Such questions as these must have occupied the minds of many holy men, whilst S. Thomas was penning his reply to William of S. Amour.

In the space of a few days, the Saint had time fully to prepare his defence of his Order, and his

answer to the book of William of S. Amour.* He was called upon to plead before the Pope, surrounded by his Court. Displaying his own inimitable lucidity, logic, and arrangement, the Saint read through his apology for the religious life, in the presence of the most august assembly in the world. He not only poured forth a continuous stream of argument and learning, but he was also ready to reply to all objections, and to solve them to the satisfaction of those by whom they were advanced.† It must have been a glorious moment for S. Thomas when he found that, by degrees, the force of his reasoning, and the simplicity of his eloquence, and the earnestness of his purpose, were beginning to tell upon his learned audience; and when he felt assured that he was carrying with him the hearts and intelligences of the learned Cardinals of the Sacred College, as well as the good-will of the Pope himself. Touron says that the Holy Father

* "Quem cum in modico tempore de mandato Summi Pontificis perfecisset, respondens argumentis nefariis et superpositis fidei fundamentis, libellum Summo Pontifici obtulit. Quem acceptans et vere Catholicum judicans, condemnavit libellum oppositum, et in fide suspectum. Quem libellum ad explicandam eorum malitiam, et Dei justitiam a Dei Vicario implorandam sic incepit: Quoniam ecce inimici tui sonuerunt, et qui oderunt te extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium et cogitaverunt adversus Sanctos tuos etc. Quem librum non est visus prædictus Doctor sic composuisse humano ingenio, sed potius in Spiritu accepisse de dextera sedentis in throno." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. IV.*, *n.* 20, *p.* 664.)

† "Peu de jours lui sont accordés, il est vrai, pour remplir le plan qu'il a conçu: le pape veut bientôt entendre, au milieu de son sénat, l'apologie des institutions qu'avait si rudement attaquées l'habile docteur de Paris. Thomas se rend au jour marqué: il se lève au milieu de cette assemblée, la plus imposante, sans doute, de l'univers; il plaide avec l'éloquence du cœur la cause de son ordre et de tous ceux qui lui sont unis par le même esprit et la même charité. La chaleur de ses sentiments, bien loin de nuire à la clarté de ses preuves, à la logique de ses raisonnements, leur communique plus de puissance et de vie." (Barcille, *Chap. XVII. p.* 189.)

admired him, the Sacred College applauded him, and the whole Roman Curia now saw clearly what would be the issue of that mighty struggle which had occupied so much of its valuable time, and which had kept minds in a state of continual agitation, both in Italy and France.

When the Angelical had concluded his discourse, the four Cardinals who had been commissioned to examine the "Perils of the Last Times," gave in their report. The document was drawn up with that perspicuity and order for which the Roman mind is celebrated.* It declared that, in the work which had been sifted, there were to be found sentiments which were perverse, many propositions which were absolutely false, scandalous, erroneous, contrary to the maxims of the saints and to piety, injurious to the authority of the Pope and of the bishops, and to the honour of several religious Orders approved of by the Holy See, which had produced much fruit for the Church, by eloquently preaching the word of God, and by manifesting zeal for souls.

* The Cardinals whom Natalis Alexander calls "doctissimi," reported as follows:—"In ipso quædam perversa et reproba contra potestatem et auctoritatem Rom. Pontificis, et episcoporum contineri: et nonnulla contra illos, qui propter Deum sub arctissima paupertate mendicant, mundum cum suis operibus voluntaria inopia superantes: alia vero contra eos, qui salutem animarum zelantes ardenter et sacris studiis procurantes, multos in ecclesia Dei operantur spirituales profectus. Quædam contra salutarem pauperum seu religiosorum statum, sicut sunt FF. Prædicatores et Minores, qui vigore spiritus sæculo cum suis divitiis derelicto, ad solam cœlestem patriam tota intentione suspirant: nec non et alia plura inconvenientia digna confutatione et confusione perpetua manifeste contineri. Eumdem etiam libellum magni scandali seminarium, et magnæ turbationis materiam exsistere, et inducere etiam dispendium animarum, quum retraheret a devotione solita, et a consueta eleemosynarum largitione, ac a conversione et religionis ingressu fideles." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, *Tom. XV.*, *Art. VII.*, *Sæc. XIII.*, *p.* 169.)

Having read this report, and examined the principal propositions which the Cardinals had considered worthy of reprobation, the Holy Father passed sentence upon the book, in the form of a Bull, dated the fifth of October, 1256.* This Bull declares the entire work to be condemned, as iniquitous, criminal, execrable. It commands all who possess the same to burn it within eight days, under pain of excommunication; and it forbids any one, whoever he may be, to read it, to approve of it, or to sustain it in any way. This condemnation was pronounced publicly in the Cathedral Church of Anagni; and the book was burnt, in presence of the Pope.

The deputation from the University arrived, after the work of their leader had been given to the flames, in the sight of the Roman Court. They protested against the act, and tried to bring their influence so to bear, as to restore the honour of their party; but, far from obtaining the revocation of the condemnation of the "Perils," they were forced to

* These were the strong words of the Holy Father:—"Nos libellum eumdem, qui sic incipit: 'Ecce videntes clamabunt foris,' quique secundum ipsius titulum, 'Tractatus Brevis De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum' nuncupatur, tamquam iniquum, scelestem, et exsecrabilem, et instructiones ac documenta in eo tradita, utpote prava, falsa, et nefaria de fratrum nostrorum consilio, auctoritate apost. reprobamus, et in perpetuum condemnamus: districte præcipientes, ut quicumque libellum ipsum habuerit, quum infra octo dies, ex quo hujusmodi nostram reprobationem et condemnationem sciverit, prorsus et in toto, et in qualibet sui parte comburere et abolere procuret. In illos enim qui hujus nostri præcepti fuerint contemptores, excommunicationis sententiam promulgamus firmiter in virtute obedientiæ prohibendo, ne quisquam prædictum libellum ore apostolico jam damnatum approbare vel quomodolibet defensare præsumat. Si quis vero præsumpserit, tamquam contumax, inobediens et rebellis Rom. ecclesiæ ab omnibus fidelibus habeatur: et nos nihilominus alias contra eum taliter procedemus, quod pœna condigna temerarium feriet, et alii ea perterriti a similibus frænabuntur." (*Loco Citato, p.* 169; Vid. also *Bullarium, Ord. Prædic., Vol. I., p.* 318.)

take pen and ink to subscribe to it themselves. There never was a more complete and absolute overthrow. Odo of Douai, and Christian of Beauvais, promised with an oath, in presence of Cardinals Hugh of S. Caro, and John de 'Ursini, and several other witnesses, to obey the Bull *Quasi lignum vitæ.** They swore, moreover, to receive into their society, and into the body of the University, the Dominican and Franciscan friars; mentioning, specially, by name, Thomas of Aquino, and Bonaventure. They promised neither to further, nor to permit, the breaking up of the Paris schools, nor to countenance their removal to any other place, without the express permission of the Pope. They swore to preach, and to maintain publicly, both in the Roman Curia, and in Paris, that the Mendicant state, when embraced for the love of Jesus Christ, is a state of perfection; that those religious who have made profession of it, may live lawfully on alms, without the necessity of manual labour, especially if they dedicate themselves to

* The oath they took falls under five headings:—"Dicti autem magistri, Odo de Duaco et Christianus Bellovacensis canonicus, coram Summo Pontifice jurarunt. I. Quod quantum in eis esset, reciperent Parisiis et obedirent in posterum constitutioni pontificiæ, quæ incipit; *quasi lignum vitæ*, et contradicentibus auxilium non præstarent publice, vel privatim. II. Quod. FF. Prædicatores et Minores Parisiis degentes, magistros et auditores eorum, et specialiter ac nominatim fratres *Thomam de Aquino* de ordine Prædicatorum, et *Bonaventuram* de ordine Minorum, quantum in eis esset, in societatem scholasticam et universitatem Parisiensem reciperent ut magistros, et a magistris Parisiis commorantibus procurarent recipi bona fide. III. Quod juramenta, statuta, vel obligationes non facerent, seu a religiosis vel aliis exigerent contra pontificiam illam constitutionem. IV. Quod Parisiense studium occasione prædicti dissidii dissolvi, aut alio transferri non permitterent. V. Quod tam in Rom. Curia, quam Parisiis, pluries in diversis locis prædicarent infrascripta, etc." (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, *Tom. XV.*, *Art. VII.*, *p.* 170.)

preaching and to study; that the Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominic are in themselves good, and are approved of by the Church, as God himself has declared, through the miracles worked by the saints of each Order, legitimately canonized by the Apostolic See.*

The two doctors made these promises publicly, in the Papal Palace at Anagni, on the twenty-third of October, 1256. No stronger evidence could be given of the view taken by the Holy See respecting the doings of the Paris University. Here the instinct of Rome comes out regarding the merits of religious life, its scope, and its obligations; and here, too, is manifest the Christian spirit of submission, which animated some at least, of those fiery doctors of the schools, in spite of their bitterness and want of charity.

William of S. Amour, however, was not quite so easily worked upon as his companions. Though abandoned, and condemned by them, he defended his book with great shrewdness and ability, and some assert—though they do not prove it—with

* Bareille speaks with much truth and feeling on the religious principle so nobly vindicated by S. Thomas :—"Au fond, cette opposition du monde aux associations religieuses fut constamment la même; elle n'a varié que dans sa forme et dans ses moyens. . . . . Les arguments qu'elle emploie sont pris dans l'ordre de ses tendances. Ceux de Guillaume de Saint-Amour étaient tous puisés dans l'Ecriture, la tradition et la théologie; saint Paul en particulier prêtait des armes terribles à cet habile sophiste. Mais il venait de rencontrer un puissant interprète de saint Paul. Il suffit à Thomas de rétablir le sens des textes de l'Apôtre pour en faire le plus éloquent avocat de sa cause : il répond successivement à chacune des attaques de son adversaire, fait crouler sous le poids de sa dialectique le savant échafaudage des mensonges du docteur, le dépouille de ses artifices, et, sur le point de retourner victorieusement contre lui les traits dont on avait prétendu blesser à mort les ordres religieux, il s'arrête : au lieu de prononcer l'anathème, il n'a que des vœux pour que la charité triomphe dans tous les cœurs." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII., p.* 191.)

considerable success. The Holy Father addressed a letter to him, forbidding him to enter France, under pain of excommunication, and of privation of all his benefices; and inhibiting him, for ever, from teaching and preaching, as a punishment for his various faults, particularly for having composed that detestable and pernicious book, the "Perils of the Last Times." *

Though William did not possess the humility, or the good sense, to submit to the judgment of the Holy See, this strenuous action of the Pope did much towards strengthening authority, and towards supporting the true spirit of Catholic morality in Italy and France. Forbidden the kingdom of France, William retired, full of spleen and disgust, to his estate of S. Amour, in Burgundy; waiting for the approach of better times.† A few years

* "Le Pape lui adressa une lettre, par laquelle il lui défendoit d'entrer en France, sous peine d'excommunication, & de privation de tous ses Bénéfices, & lui interdisoit pour toujours le pouvoir d'enseigner et de prêcher, en punition de diverses fautes, spécialement pour avoir composé le livre détestable & pernicieux des périls des derniers tems." (Du Pin, *Hist. du 13 Siècle, p.* 532; see also *Bullarium, Ord. Prædic., Vol. I., p.* 372, 375, 377, 379, *&c.*)

"Celui-ci refuse obstinément de se soumettre; après le dénouement de cette grande lutte, il se retire en Bourgogne, dans son village de Saint-Amour, emportant dans son cœur un profond ressentiment et des projets hostiles, qu'il essaiera de réaliser dix ans plus tard, en renouvelant le combat sous une autre forme, mais pour succomber de nouveau sous les coups du même adversaire." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII., p.* 194.)

† The excitement caused at Paris by the banishment of William, shows how the contest between the parties had taken hold of minds:—"Die Verbannung Wilhelm's," says Werner, "rief die tiefste Aufregung in seiner Partei hervor; Rutebœuf klagte laut, dass der König nicht mehr Herr im Reiche sei, wenn der Papst Territorialrechte ausübe, er rief Prälaten, Fürsten, Könige auf, sich des so schwer gekränkten Mannes, der die Sache des Rechtes und der Nation vertheidiget, anzunehmen; er fordert die Universität auf, zu ihrem verfolgten und mishandelten Vertheidiger zu stehen: 'Decretisten, Aerzte, Juristen und ihr Doctoren alle, wie möget ihr leiden, dass man Meister Wilhelm von euch ferne hält! . . . Sie haben ihn verbannt, verwiesen auf sein Dorf! . . . O sie liessen ihm Frieden wenn er nur schwören wollte, dass das Wahre falsch das Recht Unrecht, das Alberne klug, das Schwarze weiss sei.'" (*Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 210.)

later (1263), he was permitted, by Urban IV., to return to Paris; and was triumphantly received by his party. His detestation for the Mendicants lasted his life-time. His eagerness in maintaining the privileges of the University, and in defending its immunities, seems to have blinded him to the rights of every other society. After ten years had elapsed since the condemnation of his work, he tried to revive the old dispute, and sent to Clement IV. a new brochure, entitled "*Collectiones Sacræ Scripturæ*," which, in reality, was nothing else than his "Perils" thrown into another shape, and headed with another title. The Holy Father caused a letter to be written to him, omitting reference to his book, and recommending to him docility and peacefulness. The new brochure was sent to the General of the Dominicans, John of Vercelli, who forwarded it on to S. Thomas.* The Angelical recognized his old enemy instantly—notwithstanding its disguise—and thought it would be quite sufficiently answered, if he published his "*Contra Impugnantes*" in the shape in which it has been handed down to us. Then came his tract, "*Contra Retrahentes ab Ingressu Religionis*," in which he makes mention of an earlier work, "*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis.*" Both are

* "Il donna une nouvelle forme à son Livre *des perils des derniers tems*, & il l'envoya au Pape Clément IV., sous le titre de Recueil, ou Collections de l'Ecriture-Sainte: *Collectiones sacræ Scripturæ.* On peut voir dans l'histoire de l'Université de Paris, la réponse qu'on lui fit: elle est du dix-huitiéme Octobre 1266: le Saint Pere reproche en particulier à l'Auteur, que sous un autre titre, le fonds de son Ouvrage est également mauvais, & qu'on y voit toujours, quoiqu'avec quelque déguisement, le même esprit de haine contre les Ordres Mendians: *Sub nova facie veterem*

to be found amongst his minor labours, under the heading of Opusculum XVII. and XVIII., respectively.

To S. Thomas's last work, William of S. Amour made no reply. He died shortly after its publication, in 1270, having acquired unenviable notoriety by the split he made amongst the doctors of the greatest University of Europe; yet having achieved the lasting fame of being considered a fellow-founder, with his friend Robert of Sorbon, of an institute which, for its theological ability, became famous in the Church, as well as in the schools.

Such is a brief outline of the animated contest which was carried on in Paris, with respect to the monastic principle. It is simply a repetition of the war which had been waged, years before, between Abelard and S. Bernard. The very condition of the mind of a man who could write as William of S. Amour wrote, points markedly to the rampant spirit of irreverence which must have infected a large section of intellectual Paris. It is abundantly sufficient to read through a portion of the list of accusations made by S. Amour, and to weigh a few of the principles which he endeavoured to establish, to become convinced that the moral and religious position of an influential body of men—in fact, speaking broadly, of the secular element of the

vultum retinere, & dum alias oras decurrere vult videri; antiquum adversus Religiosos mendicantes odium ubique sapere. Sa Sainteté envoya ce Livre à Jean de Verceil, Général des FF. Prêcheurs, avec ordre de le communiquer à saint Thomas, afin que s'il contenoit quelques nouvelles objections, il y fit la réponse qu'il jugeroit nécessaire." (Touron, *Liv. III., Chap. II., p.* 203—204.)

University—was critical in the extreme. The evident bias—indeed, the unmistakable hatred, entertained against the Mendicants, and against the sacred principles of religious life, betoken a corruption which, doubtless, owed its origin, in part, to the poisonous philosophies which had entered into the schools; and in part, also, to the traditional rationalism and irreverence which had been handed down from the days of William of Champeaux.

False philosophy, and the monastic principle, have ever been in antagonism. The moral effects of the monastic training on the reason and the heart is something distinct and specific. When the eye of the heart and intellect has been cleansed of creatures, when the imagination has been purified—in a word, when the mechanism of the mind has been put thoroughly in order, and has been directed right, the delusions of error, or the phantoms of philosophers, are almost powerless against it. Blindness and passion are the causes of error—these are the springs of false philosophy: clean them out; open the eye clear to the light; calm the mind; let it steadily, without fear of disturbance, fix itself on Truth, and its judgment will be upright, and its conclusions will be sound.

Here it was that the Angelical came in. He opposed the light of his elevated intelligence to the blindness of carnal men: he opposed the marvellous calmness of his whole being—a calmness which was the effect of nature as well as of grace—

to the violent vapourings of the passionate and the proud, who seemed bent upon destroying that one grand set of principles which alone could keep the excitable and savage mind of youth within reasonable bounds. The very way in which the Angelical began the work of defending the principles of religion, speaks of the self-possession of his nature—a self-possession which did not spring from the virtue of mere human constancy, but which he acquired by throwing himself before the crucifix, and by asking it from Him who hangs upon the Cross.

To appreciate fully the intellectual labour he went through, and to comprehend adequately his view of religious life, those two celebrated tracts on the monastic state must be studied, of which a rapid outline shall be attempted in the coming chapter. And it may be premised that the principles of religious life are so profound, and are pregnant with such fruitful consequences, that he who would really understand them, must not simply read them, but he must study them, meditate on them, and let them sink into and saturate his mind. One simple religious maxim, which can be thrown into a single line, may contain a germ within it capable of revolutionizing the mind and heart of the ablest and most gifted man. There is no power like the power of truth, when the soul has once fully taken possession of it.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MONASTIC PRINCIPLES DEFENDED.

CONSIDERING the immense influence which the brochure of our Saint against William of S. Amour exerted, in deciding the dispute between the friars and the seculars, it will not be uninteresting to give a brief account of it. Fleury says that it has always been regarded as the most perfect apology for religious Orders. Touron declares that writers in the past have always spoken of it with eulogium. Henry of Gand, a contemporary writer, makes mention of it in these words: "Brother Thomas of Aquino refuted the error of William in a most subtle work."*

According to the Parma edition of the Saint's writings, it is numbered as the first Opusculum; and is entitled: "Against those who attack Religion and the Worship of God."† It begins with these words

* "Cet ouvrage de Saint Thomas, beaucoup plus solide, dit M. Fleury, et mieux suivi que celui de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, a toujours été regardé, comme l'apologie la plus parfaite des Ordres Religieux. Les anciens en ont souvent parlé avec éloge. Henri de Gand, auteur contemporain, en fait mention en ce peu de mots: *Frater Thomas de Aquino opusculo subtilissimo errorem Guillelmi refutavit.* Voyons maintenant quelle en fut la suite." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. X., p.* 139.)

† *Contra Impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem.*

of the eighty-second Psalm : " For lo, Thy enemies have made a noise, and they that hate Thee have lifted up the head. They have taken a malicious counsel against Thy people, and have consulted against Thy saints. They have said : come and let us destroy them, so that they be not a nation : and let the name of Israel be remembered no more."*

Almighty God, in His love, has so ordained that men should both advance His glory, and work out their own Salvation.† For the maintenance of due order, He has selected some from amongst their number who are to serve as His ministers, and as "His coadjutors," in conducting the rest towards their two-fold end. But the devil, envious of God's glory, and man's Salvation, makes use of his instruments to frustrate the Divine intention. These, therefore, direct their most violent assaults against

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* "Ecce inimici tui sonuerunt, et qui oderunt te, extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium, cogitaverunt adversus sanctos tuos. Dixerunt : venite, disperdamus eos de gente, et non memoretur nomen Israel ultra." *(Psal. LXXXII.*, 3 *et* 4.)

† "Omnipotens Deus amator hominum suo amore nobis utitur ad ejus bonitatem, et nostram utilitatem, ut Augustinus docet in I. Libro de Doctrina christiana. Ad suam quidem bonitatem, ut homines Deo dent gloriam. Isaiæ XLIII., 7 : *Omnis, qui invocat nomen meum, in gloriam meam creavi eum.* Sed ad nostram utilitatem, ut ipse omnibus det salutem. 1 Tim., II., 4 : *Qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri.* Et hanc concordiam inter homines et Deum nascente Domino annuntiavit Angelus, Luc. II., 15 : *Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.* Quamvis autem ipse, cum sit omnipotens, per semetipsum posset gloriam suam ab hominibus, et salutem hominum procurare ; disposuit tamen, ut ordo servaretur in rebus, ministros eligere, quorum ministerio perficeretur utrumque : et recte tales Dei adjutores dicuntur, 1 Cor., III., 9. Sed diabolus invidus divinæ gloriæ, et humanæ salutis, per ministros suos, quos ad persecutionem prædictorum ministrorum Dei incitat, utrumque nititur impedire : unde tales ministri diaboli, et inimici Dei in hoc ostenduntur, cujus gloriam impediunt ; et totius humani generis, cujus saluti adversantur, et specialiter ministrorum Dei, quos persequuntur, 1. Thessal., II., 15. *Nos persecuti sunt, et Deo non placent, et omnibus hominibus adversantur.*" *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Proœmium, p.* 1.)

the leaders of God's people: "They have persecuted us, and please not God, and are adversaries to all men."* These are "the enemies who have made a noise," and are referred to in the Psalm; these are they who, by their flattery, deceive the servants of the Lord; these are they who would destroy the people of God, and extinguish the Lord's inheritance; or if they cannot compass this much, would blot out their good name from amongst men: "Do not the rich oppress you by might? . . . Do not they blaspheme the good name that is invoked upon you?" †

Such, according to the common Gloss, is the explanation of the above text, which indicates the persecution of Antichrist in the last times, according to the words of the Apostle: ‡ "For Thy sake we are put to death all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." §

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* 1 *Thess., Cap. II.*, 15. † *S. James, II.*, 6. ‡ *Rom., VIII.*, 36.

§ "Et propter hoc Psalmista in verbis propositis tria facit. Primo ostendit eorum inimicitiam ad Deum, ibi, *Ecce, inimici tui sonuerunt;* id est, qui prius occulte contra te loquebantur, nunc in publico loqui non formidant. Ut enim dicit Glossa: *Novissima tempora Antichristi designat, quando hi, qui modo premuntur metu, in liberam vocem erumpent: quæ vox, quia irrationalis est, magis sonus quam vox dicitur.* Nec solum voce inimicitias suas exercent, sed etiam factis: unde sequitur: *Et qui oderunt te extulerunt caput*, scilicet Antichristum, secundum Glossam, et membra ejus, quæ sub illo capite sunt; ut ab uno capite gubernati, efficacius sanctos Dei persequantur. Secundo ostendit quomodo toti humano generi adversantur, subjungens: *Super populum tuum malignaverunt consillium*, vel *astute cogitaverunt*, secundum aliam litteram, ad eos decipiendum, secundum Glossam super illud Isa., III., 12. *Populo meus, qui beatum te dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt:* Glossa, 'blandis verbis.' Tertio, ostendit quomodo ministros Dei persequuntur, cum subdit: *Cogitaverunt adversus sanctos tuos.* Glossa, 'non solum contra mediocres, sed etiam contra cœlestes viros.' Unde Gregorius in XIII. Lib. Moralium, exponens illud Job. XVI., 2. *Aperuerunt super me ora sua, et exprobantes etc.*, sic dicit: 'Illos præcipue (reprobi) in sancta Ecclesia persequuntur quos multis conspiciunt esse profuturos' et infra: 'Reprobi grande se aliquid fecisse æstimant, cum vitam prædicatorum necant,'" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Prooemium, p.* 1.)

Now, wicked men direct their main attack against the religious Orders, seeking to prove that they have no right to such employments as will be conducive to their advancement; and that they should only occupy themselves in those things which will end in their destruction * These wicked men would prevent them from applying themselves to study, and this is the "cunning of the Philistines." "The Philistines had taken this precaution (namely, that no smith should be found in the land of Israel), lest the Hebrews should make them swords and spears."† They would inhibit them from associating with the students, so that their life may be the more easily brought into contempt: "That no man might buy or sell, but he that hath the character, or the name of the beast,"‡ that is to say, who does not countenance the evil practices of the enemies of religious men. They would prevent

* "Duo autem contra sanctos cogitant. Primo ut ipsos annihilent. Hest. XIII., 15. *Volunt nos inimici nostri perdere et hereditatem tuam delere.* Secundo ut, si hoc non possint, saltem eorum famam destruant apud homines, ut in eis fructificare non possint. Jac., II., 6: *Nonne divites per potentiam opprimunt vos? . . . Nonne ipsi blasphemant bonum nomen quod invocatum est super vos?* Et ideo quantum ad primum horum Psalmista subjungit: *Dixerunt: Venite:* Glossa 'quærentes sibi socios:' *disperdamus eos de gente,* vel *de gentibus,* Glossa: 'Scilicet ne sint inter gentes; idest, tollamus eos de mundo: ecce persecutio Antichristi.' Quantum ad secundum subdit: *Et non memoretur nomen Israel ultra,* ut scilicet nomen eorum in fama non habeatur, eorum scilicet qui se dicunt vere esse Israel, ut Glossa dicit. Horum primum, scilicet sanctorum expulsionem de mundo, tyranni antiquitus per violentiam procurare conati sunt: unde Apostolus ad Rom., VIII., 36: suo tempore illud Psalmi compleri dicit: *Propter te mortificamur tota die, æstimati sumus sicut oves occisionis.* Sed nunc hoc idem perversi homines astutis consiliis attentant quantum ad religiosos specialiter, qui verbo, et exemplo aptius fructificare possunt, perfectionem profitentes; volentes quædam astruere, per quæ eorum status totaliter destruitur, et redditur nimium onerosus, et vituperabilis, subtrahendo eis spiritualia solatia, et corporalia onera imponendo." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. Prooemium, I., p.* 1.)

† 1 *Kings, XIII.,* 19. ‡ *Apoc., XIII.,* 17.

them from preaching, and hearing confessions: "Prohibiting us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved." * They would force them to work with their hands, so as to disgust them with their state, and to prevent them from performing the good works just spoken of; according to the counsel of Pharao—"He said to his people: Behold the people of the children of Israel are numerous and stronger than we. Come, let us wisely oppress them, lest they multiply." † Then they hold their perfection in contempt, and blaspheme the poverty of the Mendicants :‡ "And many shall follow their riotousnesses, through whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." § They do their best to prevent the faithful giving them alms; according to S. John: "Neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and them that do receive them he forbiddeth;" ‖ and finally, they defame them not only by word of mouth, but by writing against them throughout the world: "From the prophets of Jerusalem, corruption is gone forth into all the land." ¶

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* *Thess., II.*, 16. † *Exod., I.*, 9. ‡ 2 *Pet., II.*, 2. § 3 *John, I.*, 10. ‖ *Jer., XXIII.*, 15.

¶ "Enim eis pro posse studium, et doctrinam auferre conantur, ut sic adversariis veritatis resistere non possint, nec in Scriptura consolationem spiritus invenire. Et hæc est astutia Philistinorum, 1 Regum XIII. 19. *Caverant Philistiim, ne forte facerent Hebræi gladium, aut lanceam :* quod Glossa exponit de prohibitione studii litterarum. Et hoc primitus Julianus Apostata inchoavit, ut ecclesiastica testatur Historia. Secundo ab aliorum consortio studentium eos pro posse excludunt, ut per hoc sanctorum vita veniat in contemptum. Apocal., XIII., 17. *Ne quis possit emere, aut vendere, nisi qui habet characterem, aut nomen bestiæ,* eorum scilicet malitiæ consentiendo. Tertio eorum prædicationem, et confessionum audientiam, quibus in populo fructificant, impedire nituntur. 1 Thessalonic., II., 16. *Prohibentes nos, gentibus loqui, ut salvæ fiant.* Quarto ad laborem manuum eos compellunt, ut sic gravati et sui status tædium habeant, et in prædictis

Now, against these enemies of the religious state, three things shall be shown: first, what religion really is, and in what its perfection consists; secondly, that the allegations made against religious are frivolous and null; and, thirdly, that those things which are urged against religious men are spoken with malice prepense. The first of these three divisions is thrown into a single chapter, lucidly explaining the essence of the religious state, and its perfection; the second divides the attack of the enemy into six headings, viz.: whether religious may teach; whether they may be members of a corporate body of secular doctors; whether they may preach, and hear confessions, without having the cure of souls; whether they are obliged to employ themselves in manual labour; whether they may keep all they possess; and, finally, whether they may subsist on the charity of the faithful.*

impediantur, secundum consilium Pharaonis dicentis: Exod., I., 9 et 10: *Ecce populus filiorum Israel multus, et fortior nobis est. Venite, sapienter opprimamus eum:* et infra: *Præposuit itaque eis magistros operum.* Glossa: 'Pharao significat Zabulum, qui luti et lateris imponit gravissimum jugum, servitutem scilicet lutulenti, et terreni operis.'" *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Prooemium, p. 2.)*

* "Quinto vituperant eorum perfectionem, et blasphemant, scilicet paupertatem mendicantium. 2. Pet., II., 2: *Multi sequentur eorum luxurias, per quos via veritatis blasphemabitur,* id est bona opera, secundum Glossam. Sexto eis victum et eleemosynas, unde vivebant, subtrahunt, ut possunt. In tertia canonica Joan. 10, *et quasi ista non sufficiant ei,* Glossa, 'quod hospitalitatem dissuadet,' *neque ipse fratres suscipit,* Glossa, 'indigentes' *et eos qui suscipiunt, prohibet:* Glossa, 'ne impendant curam humanitatis.' Septimo famam sanctorum prædicti ministri diaboli nituntur corrumpere, intantum ut non solum per se apud præsentes sanctos Dei infament verbo, sed etiam litteras per universum orbem dirigant. Jerem. XXIII., 15: *A prophetis Hierusalem egressa est pollutio super omnem terram;* Glossa Hieronymi: 'Hoc utimur testimonio adversus eos qui epistolas plenas mendacio, et fraudulentia, et perjurio in orbem dirigunt, et aures, audientium polluunt. Non enim sufficit eis iniquitatem propriam devorarer

The first chapter begins, naturally enough, with the definition of the religious state; and here S. Thomas follows the teaching of the great S. Augustine. "Religion" comes from "*religare*," *i.e.*, "*iterato ligare*"—the joining again together of two things which once were united, but which now are separate. Man came from God, and must go back again to God. The first "bond," by which a man is joined to God, is faith: "He that cometh to God must believe that He is."* This act of faith implies adoration of God as the Divine origin of all things. S. Augustine says that religion does not mean any kind of *cultus*, but the worship of the Deity; or, in the words of Tully, "Religion is that which exhibits reverence and worship to a certain superior nature, which is called Divine."† So that whatever has to do with

vel proximos lædere; sed quod semel oderunt, per totum orbem conantur infamare et ubique blasphemias seminare.'"

"Prædictorum igitur malignantium nequitiam comprimere intendentes, hoc ordine procedamus."

"Primo ostendemus, quid sit religio, et in quo perfectio religionis consistat, quia eorum tota intentio contra religiosos esse videtur."

"Secundo ostendemus ea, quibus religiosos opprimere nituntur, frivola, et nulla esse."

"Tertio monstrabimus quod ea, quæ ad religiosorum infamiam proferunt, nequiter proponunt." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Prooemium, p.* 2.)

* *Heb., XI.*, 6.

† "Nomen igitur religionis, ut Augustinus in Libro de vera religione innuere videtur, a religando sumptum est. Illud autem proprie ligari dicitur quod ita uni adstringitur quod ei ad alia divertendi libertas tollatur. Sed religatio iteratam ligationem importans ostendit ad illud aliquem ligari, cui primo conjunctus fuerat, et ab eo distare incepit. Et quia omnis creatura prius in Deo extitit quam in se ipsa, et a Deo processit, quodammodo ab eo distare incipiens secundum essentiam per creationem; ideo rationalis creatura ad ipsum Deum debet religari, cui primo conjuncta fuerat etiam antequam esset, ut sic ad *locum unde exeunt flumina* revertantur. Eccl., I. Et ideo Augustinus dicit in Libro de vera relig. *Religet nos religio uni omnipotenti Deo.* Prima autem ligatio qua homo Deo ligatur, est per fidem. Hujus fidei protestatio, latria est, quæ cultum Deo exhibet. Et hoc est quod Augustinus dicit X. de civitate Dei, quod *religio non quemlibet, sed Dei cultum significare videtur*: et hoc modo Tullius

the integrity of the faith, and with the due worship of God, is intimately bound up with true religion. Then, again, whatever is related to the service of the Almighty, is associated for the same reason with what we call religion. For S. Augustine says, "God is worshipped not only by faith, but by hope and by charity," * or to use the words of S. James, "Religion, clean and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation, and to keep oneself unspotted from this world."†

From this, it is evident that the meaning of the word "religion" is two-fold—it signifies, in the first instance, the joining of man to God, by faith and due worship. Hence, man is made a member of the Christian religion, by the Sacrament of Baptism, and by renouncing Satan, and all his pomps. In the second instance, it signifies renunciation of worldly things, and taking up the obligation of certain works of charity, by which God is served in a special manner.‡ It is in this latter

religionem definit in veteri Rhetorica, dicens: *Religio est quæ superiori cuidam naturæ, quam divinam vocant, curam, cæremoniamque affert.* Et sic primo, et principaliter ad veram religionem pertinere noscuntur quæcumque ad fidem integram pertinent, et debitam latriæ servitutem. Sed secundo ad religionem pertinere noscuntur illa omnia in quibus possumus servitium Deo exhibere: quia, ut Augustinus dicit in Enchiridion: 'Deus colitur non solum fide, sed spe, et caritate'; ut sic omnia caritatis opera religionis esse dicantur. Unde Jacob., I., 27. *Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et Patrem hæc est: visitare pupillos, et viduas in tribulatione eorum, etc.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p.* 2.)

* *Enchir., Cap. III.* † *S. James, I.*, 27.

‡ "Ex his ergo patet quod duplex est religionis acceptio. Una secundum sui nominis primam institutionem, secundum quod aliquis Deo se ligat per fidem ad debitum cultum; et sic quilibet christianæ religionis fit particeps in baptismo, abrenuntians satanæ, et omnibus pompis ejus. Secunda prout aliquis ad aliqua caritatis opera se obligat, quibus

sense, that the word "religion" is used in this treatise. Now charity can be exercised in two ways, either by an active, or by a contemplative life: either by contemplation, or by practising the various works of mercy. As a man, by baptism, dies to sin, so, by the vows of religion, he not only dies to sin, but he dies to the world, that he may live alone to God, and may occupy himself in those duties which he has imposed upon himself by entering religion. Just as the life of the soul is extinguished by sin, so by worldly occupations the service of Christ is impeded. "No man being a soldier to God entangleth himself with secular businesses." * The principal entanglements are these. The first is marriage: "But I would have you be without solicitude. He that is without a wife, is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife, is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and he is divided." † The second is the possession of riches. ‡ "The

specialiter Deo servitur, abrenuntians sæcularibus; et hoc modo religionis nomine ad præsens utimur. Caritas autem Deo debitum obsequium reddit secundum actus vitæ activæ, et contemplativæ. In actibus quidem activæ vitæ diversimode secundum diversa officia caritatis, quæ proximis impenduntur: et ideo sunt aliquæ religiones institutæ ad vacandum Deo per contemplationem, sicut religio monastica, et eremitica; aliquæ autem ad serviendum Deo in membris suis per actionem, sicut illorum, qui ad hoc Deo se dedicant, ut infirmos suscipiant, captivos redimant, et alia misericordiæ opera exequantur. Nec est aliquod opus misericordiæ ad cujus executionem religio institui non possit, etsi non sit hactenus instituta." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 2—3.)*

* 2 *Tim.*, *II.*, 4. † 1 *Cor.*, *VII.*, 32.

‡ "Sicut autem in baptismo homo per fidei religionem Deo ligatur, peccato moritur; ita per votum religionis non solum peccato, sed sæculo moritur, ut soli Deo vivat in illo opere, in quo se Deo ministraturum devovit fidei: quia sicut per peccatum vita tollitur, ita per occupationes sæculi Christi ministerium impeditur 2 ad Timoth., II., 4. *Nemo militans*

care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches choketh up the Word, and he becometh fruitless."* The third is liberty of will, which implies the solicitude of self-government :† "Casting all your care upon Him, for He hath care of you."‡ "Have confidence in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not upon thy own prudence ;"§ hence, the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus. Et ideo per religionis votum abrenuntiatur illis, quibus humanus animus maxime occupari consuevit, et a divinis obsequiis impediri. Quorum primum, et principale est conjugium. 1 ad Cor., VII., 23. *Volo autem vos sine sollicitudine esse. Qui sine uxore est, sollicitus est quæ Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo ; qui autem cum uxore est, sollicitus est quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori, et divisus est.* Secundum est possessio divitiarum terrenarum : Matt., XIII., 22. *Sollicitudo hujus sæculi, et fallacia divitiarum suffocat verbum, et sine fructu efficitur* : unde dicit Glossa Luc., VIII., super illud : *quod autem in spinis cecidi, etc.* 'Divitiæ etsi delectare videantur, suis tamen possessoribus sunt spinæ cum aculeis curarum mentes eorum confodiunt, quæ avide quæruntur, et sollicite servantur.'" *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p.* 1—2.)

* *Matt., XIII.*, 22.

† "Tertium est propria voluntas : quia qui suæ voluntatis est arbiter, sollicitudinem habet de suæ vitæ gubernatione : et ideo nobis consulitur ut nostri status dispositionem divinæ providentiæ committamus. 1 Pet., V., 7 : *Omnem solicitudinem vestram projicientes in eo quoniam ipsi cura est de vobis.* Proverb., III., 5 : *Habe fiduciam in Domino ex toto corde tuo, et ne innitaris prudentiæ tuæ.* Et inde est quod perfecta religio triplici voto consecratur ; scilicet voto castitatis, per quod abrenuntiatur conjugio : voto paupertatis, per quod abrenuntiatur divitiis ; voto obedientiæ, per quod abrenuntiatur propriæ voluntati. Per hæc autem tria vota homo Deo sacrificium offert de omnibus bonis : per votum quidem castitatis, in sacrificium Deo offerens corpus proprium, de quo Rom. XII., 1, dicit Apost. *Exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem ;* per votum autem paupertatis oblationem Deo faciens de exterioribus bonis de quo Rom., XV., 31. *Obsequii mei oblatio accepta fiat in Jerosolymis sanctis :* per votum autem obedientiæ sacrificium Deo spiritus offerens, de quo in Psal. L., 19 : *Sacrificium Deo, spiritus contribulatus, etc.* Nec solum sacrificium per hæc tria Deo offertur ; sed holocaustum, quod erat in lege acceptissimum. Unde Gregorius in S Homil. secundæ partis super Ezech. : 'Cum quis suum aliquid Deo vovet et aliquid non vovet, sacrificium est ; cum vero omne quod habet, omne quod vivit, omne quod sapit, omnipotenti Deo voverit, holocaustum est.' Et sic religio secundo modo accepta, in hoc quod sacrificium Deo offert, primum modum religionis imitatur. Sunt autem quidam modi vivendi, in quibus aliqua horum prætermittuntur ; sed in eis perfecta religionis ratio non invenitur. Alia autem omnia quæ in religionibus reperiuntur, sunt adminicula quædam ad cavendum ea quibus per votum religionis abrenuntiatur, vel observandum id in quo homo per religionis votum Deo se serviturum promisit." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p.* 3.)

‡ 1 *Pet., V.*, 7. § *Prov., III.*, 5.

By these three, man offers to God the sacrifice of all his goods, viz., his own body: "Present your bodies a living sacrifice;" * external possessions: "That the oblation of my service may be acceptable in Jerusalem to the saints;" † the human spirit: "A sacrifice to God, is an afflicted spirit." ‡

Indeed, not only a sacrifice is thus offered to God, but a holocaust is presented to Him, which was the most acceptable oblation under the Law. Hence, S. Gregory says, in the second part of his eighth Homily upon Ezechiel: "When a man vows one portion of his substance to God, and not another, he offers a sacrifice; but when he vows to the omnipotent God everything he possesses—his whole life, and his whole knowledge—then, he offers a holocaust." The three monastic vows are essential for the perfect idea of religion.

Now, it follows, from what has been said, that one kind of religion can be more perfect than another. The ultimate perfection of anything consists in its attaining its end. So, religion must be judged from two points of view, viz., according to the main object for which it is instituted; and according to the perfection of the means adopted for securing the given end. So that, if two Orders be instituted, both being contemplative, that one would be the more perfect which held out the greater liberty for contemplation. But

* *Rom.*, *XII.*, 1. † *Rom.*, *XV.*, 31.
‡ *Psalm.*, *L.*, 19.

since, as S. Augustine says, "No man can begin a new life unless he repents of his past life," * it follows that religion is a state of penance as well. And thus religions may be compared with each other in a third way, viz., according to the degree of penance that is respectively practised in them. But since the perfection of religious life consists more in interior justice than in exterior abstinence, the perfection of various religions should be judged rather by the former standards than by the latter one.

So far for the religious state, and its perfection. Now for those occupations which the enemies of religion declare to be contrary to its spirit: and this brings us to chapter the second, which asks whether it is lawful for religious to teach.

It would seem to be unlawful for religious to teach, for our Lord says: "But be not you called

* "Ex prædictis igitur patere potest, secundum quid una religio possit perfectior altera judicari. Ultima enim rei perfectio in finis consecutione consistit: unde debet principaliter ex duobus religionis perfectio judicari; primo ex hoc, ad quod religio ordinatur, ut dicatur illa religio esse eminentior quæ digniori actui dedicatur, ut sic secundum comparationem activæ, et contemplativæ vitæ in utilitate, et dignitate accipiatur comparatio religionum, quæ activæ, et quæ contemplativæ deputantur. Secundo ex comparatione religionis ad executionem illius, ad quod est instituta. Non enim sufficit religionem aliquam ad aliquid institui, nisi sit taliter ordinata observationibus, et modis vivendi, quod ad suum finem sine impedimento pertingat; sicut si duæ religiones sunt institutæ ad contemplandum, illa per quam homini liberior contemplatio redditur, debet perfectior judicari. Sed quia, ut dicit Augustinus, *nemo potest novam vitæ inchoare, nisi veteris eum vitæ pæniteat*, quælibet religio, per quam homo novam inchoat, quidam pœnitentiæ status est, ut homo a veteri vita purgetur: et hoc tertio modo possunt comparari religiones, ut illa dicatur perfectior quæ majores austeritates habet, sicut in jejunio, vel paupertate, vel aliis hujusmodi: quia opera satisfactoria debent esse pœnalia. Sed primæ comparationes sunt magis religioni essentiales, et ideo secundum eas est magis perfectio religionis judicanda, et præcipue cum perfectio vitæ magis consistat in interiori justitia quam in exteriori abstinentia. Sic ergo patet quid sit religio, et in quo perfectio religionis consistat." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p.* 3.)

Rabbi ;" * and S. Jerome says : "The duty of a monk is not to teach, but to weep." † Then it is contrary to the vows of religion not to renounce honour. But the position of a master is a position of honour, according to that "he placed Him upon a pinnacle :" therefore, religious may not become masters. Religious, moreover, profess perfect humility—this is incompatible with their being masters : therefore, it is unlawful for religious to teach. According to S. Denis, monks cannot communicate holy things to others, but can only receive them from others. But to teach is to communicate what is holy : therefore, religious cannot teach. The scholastic office is further removed from the monastic state than is the ecclesiastical office. But religious cannot take upon themselves ecclesiastical offices : much less, therefore, can they take upon themselves the office of

* *Matt., XXIII.*, 8.

† "Doctrinam autem religiosorum, ne scilicet docere possit multipliciter excludere nituntur. Primo auctoritate Domini dicentis, Matth., XXIII., 8. *Vos autem nolite vocari Rabbi ;* quod consilium quidam dicunt a perfectis esse observandum : unde cum omnes religiosi perfectionem profiteantur, a magisterio abstinere debent."

"Secundo auctoritate Hieronymi in epistola ad Riparium, et Desiderium, Contra Vigilantium, et habetur XVI. qu. 1. *Monachus non doctoris habet, sed plangentis officium ;* et VII. qu. I. cap. *Hoc nequaquam* dicitur *Monachorum vita subjectionis habet verbum, et disciplinatus, non docendi, vel præsidendi, vel pascendi alios.* Et ita cum canonici regulares, et alii religiosi monachorum jure censeantur, ut dicitur extra. de postulando, *Ex parte*, et de statu monachorum, *Quod Dei timor ;* relinquitur quod nulli religioso docere liceat."

"Ad idem addunt quod docere est contra religionis votum. Per votum enim religionis mundo abrenuntiatur. Omne autem quod est in mundo, est concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ ; per quæ tria intelligunt divitias, delicias et honores. Magisterium autem honorem esse dicunt : quod probant per Glossam, quæ dicit Matth., IV., super illud, *statuit illum super pinnaculum* : 'In Palæstina plana desuper erant tecta, et ibi erat sedes doctorum, unde populo loquerentur : ubi multos decipit diabolus vana gloria, honore magisterii inflatos.' Unde concludunt, quod docere est contra religionis votum." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 4.)*

teachers.* Then, again, it is contrary to the apostolic doctrine: "But we will not glory beyond our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath measured to us."† Now, the religious rule does not extend to teaching: therefore, it is contrary to the apostolic doctrine for religious to teach.

Moreover, if men who argue thus are unable wholly to suppress the activity of religious Orders, they will do their best to diminish it. They maintain that it is not lawful for religious to keep several teachers in the same college: "Be ye not many masters, my brethren," says S. James.‡

* "Dionysius, V., Cap., Eccl., Hierar., distinguit utramque hierarchiam in tria: scilicet in sacras actiones, et in communicantes eos, et in eos qui eas tantum recipiunt. Actiones autem sacras dividit in tria in eodem cap.: scilicet in purgantes, quod est diaconorum; in illuminantes, quod est sacerdotum; in perficientes, quod est Episcoporum. Recipientes etiam divinas actiones dividit in tria in VI. Cap. scilicet in immundos, qui purgantur per diaconos; in sacrum populum, qui illuminatur per sacerdotes; in monachos, qui sunt altioris gradus, qui perficiuntur per Episcopos. Ergo patet quod monachorum non est sacra aliis communicare, sed ab aliis recipere. Sed quicumque docet, sacra alii communicat. Ergo monachus non debet docere."

"Item, magis est remotum a vita monastica scholasticum officium quam ecclesiasticum. Sed, ut dicitur XVI. qu. 1: *Nemo potest et ecclesiasticis officiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere.* Ergo multo minus potest monachus scholasticis officiis vacare docendo, vel audiendo."

"Addunt etiam quod est contra doctrinam apostolicam 2 Cor., X., 13; *Nos autem non in immensum gloriabimur, sed secundum mensuram regulæ qua mensus est nobis Deus*: Glossa: 'Tanta potestate utimur, quanta concessa est ab auctore, nec mensuram, vel modum egredimur.' Unde dicunt, quod quicumque religiosus ultra illum modum egreditur qui sibi ab auctore suæ regulæ est statutus, se ipsum superextendit contra apostolicam doctrinam veniens. Unde cum nulla religio in sū principio habuerit magistros, nulli religioso licet ad magisterium promoveri." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 4.)

† 2 *Cor., X.*, 13.

‡ "Ulterius autem, et si non ex toto doctrinam religiosorum impedire possunt, eam saltem attenuare nituntur, dicentes, quod in uno religiosorum collegio doctores plures esse non debent: inducentes illud quod dicitur Jac. III., 1: *Nolite plures magistri fieri, fratres mei.* Glossa: 'Plures in Ecclesia ne velitis esse magistri.' Sed unum religiosorum collegium est una Ecclesia. Ergo in uno religiosorum collegio non debet esse plures

S. Jerome says, that a ship has only one commander, and a house, one lord: * therefore, religious should have but one master. Moreover, if there be many religious teachers, the number of secular masters will diminish, since there can only be a certain number of professors for each of the branches.

These proclaimers of error only follow the beaten track. It was the old weakness of ancient heresy to be incapable of biding in the centre of truth; it was its custom to swerve into one error in the very act of avoiding another. Sabellius, aiming to avoid the Arian heresy of the division of the Essence, fell into confusion regarding the Persons. So Eutyches, in avoiding the division of Persons in Christ, which was maintained by Nestorius, fell into confusion regarding the natures in Christ. The same can be said of Pelagius, Manes, and many other heretics.

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magistri. Item, Hieronymus ad Rusticum, et habetur etiam VII., quæst. I.: *In apibus princeps est unus, grues ordine litterato unam sequuntur: et infra: unus gubernator in navi, in domo unus dominus.* Ergo et in uno collegio religiosorum non debet esse nisi unus magister. Item, cum sint multa religiosorum collegia, si unum collegium haberet plures quam unum doctorem, sequeretur tanta multiplicatio religiosorum doctorum, quod sæculares magistri excluderentur propter auditorum paucitatem; præcipue cum oporteat in uno studio esse determinatum numerum magistrorum, ne ex doctorum multitudine doctrina sacra veniat in contemptum. Hujusmodi autem errorum assertores, priorum errantium semitas imitantur. Est autem errantium consuetudo, ut quia in medio veritatis non possunt consistere, unum errorem declinantes in contrarium dilabantur. Sic evitans divisionem essentiæ, quam Arius introduxit, in confusionem personarum Sabellius declinavit, sicut dicit Augustinus. Sic etiam Eutyches declinans divisionem personarum in Christo, quam Nestorius asserebat, confusionem naturarum in Christo posuit, sicut dicit Boetius. Idem etiam patet de Pelagio, et Manichæo, et de multis aliis hæreticis: propter quod dicitur. 1 Timoth., III., 8. *Homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem*: Glossa: 'et numquam in fide, quia in circuitu impii ambulant, in medio non sistentes.'" *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 4.)*

* *Causa. VII., Quæst. I., Cap. XLI.*

The fact is that, formerly, some presumptuous religious arrogated to themselves the office of teachers, on no authority but their own.* This, the Holy Fathers condemned. Now, the enemies of religious fall into the opposite error, and declare that religious cannot teach at all.

We will first prove this position to be false, then we will address ourselves to, and answer the arguments of our adversaries. That it is lawful for religious to teach can be proved thus—from the example of the saints; St. Jerome says: "So live in the monastery that you may deserve to be a cleric; spend much time learning what you will afterwards have to teach—if you are tickled with the desire of being a cleric, learn that which you can communicate to others." † Then, S. Gregory

* "Fuit ergo quondam quorumdam religiosorum præsumptuosorum error, qui ex hoc ipso quod monachi erant, de sua vita præsumentes, auctoritate propria sibi docendi officium usurpabant; et in hoc pax ecclesiastica turbabatur, ut habetur XVI., qu. 1. *Quidam monachi nihil habentes sibi injunctum a proprio Episcopo veniunt ad civitatem Constantinopolitanam, et in ea perturbationes tranquillitati ecclesiasticæ inferunt:* quod etiam plenius in ecclesiastica narratur Historia: quorum præsumptiones sancti patres conati sunt reprimere rationibus, et decretis. Eorum autem dictis quidam perversi nostri temporis abutuntur *ea indocti, atque instabiles depravantes, sicut et ceteras scripturas ad suam ipsorum perditionem*, ut dicitur 2 Pet. ult. XVI. intantum quod in contrarium errorem labuntur, asserentes, quod non licet religioso doctoris officium exercere, vel suscipere et non debet ei injungi. Quod quidem falsum esse primo ostendamus, postmodum ad eorum probationes respondentes." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p.* 4.)

† "Primo ergo inducatur Hieronymi auctoritas ad Rusticum, quæ habetur 16, quæst 1: *Sic vive in monasterio, ut clericus esse merearis: multo tempore, disce quo postmodum doceas.* Item ad eumdem in cap. seq.: *Si clericatus te titillat desiderium discas quod possis docere.* Ex quibus accipi potest quod monachi possunt suscipere docendi officium. Hoc idem ostenditur exemplis sanctorum, qui in religione viventes docuerunt. Sic patet de Gregorio Nazianzeno; qui cum monachus esset, Constantinopolim est adductus, ut sacram Scripturam ibi doceret, ut ecclesiastica narrat Historia. Hoc etiam patet de Damasceno; qui cum monachus esset, scholares doceret non solum in sacra Scriptura, sed etiam in liberalibus artibus, ut patet in lib. de miraculis beatæ virginis. Hieronymus etiam in prologo Bibliæ, licet monachus esset, doctrinam sacræ Scripturæ promittit

Nazianzen, when a monk, was called to Constantinople, to expound Holy Scripture. S. John Damascene not only taught Scripture, but also the liberal arts. S. Jerome, although a religious, promises to give lessons in Scripture to the monk Paulinus. S. Augustine, too, we read, after he began to live under Rule, wrote books, and instructed the ignorant. The same can be said of others, viz., of S. Gregory, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and of many more who were religious men, and the principal doctors of the Church.

It can be easily proved that monks may teach. In the Acts of the Apostles, it is written: "Jesus began to do and to teach."* They, surely, most becomingly, can teach evangelical doctrine, who not only keep the precepts, but keep the counsels too—and such as these are religious.

Religious, by their vows, die to the world, and live to God; therefore, though they may not employ themselves in business, they may teach the things of God. † Those are the best teachers who

Paulino monacho, scilicet quod eum docebit, quem etiam ad studium sacræ Scripturæ hortatur. De Augustino etiam legitur, quod postquam monasterium instituit, in quo cœpit vivere secundum regulam sub sanctis Apostolis institutam, scribebat libros, et docebat indoctos. Hoc etiam patet de aliis Ecclesiæ doctoribus, scilicet Gregorio, Basilio, Chrysostomo, et aliis multis, qui religiosi fuerunt, et præcipui Ecclesiæ doctores." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. II., Cap. II., p.* 4—5.)

* *Acts, I.*, 1.

† "Hoc etiam rationibus ostendere facile est. Doctrina enim sacræ Scripturæ operibus comprobatur. Actuum *I*, 1. *Cœpit Jesus facere et docere*: Glossa: 'Quod cœpit facere, et docere, bonum doctorem instruit, qui quod docet facit.' Doctrina autem evangelica non solum præcepta, sed et consilia continet. Convenientissime ergo doctrinam evangelicam docet qui non solum præcepta, sed etiam consilia servat, cujusmodi sunt religiosi. Item. Qui moritur alicui vitæ, ab illis operibus decidit quæ illi vitæ congruunt; et qui vivere incipit aliqua vita illa opera tunc sibi fiunt maxime

learn Divine things through contemplation. But religious are the very persons who occupy themselves in contemplation: therefore, religious are the best teachers. Peace of mind is conducive to study, and is favourable to teaching. But the vows of religion foster peace of mind. Therefore, the religious state is singularly adapted for studying and teaching. A knowledge of Holy Scripture is particularly becoming, says S. Jerome, in the poor of Christ. After speaking of his own poverty, and his contempt of wealth, he says that, "A knowledge of Scripture—that is, of Christ—is incompatible with the riches of the world."* A religious Order may

convenientia quæ illi vitæ competunt: unde Dionysius II. cap. Eccl. Hierar. ostendit, quod ante baptismum, per quem homo divinam vitam accipit, non potest exercere divinas operationes: quia, sicut ipse dicit, oportet primum existere, et deinde operari. Sed religiosus per votum religionis sæculo moritur Deo vivens. Ergo per hoc quod religiosus est, interdicuntur sibi operationes sæculares, sicut mercationes, et alia negotia sæcularia, non autem actiones divinæ, quæ scilicet hominem Deo viventem requirunt. Talis autem est divina confessio, quæ fit per doctrinam. Psalm. CXIII., 17: *Non mortui laudabunt te, Domine . . . ; sed nos qui vivimus, benedicimus Domino.* Et ita religiosi per votum religionis a doctrinæ officio non excluduntur." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 5.)

* "Item. Pauperibus Christi maxime competit notitiam Scripturarum habere, ut patet per Hieronymum in prologo Hebraicarum Quæstionum super Genes.: *Ut nos humiles, et pauperes nec habemus divitias, nec oblatas dignamur accipere; et illi noverint non posse notitiam Scripturarum, idest Christi, cum mundi habere divitiis.* Eis autem competit docere qui notitiam habent Scripturarum. Ergo religiosis, qui paupertatem profitentur, maxime competit docere."

"Item. Sicut supra probatum est, ad quodlibet opus misericordiæ exequendum potest aliqua religio institui. Sed docere est actus misericordiæ, unde inter eleemosynas spirituales computatur. Ergo potest aliqua religio institui specialiter ad docendum."

"Præterea. Magis remota videtur a religionis proposito corporalis militia, quæ corporalibus armis exercetur, quam militia spiritualis, quæ utitur armis spiritualibus, scilicet sacris documentis ad errorum impugnationem, de quibus dicitur 2 ad Corin., X., 4: *Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed potentia Deo.* Sed religiones aliquæ provide institutæ sunt ad exequendam militiam corporalem in tutelam Ecclesiæ ab hostibus corporalibus; quamvis non desint Ecclesiæ Principes sæculares, qui ex officio Ecclesiam defendere debent. Ergo et salubriter institutæ sunt aliquæ religiones ad docendum, ut sic per earum doctrinam Ecclesia ab hostibus defendatur; quamvis etiam sint alii ad quos pertinet hoc modo Ecclesiam defensare." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 5.)

be instituted for any work of mercy. But teaching is a work of mercy. Therefore, an Order may be founded, with the special end of teaching. As, besides the secular arm, military religious Orders have been instituted for protecting ecclesiastical interests ; so, besides the secular doctors, religious teachers may also be brought up for defending the doctrine of the Church. If a religious can lawfully be made a prelate, which is more, he can surely be made a doctor, which is less. The common good is to be preferred to private utility ; so, a monk may leave his solitude, with permission, to minister by teaching to the general good of the Church. It is the same thing to teach by word of mouth those who are present, as to teach with the pen those who are absent : "Such as we are in word by epistles, when absent, such also we will be, indeed, when present."* But religious have been very prolific with the pen ; therefore they may also teach with the tongue. It is easy enough to answer the arguments brought in opposition to the true doctrine.†

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* 2 *Cor.*, *X.*, 2.

† "Ea autem quæ in contrarium opponuntur, facile est solvere."

"Ad 1. Quod enim primo dicunt, esse Domini consilium de vitando magisterio, patet multipliciter esse falsum. Primo quia supererogationes, de quibus dantur consilia, habent præmium eminentius, ut patet ex hoc quod dicitur Lucæ X., 35 : *Et quodcumque supererogaveris, ego cum rediero, reddam tibi :* quod Glossa de supererogatione consiliorum exponit. Unde abstinere ab illis actibus quibus excellens debetur præmium, sub consilio cadere non potest. Doctoribus autem debetur præmium excellens, sicut et Virginibus, scilicet aureola, ut patet Danielis XII., 3 : *Qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos* Glossa 'verbo, et exemplo' *quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.* Sicut ergo inconveniens esset dicere, quod declinare virginitatem, et Martyrium sub consilio caderet ; ita inconveniens esset dicere ; quod abstinere ab actu docendi, sub consilio cadat. Item consilium non potest

1. It is evidently false that an obligation not to teach falls under the counsels. That cannot be forbidden by a counsel to which a great reward is attached when it is performed. But just as virgins receive a special reward, so also will doctors: "They that instruct many to justice shall shine as stars for all eternity." * Just as it would be unbecoming to say that some one of the counsels commands a man to decline martyrdom or virginity, so, also, is it unbecoming to say that one of the counsels forbids a man to teach. Again, one command cannot contradict another. But teaching falls under either precept or counsel: "Go, teach all nations," † and, "You who are spiritual, instruct

esse de eo quod contrariatur consilio, vel præcepto. Sed docere cadit sub præcepto, vel sub consilio, ut patet Matthæi ult. 19: *Euntes, docete omnes gentes etc.* Galat., VI., 1.: *Vos, qui spirituales estis, hujusmodi instruite in spiritu lenitatis.* Non ergo de non docendo potest esse consilium. Item consilia quæ Dominus proposuit, immediate ab Apostolis observari voluit, ut eorum exemplo alii ad observanda consilia provocarentur: unde Paulus 1 Corinth., VII., 7, consilium de virginitate proponens, dixit: *Volo omnes homines esse sicut me ipsum.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 6.)

* *Dan. XII.*, 3.

† "Nec potest dici, quod sub consilio cadat abstinere ab his quæ ad solemnitatem docendi pertinent: quia ea quæ ad solemnitatem docendi pertinent, non fiunt causa elationis, alias enim essent ab omnibus vitanda, quia quilibet tenetur elationem vitare; sed sunt ordinata ad auctoritatem officii ostendendam: et ideo sicut perfectioni nihil deperit, si sacerdos supra diaconum sedeat, et sericis ornetur vestibus; ita non obstat perfectioni, si quis magistralibus insigniis utatur: et hoc est quod dicit quædam Glossa super illud Matth., XXIII., 6: *Amant primos recubitus.* 'Magistros (inquit) primos sedere non vetat; sed eos arguit qui hæc habita vel non habita, appetunt.' Adhuc autem est magis ridiculum dicere, quod etsi abstinere a docendo sub consilio non cadat, abstinere tamen a magisterii nomine sub consilio cadit. Non enim potest esse præceptum vel consilium de eo quod non est in nobis, sed in alio. In nobis quidem est docere vel non docere, de quo non esse consilium probatum est. Sed doctores atque magistros vocari non est in nobis, sed in eis qui sic nos nominant. Non ergo potest sub consilio cadere, ut non vocemur magistri. Item, cum nomina sint imposita ad significandum res, ridiculum est dicere quod nomen sit prohibitum, cum res non sit interdicta. Item, consiliorum observatio maxime ad Apostolos pertinuit, quibus mediantibus ad alios pervenit. Magistri ergo nomen nullo modo consilio est interdictum, cum ipsi Apostoli se ipsos magistros et doctores nominaverint." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 6.)

such a one in the spirit of meekness." * There can, therefore, be no counsel forbidding men to teach. Again, our Lord wished the Apostles to observe forthwith the counsels he gave them; but refraining from teaching had nothing to do with the Apostles; therefore, to abstain from teaching does not fall under the counsels. Nor can it be said that it falls under a counsel to avoid the honours connected with teaching; for they are not accorded to minister to conceit, but for the sake of manifesting the authority of the office. It is no greater imperfection for a religious to make use of the *insignia* of his office as teacher, than for the priest at Mass to take precedence of, and be more richly clad than the deacon. It is still more ridiculous to say that, although to abstain from teaching does not fall under counsel, still, not to use the title of master does fall under a counsel. We can be bound by no precept respecting that which depends, not on ourselves, but on others. But the name we are called by does *not* depend upon us. Therefore, it cannot be forbidden by counsel that we should not be called "magistri." Besides, it would be ridiculous to sanction the *thing*, and to forbid the *name*. Again, the practice of the counsels, in a special manner, was incumbent on the Apostles. But they called themselves masters and doctors: "Whereunto I am appointed . . . (I say the truth, I lie not) a doctor of the

* *Gal.*, *VI.*, 1.

Gentiles in faith and truth."* Again: "I am appointed a preacher, and an Apostle, and teacher of the Gentiles."† Therefore, to teach, cannot be contrary to the counsels. The words of our Lord: "But be not you called Rabbi"‡ do not refer to a counsel, but to a precept, which obliges all.§ What is forbidden, is not the act of teaching, nor the name of teacher, but the *ambition* which may spring out of these. Thus, our Lord prohibited the name of father, and of master, for there is but one Father, Who is in heaven, and one Master, Christ; but He did not, either by precept, or by counsel, absolutely forbid these names to be made use of in their legitimate sense—else the Holy Fathers would not have countenanced the title of abbot, that is, father; nor would the Vicar of Christ—who ought to be the model of perfection—be called Pope; nor would S. Augustine or S. Jerome have

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* 1 *Tim., II.*, 7. † 2 *Tim., I.*, 11. ‡ *Matt., XXIII.*, 8.

§ "Timoth. II., 7: *Veritatem dico non mentior, doctor gentium in fide et veritate.* 2 Tim., I., 11: *In quo positus sum ego prædicator et Apostolus et magister gentium.* Restat ergo dicendum, quod id quod Dominus dixit, *Nolite vocari Rabbi*, non sit consilium, sed præceptum, ad quod omnes tenentur; nec prohibentur actus docendi et magisterii nomen, sed ambitio magisterii, unde cum subjungit, *Nec magistri*, Glossa: 'Nec appetatis vocari.' Nec quemlibet appetitum interdicit, sed inordinatum: ut ex Glossa prius inducta apparet, et ex hoc etiam quod de inordinato appetitu Pharisæorum præmiserat, dicens: *Amant primos recubitus, etc.* Potest tamen aliter intelligi, secundum Glossam, ut etiam ex circumstantia litteræ patet. Simul enim Dominus prohibet ibidem patris nomen ac magistri, quia unus est pater noster qui est in cœlis, et quia magister noster unus est Christus. Deus enim, ut Glossa dicit ibidem, et pater et magister natura dicitur: homo autem dicitur indulgentia pater, et magister ministerio. . . . Magister ex consortio veri magistri tamquam ejus nuntius, et pro reverentia ejus a quo mittitur, honoratur. Sic ergo patet quod Dominus non prohibuit simpliciter nec præcepto, nec consilio nomen patris, aut Magistri: alias quomodo sancti patres sustinuissent ut illi qui præsunt monasteriis, Abbates, idest patres, vocarentur?" *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 6.)

called the bishops they wrote to, *Papæ* or fathers. Besides, those who embrace the state of perfection are not obliged to practise all the counsels, but those only to which they have bound themselves. All the Apostles were not called upon to practise the works of supererogation performed by S. Paul; if he did not wish to live by the altar, that is no reason why they should not live by it: else, there would be no distinction between works which are of supererogation, and those which are not. *

2. The second objection, that the office of a monk is that of a mourner, not of a teacher, has no force in it. S. Jerome merely wished to say that a monk as a monk is not a teacher. It no more follows that, because a monk has not now the office of teaching, *therefore*, he can never have it, than it would follow that, because he has not the office of reading the Gospel, therefore, he can never be ordained a deacon. S. Jerome wishes to show the distinction, in a matter of duty,

* "Quomodo etiam Christi Vicarius, qui debet esse perfectionis exemplum, Papa, idest pater, diceretur? Augustinus etiam et Hieronymus Episcopos quibus scribunt, Papas, idest patres, frequenter nominant. Stultissimum est ergo dicere, quod hoc quod dicitur, *Nolite vocari Rabbi.* sit consilium. Dato etiam quod sit consilium, non sequitur quod omnes perfecti ad istud consilium teneantur. Non enim qui statum perfectionis profitentur, ad omnia tenentur consilia, sed ad ea tantum ad quæ ex voto se obligant: alias Apostoli, qui in statu perfectionis erant, tenebantur ad hanc supererogationem quam Paulus faciebat, ut non acciperent stipendia ab Ecclesiis quibus prædicabant; et peccabant, cum hoc non observarent, ut patet 1 Cor., IX. Sequeretur etiam ex hoc religionum confusio, si omnes ad omnes supererogationes, et omnia consilia tenerentur. Quicquid enim una supererogaret, omnes supererogare tenerentur, et sic inter eas nulla distinctio remaneret: quod est inconveniens. Non ergo ad omnia consilia perfecti tenentur sed solum ad ea ad quæ se obligant." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 6.)

between a clerk and a monk. As a monk, a man has the office of mourner for his own and others' sins; as a clerk, he has the office of teaching, and of feeding the people. And, even if it were unlawful for monks to teach, it would not follow that it would be so for Regular Canons. As Templars may use arms, whilst monks may not use them; so, Canons Regular might teach, though monks were not permitted to do so. Canons Regular and monks are on the same footing in those things to which all religious are bound, but not beyond this; else Canons could not wear linen garments; for monks are not permitted to have them.*

3. The objection that the office of teaching is contrary to the vow of religion, is false on many counts. Religious, by their vow, do not renounce the use of the things of the world, but they give up the practices of a worldly life. Hence, they are

* "Ad 2. Quod etiam secundo objiciunt, quod monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium, pro eis non facit. Ibi enim Hieronymus ostendit, quod monacho, ex hoc quod est monachus, competat pœnitentiam agere, non docere, sicut illi sibi usurpabant de quibus diximus, quod ex hoc ipso quod monachi erant, docere volebant: vel intendit ostendere, quod monachus, ex hoc quod est monachus, non obligatur ad docendum. Sic enim Hieronymus inducit hoc in epistola contra Vigilantium. Non autem sequitur, si monachus non habeat officium legendi Evangelium, quod ad hoc officium, assumi non possit: et hoc est quod Gratianus dicit 16, quæst. I. *Superiori.* Voluit ergo Hieronymus distinguere inter personam monachi et personam clerici, ostendens quid cuique ex proprio officio conveniat. Aliud enim convenit cuique ex eo quod monachus est, aliud ex eo quod clericus est, ex eo quod monachus est sua et aliorum peccata deflendi habet officium; ex eo quod clericus est, docendi et pascendi populum. . . . Quod autem objiciunt, quod canonici regulares et monachi ad paria censentur, intelligendum est in illis quæ sunt communia omni religioni; sicut vivere sine proprio, abstinere a negotiationibus, et ab officio advocandi in causis, et hujusmodi: alias possent similiter concludere, quod canonici regulares tenentur abstinere a lineis indumentis, quia monachi ad hoc tenentur. Multo etiam fortius licet illis religiosis docere quorum religio est ad hoc statuta, etiam si monachis non liceret: sicut Templariis licet armis uti, quod non licet monachis." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 6.)

in the world—in so far as they use the things of the world; but they are not *of* the world; inasmuch as they are free from the practices of the world. Therefore, it is not contrary to their vow for them to use riches, or even pleasures, sometimes; else, a religious who ate good things would sin mortally, which cannot be said.* Therefore, it is not contrary to their vow, if they sometimes make use of honours. All men are obliged to renounce the world, in a certain sense: "If any man love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him: for all that is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life." † Hence, the "ambition of honour" is forbiden to all—not riches and pleasures, but an inordinate desire after them. Even were honour a thing of the world, worldliness could not be predicated of

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* "Ad 3. Quod autem tertio objiciunt, quod assumere magisterii officium est contra votum religionis, patet multipliciter esse falsum. Religiosi enim per votum religionis non hoc modo abrenuntiant mundo, ut rebus mundi uti non possint, sed mundanæ vitæ, ut scilicet mundi actionibus non occupentur: unde et sunt in mundo, inquantum rebus mundi utuntur; et non sunt de mundo, inquantum a mundanis actionibus sunt liberi. Unde non est contra votum eorum, si utantur divitiis, vel etiam quandoque deliciis: alias quicumque deliciose comederent, mortaliter peccarent, quod non est dicendum. Unde non est contra votum eorum, si quandoque honoribus utantur. Item mundo, secundum quod ibi accipitur, non solum religiosi, sed etiam omnes homines abrenuntiare tenentur: quod patet ex hoc quod supra præmittit Joannes (Epist. I., Cap. II., 15): *Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo: quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ:* Glossa: 'Omnes dilectores mundi nihil habent nisi hæc tria, quibus omnia vitiorum genera comprehenduntur.' Unde patet quod ad mundum dicuntur ibi pertinere non divitiæ, et deliciæ simpliciter, sed inordinatus appetitus earum; et sic non solum religiosis, sed etiam omnibus interdicitur non quidem honor, sed ambitio honoris. Glossa ibi: '*Superbia vitæ*, idest omnis ambitio sæculi.'" *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 7.)*

† *John*, 1 *Epist.*, *II.*, 15.

every honour; for the honour of the priesthood does not belong to the world. In like manner, the honour of the teacher does not belong to the world: for the teaching from which this honour springs, has to do with spiritual goods. And, as religious do not by vow renounce the priesthood: neither do they, by being religious, renounce the teaching office. Besides this, the *magisterium* is not an honour: but it is an office to which honour is due. Even if a religious renounced all honour, he could not renounce that to which honour was due; else, he would have to renounce all virtue: for honour, according to the philosopher, is the "reward of virtue." And because the devil deceives some by puffing them up, it is no reason why men should abstain from teaching, any more than they should abstain from good works; for S. Augustine says: "Pride insinuates itself even into good works, in order to destroy them." *

4. The assertion that religious vow perfect humility, is false; they do not vow humility, but obedience; humility does not fall under the vow.

* "Item dato quod honor simpliciter ad mundum pertinere intelligatur, non tamen hoc potest dici de quolibet honore, sed de honore qui consistit in rebus mundanis: non enim potest dici quod honor Sacerdotii pertineat ad mundum, et similiter nec honor magisterii, cum doctrina, quam consequitur talis honor, sit de spiritualibus bonis. Sicut ergo religiosi non abrenuntiant per votum sacerdotio, ita nec magisterio. Item hoc falsum est quod magisterium sit honor: est enim officium cui debetur honor. Dato etiam quod religiosi cuilibet honori abrenuntiassent, non tamen abrenuntiaverunt eis quibus debetur honor, alias renuntiassent operibus virtutum. Honor enim secundum Philosophum in 1 Ethicorum est præmium virtutis. Nec propter hoc aliquis debet abstinere a magisterio, quia diabolus aliquos inflatos honore magisterii decipit; sicut nec a bonis operibus, quia Augustinus dicit: 'Superbia etiam bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant.'" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 7.)

Acts of virtue are of necessity, because they are of precept. A vow regards that which is voluntary; Nor can the perfection of humility fall under a vow, any more than the perfection of charity: for the perfection of virtue does not depend on our will, but upon the gift of God. Even if religious were bound to perfect humility, it would not follow that they could not enjoy certain honours. To enjoy honours is not opposed to humility, but to be inordinately puffed up by honours: hence, S. Bernard says that, amongst all the treasures of the Supreme Pontiff, "there is no more precious gem than humility."* Who will dare to say that S. Gregory lost a single degree of humility because he was promoted to the highest ecclesiastical position? Moreover, it is evident, from what has been said, that the "*magisterium*" is not an honour, and so the objection loses all its force.

5. S. Denis does not say that teaching in the schools is a sacred action—but that the adminis-

* "Ad 4. Ad illud autem quod quarto objiciunt, quod religiosi profitentur perfectam humilitatem, dicendum, quod est falsum; non enim vovent humilitatem, sed obedientiam. Humilitas enim sub voto non cadit, sicut nec aliæ virtutes; cum actus virtutum sint necessitatis, quia sunt in præcepto; votum autem est de eo quod est voluntarium. Similiter etiam nec perfectio humilitatis sub voto cadere potest, sicut nec perfectio caritatis, cum perfectio virtutis non sit ex nostro arbitrio, sed ex Dei munere. Dato autem quod ad perfectam humilitatem tenerentur, non sequitur, quod non possent aliquibus honoribus potiri, sicut non possent possidere divitias propter hoc quod profitentur summam paupertatem, quia possidere divitias paupertati opponitur; non autem potiri honoribus opponitur humilitati, sed in honoribus se inordinate extollere: unde, ut Bernardus dicit in Libro De Consideratione, *nulla splendidior gemma humilitate*, scilicet in omni ornatu summi Pontificis: *quo enim celsior cæteris, eo humilitate apparet illustrior et se ipso:* et Eccl. III., 20 dictur: *quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus*. . . . Patet ex dictis quod magisterium non est honor: et sic ratio illa penitus nihil valet." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 7.)

tration of the Sacraments is; otherwise, no one but a deacon or a priest could teach. Then, monks who are properly ordained can consecrate the Body of Christ, and this belongs to the priestly office; with still more right, therefore, may they exercise the duty of teaching, which does not require the holy order of priesthood.*

6. To the sixth objection, which declares that to teach and to obey Rule are incompatible, it may be answered thus, that in the main, religious discipline can be observed. To dispense with silence, vigils, and the like, for the common good, is not unbecoming—as is evident from the practice of those monks who are made prelates, and live in monasteries, and for certain reasons are dispensed from the like obligations; and, besides, there are religious who do observe the rules of their Order, and teach in the schools according to the scope of the Order to which they belong.†

* "Ad 5. Ad id quod quinto objiciunt, dicendum, quod Dionysius distinguit monachos contra diaconos, presbyteros et Episcopos. Patet etiam quod loquitur de monachis qui clerici non erant tempore Ecclesiæ primitivæ, ut patet XVI., quæst. 1: *Superiori.* Monachos usque ad tempus Eusebii, Zosimi, et Siricii clericos non fuisse Ecclesiastica testatur Historia. Et sic non potest concludi per dictum Dionysii aliquid de monachis qui sunt Episcopi, vel presbyteri vel diaconi. Procedit etiam eorum ratio ex malo intellectu Dionysii. Vocat enim actiones sacras ecclesiastica sacramenta, baptismum dicens esse purgationem, et illuminationem; sed confirmationem et Eucharistiam perfectionem, ut patet in IV. cap. Ecclesiast. Hierarchiæ: et hæc dispensare non licet nisi prædictis ordinibus; sed docere in scholis non est de istis sacris actionibus de quibus Dionysius loquitur; alias nullus posset docere in scholis nisi esset diaconus vel sacerdos. Item monachi clerici possunt conficere Corpus Christi, quod non nisi sacerdotibus licet. Ergo multo fortius docendi uti possunt officio, ad quod sacer ordo non requiritur." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II.*, *p.* 7—8.)

† "Ad 6. Ad aliud quod sexto objicitur, quod nullus potest Ecclesiasticis officiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere, et ita multo minus scholastice, intelligendum est non de his quæ ad substantiam religionis

7. It is said that, in teaching, religious overstep the bounds prescribed for them: but that is permissible which is prohibited by no law. And, again, there are some religious who are teachers by virtue of their institution.*

As to religious not being allowed more than one doctor in a college, it can be answered that, because men are religious, it does not follow that they should be treated more harshly than seculars, in the matter of learning. If a religious has greater obstacles thrown in his way to becoming a master than others, he is, in reality, punished for being a religious. And this would be to punish men for doing good, which would be an iniquitous proceeding. Nor are seculars or religious forbidden to have many masters. This is explained by S. Augustine, when he says: "They are called many masters because they teach contrary doctrines, whilst many teaching the same thing are as one master." Thus, many doctors are not forbidden,

pertinent, ut etiam per apparatum ibi patet, quia hæc bene servare possunt Ecclesiasticis vacantes officiis; sed intelligitur quantum ad alias observantias, sicut silentium, vigilias, et hujusmodi: quod etiam patet ex hoc quod sequitur in prædicto capitulo: *Ut ipse districtionem monasterii teneat qui quotidie in ministerio Ecclesiastico cogitur deservire.* A quibus observantiis regularibus non est inconveniens si aliqui abstineant, ut utilitati communi vacent docendo; sicut patet in illis qui ad prælationis officium assumuntur cum etiam in claustris manentes in talibus quandoque dispensationem accipiant propter aliquam causam. Et præterea aliqui religiosi sunt qui in claustris suis manentes, districtionem sui ordinis servantes, scholastico insistunt officio, quod ex institutione sui ordinis habent." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 8.)

* "Ad 7. Ad illud quod septimo objiciunt, dicendum, quod ille se superextendit supra mensuram suam, ut patet per Glossam ibidem, qui se extendit ultra quam ei concedatur. Illud autem intelligitur concessum quod nulla lege prohibitum invenitur. . . . Et præterea aliqui religiosi sunt, qui doctrinam ex institutione sui ordinis habent: et patet quod contra eos dicta objectio non procedit." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 8.)

but many doctrines.* The many masters in one college do not govern that college as a captain commands his ship, for each master presides in his own school. All that can be proved by the analogy of the ship is this, that many masters cannot be placed over the same class. Nor does an increase in the number of regular teachers prevent seculars from teaching; it merely offers a greater choice of professors, irrespective of their peculiar vocation. In the third chapter, the allegation that religious cannot have anything in common with seculars, in those things which relate to studies, is shown to be damnable, false, and frivolous. Here, as in the second chapter, the Saint first states the arguments of the enemy; then, gives his general answer; and, finally, replies to each argument in particular.†

* "Quod autem adjungunt, quod in uno religiosorum collegio duo doctores esse non debeant, manifeste patere potest iniquum esse. Cum enim religiosi non sint minus humiles quam sæculares, ut supra probatum est, non debet in docendo religiosi pejor esse conditio quam sæcularis. Esset autem secundum positionem prædictam: quia non major via pateret toti uni multitudini religiosorum veniendi ad magisterium quam uni sæculari, qui singulariter per se studet, qui magister fieri potest, si in studio proficiat. Item secundum hanc positionem profectus studii in religiosis impeditur. Sicut enim pugnanti esset impedimentum ad pugnam, si præmium pugnæ ei subtraheretur, quia, ut Philosophus in III. Ethic. dicit, *fortissimi pugnatores esse videntur apud quos sunt timidi inhonorati, fortes honorati:* ita studenti esset impedimentum ad studium, si ei magisterium subtrahatur, quod est studentium præmium. Item hoc reputaretur in pœnam infligi alicui, si ei postquam in studio profecit, magisterium denegaretur. Si ergo religiosus in magisterio consequendo plusquam alii impediatur, ex hoc ipso quod religiosus est, punietur; et hoc est punire homines pro bono; quod iniquum est." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 8.)

† "Adhuc autem sua malitia eos instigante conantur ostendere, quod religiosi sæcularibus in his quæ ad studium pertinent communicare non debent, ut si non ex toto doctrinæ amittant officium, tamen in executione officii aliquo modo impediantur."

1 "Ad hoc autem ostendendum, inducunt primo illud quod habetur XVI. quæst. VII. cap. *In nona actione*, ubi dicitur: *In uno eodemque officio non debet esse dispar professio: quod etiam in lege divina prohibetur, dicente Moyse: non arabis simul in bove, et asino; idest, homines diversæ professionis*

The teaching of William of S. Amour is "damnable:" because it strikes straight at ecclesiastical unity, which consists, according to the Apostle, in this: that "we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."* It strikes also at charity: because, according to the philosopher, friendship is founded and maintained by intercommunion; or, to use the words of Solomon: "A man amiable in society shall be more friendly than a brother."† It strikes at the advancement of students in learning: for "It is better that two should be together than one, for they have the advantage of their society"‡—and this is especially the case with regard to the acquisition of knowledge. It strikes at faith: for those who give their instructions separately, easily slip into teaching, contrary to sound doctrine.§

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in uno officio simul non sociabis: et infra: *Nam cohærere, et conjungi non possunt quibus et studia, et vota sunt diversa.* Cum ergo religiosis, et sæcularibus sit professio dispar, in uno docendi officio sociari non possunt."

2. "Item. Cum quilibet morem gerere debeat illis quibus convivit, secundum Augustinum, inconveniens videtur ut unus et idem sit de religioso, et sæculari collegio simul et semel: non enim potest simul utrorumque actus imitari. Sic ergo religiosus qui est de collegio suæ religionis, non potest esse de collegio sæcularium doctorum." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 8.)

* *Rom. XII.*, 5. † *Prov.*, *XVIII.*, 24.

‡ *Eccl.*, *IV.*, 9.

§ "Hæc autem eorum sententia invenitur esse damnosa, falsa, et frivola. Damnosa quidem est, quia derogat ecclesiasticæ unitati, quæ consistit secundum Apostolum ad Rom. XII., 5, in hoc quod *multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra.* Glossa: 'Sumus alter alterius membra, dum sumus aliis servientes, aliis indigentes.' Ideo dicitur *singuli* secundum Glossam, quia nullus excluditur, major, vel minor. Unde patet quod ecclesiasticæ unitati derogat quicumque impedit quod unusquisque alterius membrum non sit, ei serviendo secundum officium sibi competens. Cum ergo religiosis competat docendi officium: de quo post pauca Apostolus mentionem facit dicens: *Sive qui docet, in doctrina:* Glossa: 'Qui habet gratiam docendi, sit membrum alterius in exhibitione doctrinæ:' manifestum est quod ecclesiasticæ unitati derogat quicumque religioso impedit ne quemquam docere possit, vel a quocumque addiscere.

It is "false:" because it contradicts Apostolic doctrine; for "every man hath received grace, ministering the same one to another: as good stewards of the manifold grace of God."* Those who would keep religious and secular doctors apart, would prevent such ministration. Those who are competent to teach at all are competent to teach together. There is no more reason why religious and secular doctors should exclude each other, than that the soldiers who form an army should refuse to communicate with each other: if their object be one, they can combine in one society. †

It is "frivolous," for it is supported by arguments without weight, and is a manifestation of ignorance. Hence, it is easy to answer the reasoning adduced. ‡

Derogant etiam prædicta caritati. Quia secundum Philosophum in VIII., et X. Ethicorum in communicatione amicitia fundatur, et salvatur: cui congruit sententia Salomonis Prover. XVIII., 24: *Vir amicabilis ad societatem magis amicus erit quam frater." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 9.)

* 1 *Peter, IV.*, 10.

† "Ergo et quicumque sumuntur ad officium doctrinæ, debent, omnibus, cujuscumque conditionis fuerint, docendo proficere, et religiosi, sæcularibus, et sæculares religiosis. Item quibuscumque competit aliquis actus, competit admitti ad societatem illorum qui ordinantur ad actum illum; cum societas nihil aliud esse videatur quam adunatio hominum ad unum aliquid communiter agendum: unde et omnes quibus pugnare licet, possunt communicare in eodem exercitu, qui est societas ordinata ad pugnandum: non enim videmus quod milites religiosi repellant milites sæculares a suo exercitu, nec e converso. Sed societas studii est ordinata ad actum docendi, et discendi. Cum ergo non solum sæcularibus, sed etiam religiosis liceat docere, et discere, ut ex prædictis patet; non est dubium quod religiosi, et sæculares in una societate studii esse possunt." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p.* 10.)

‡ "Est etiam prædicta sententia frivola: quia rationes quibus innititur, nullius momenti sunt, et ostendunt ignorantiam eorum qui eas inducunt, vel veram, vel fictam. Est enim societas, ut dictum est, adunatio hominum ad aliquid unum perficiendum; et ideo secundum diversa ad quæ perficienda societas ordinatur, oportet societates distingui, et de eis judicari; cum judicium uniuscujusque rei præcipue sumatur ex fine." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 10.)

1. It is said that in one and the same office there should not be disparity of profession : that is, a cleric should not perform the office of a layman, and *vice versa ;* but to those occupations which are at once common both to seculars and to monks, such as studying and teaching, this rule does not apply. So, men of different conditions form one Church : "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female : for you are all one in Christ Jesus."*

2. It is said that there are some privileges which are common to seculars and religious, and some privileges which are not common to them. For instance, religious cannot belong both to a secular and to a religious college. But both religious and seculars belong to the one College of the Church of Christ, inasmuch as they are one in faith. So, since religious and seculars teach and discuss together, a house of studies ought not to be called a college of religious, or a college of seculars, but a college comprehending both. It is common ground for carrying out a common object.†

* *Gal., III.*, 28.

† "Ad 2. Ad id quod secundo objiciunt, dicendum, quod sicut quædam sunt communia religiosis, et sæcularibus, quædam autem sunt in quibus differunt : ita est quoddam collegium quod est tantum sæcularium, secundum quod adunantur quidam homines ad ea perficienda quæ ad sæculares tantum spectant ; aliquod autem collegium est religiosorum tantum, in quo scilicet aliquid agitur ad religiosam vitam ducendam ; aliquod autem est quod est religiosis, et sæcularibus commune, quia in illo adunantur homines ad hoc in quo religiosi a sæcularibus non distinguuntur ; sicut religiosi, et sæculares communiter sunt de collegio unius Ecclesiæ Christi, inquantum in una fide conveniunt, quæ unitatem Ecclesiæ perficit. Similiter quia docere, et discere communiter religiosis et sæcularibus competit, collegium studii non debet censeri quasi collegium religiosorum, vel quasi collegium sæcularium, sed quasi collegium in se comprehendens utrosque." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 11.)

3. It is argued that a man cannot belong to two colleges—to a secular, and to a regular one ; but this is to make use of the part, as an argument against the whole. A private college is part of a public college—just as a house is part of a city. To live in a religious family, and to study at a public college, does not create any contradiction. Nor is there any objection to a religious, who is a member for life of a religious college, belonging, for a time, to a scholastic college. Moreover, this argument is applicable only to ecclesiastical colleges. A man cannot be a canon of two churches at one time without a dispensation. But a scholastic college is not an ecclesiastical college—so there is nothing to prevent a man who is associated to a religious college, or to a secular college, joining a scholastic college.*

4. It is said that religious, being under obedience

* "Ad 3. Ad id quod tertio objiciunt, scilicet quod nullus potest esse de duobus collegiis, dicendum, quod illa ratio tripliciter deficit. Primo quia pars non ponit in numerum contra totum : collegium autem privatum pars est publici collegii, sicut domus est pars civitatis : unde per hoc quod aliquis est de collegio alicujus familiæ, ex hoc ipso est de collegio civitatis, quæ ex diversis familiis constituitur, nec tamen est ex duobus collegiis. Cum ergo collegium studii sit publicum collegium, per hoc quod aliquis est de collegio privato aliquorum studentium, sicut qui conveniunt ad convivendum in una domo religiosa, vel sæculari, hoc ipso est de collegio communi studii, nec propter hoc est de duobus collegiis. Secundo prædicta ratio deficit ex hoc quod nihil prohibet aliquem esse de uno collegio perpetuo publico, vel privato, et simul et semel esse de aliquo collegio publico, vel privato temporali : sicut ille qui est de collegio alicujus civitatis, quandoque est ad tempus de collegio commilitantium in uno exercitu ; et qui est de collegio alicujus familiæ, potest ad tempus aliquibus sociari in aliquo hospitio. Collegium autem studii non est collegium perpetuum, sed temporale : non enim ad hoc homines ad studium conveniunt ut perpetuo ibi morentur ; sed vadunt et veniunt pro suo libito. Unde nihil prohibet eum qui est de religioso collegio perpetuo, simul esse de collegio scholastico." (*Tom. XV., Opusc I., Cap. III., p.* 11.)

to superiors, cannot take upon themselves those obligations which fall upon seculars in a secular college. Without permission and license of their superiors, they cannot; with it, they can do that which is lawful.

5. It is said that religious breed scandals; 6, that they live idle lives; and, 7, that they will be the cause of the "Perils of the Last Times"—and texts of Scripture are brought forward in support of these accusations.

The Saint proves that these allegations are beside the point; and says that, because they have their suspicions, men should not take the law into their own hands, and that, until religious are condemned by competent authority, they cannot be driven out of their position.*

8. It is said that it is not even within the power of apostolic authority to compel seculars to receive religious into their colleges. This proposition is not only false, but heretical. Christ granted this privilege to the Roman Church, that all should

* "Ad 4. Ad id quod quarto objiciunt, dicendum, quod religiosi non possunt esse de collegio sæcularium, nisi quatenus licet eis docere, et discere, quod non possunt absque moderamine, et licentia suorum superiorum, ex quorum etiam licentia et juramenta, et colligationes licitas, et expedientes facere possunt, ut sic in collegio scholastico connumerentur."

"Sciendum tamen, quod cum perfectio totius consistat in partium adunatione, illud toti non expedit in quo partes convenire non possunt, quia hoc perfectioni totius repugnat: unde et ordinationes quæ in republica statuuntur, tales debent esse quæ omnibus qui ad rempublicam pertinent, coaptentur; magis vero essent removendæ ordinationes a republica quæ adunationem civium impedirent, quam aliqua scissura reipublicæ toleranda: quia statuta sunt propter unitatem reipublicæ conservandam, et non e converso. Similiter etiam in collegio scholastico non debent esse aliqua statuta quæ non possint congruere omnibus qui ad studium licite conveniunt." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 11.)

obey it, as if they were obeying Christ. It can be proved from Gratian, and S. Cyril, that he who attempts to destroy the privilege of the Roman Church, falls into heresy. Hence, he who declares that those things are not to be done, which the Pope commands men to do, is guilty of heresy.*

9. It is said that no one can be forced to enter a society against his will; but this is spoken of a private society—not of a public society, constituted by authority: for, just as the Chapter of a church can be compelled to receive a certain man as a canon, so, a college of studies can be forced by superior authority to receive subjects.

10. It is said that the Apostolic authority only extends *ad cathedram, i.e.*, to the administration of the Sacraments, and such like. This is false; for it is clear from the "Politics," and "Ethics," that he who governs the republic has to superintend the education of its youth.

11. It is said that to unite religious and seculars would be not to edification, but to destruction.

* "Ad 5. In his autem quæ sequuntur, in quibus apostolicæ potestati derogant, non solum falsitatis, sed etiam hæresis crimen incurrunt: quia, ut dicitur in decretis, dist. XXII. cap. *Omnes: qui Romanæ Ecclesiæ privilegium ab ipso summo omnium Ecclesiarum capite traditum auferre conatur, hic procul dubio in hæresim labitur:* et infra: *Fidem quippe violat qui adversus illam agit quæ est fidei mater.* Hoc autem privilegium Christus Romanæ Ecclesiæ contulit, ut omnes ei sicut Christo obediant: unde dicit Cyrillus Alexandrinus Episcopus in Lib. II. Thesaurorum: *Ut membra maneamus in capite nostro apostolico throno Romanorum Pontifice, a quo nostrum est quærere quid credere, et quid tenere debeamus, ipsum venerantes, ipsum rogantes pro omnibus: quoniam ipsius solum est reprehendere, corrigere, et loco illius ligare qui ipsum ædificavit; et nulli alii quod suum est plenum, sed ipsi soli dedit: cui omnes jure divino caput inclinant, et primates mundi tamquam ipsi Domino Jesu Christo obediunt.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 12.)

This allegation is founded on what is false. It is evident, from what has been advanced, that it is not to the destruction, but to the advantage of learning, that religious should be associated with seculars in teaching. Hence, there ought to be no doubt that seculars can be compelled, by Apostolic authority, to admit religious into their society for the sake of study.*

It would occupy too much space to go at length into the following chapters. The three first have been treated more in detail, to give a fair specimen of the Saint's method of handling his subject. He remarks, in the fourth chapter, that it was an old heresy, and one rife in his own day, which maintained that the efficacy of ecclesiastical ministrations depended upon sanctity of life, independent of ordination; and that this belief had led some fanatics to imagine that they were at liberty to license themselves—irrespective of any other

*"Quod etiam objiciunt, quod nullus potest cogi ad societatem invitus, ut lex dicit, patet quod intelligitur de privata societate, quæ consensu duorum, vel trium constituitur. Sed ad societatem publicam, quæ non potest constitui nisi ex superioris auctoritate, aliquis compelli potest; sicut princeps qui præest reipublicæ potest compellere cives ut in sua societate aliquem recipiant; sicut etiam collegium alicujus Ecclesiæ cogitur ut aliquem recipiat in canonicum vel in fratrem. Unde, cum collegium studii generalis sit aliqua societas, ad eam aliquis induci potest auctoritate superioris cogente. Ad illud quod postea objiciunt, quod hoc est de illis quæ non pertinent ad cathedram, dicendum, quod hoc est falsum. Ad eum enim qui regit rempublicam, pertinet ordinare de nutritionibus et adinventionibus juvenum in quibus exercere debeant. . . . Et sic patet quod ordinare de studio pertinet ad eum qui præest reipublicæ, et præcipue ad auctoritatem Apostolicæ Sedis, qua universalis Ecclesia gubernatur, cui per generale studium providetur. Quod autem objicitur ultimo procedit ex falsis. Non enim est ad destructionem studii, sed ad ejus profectum, si religiosi sæcularibus in studio sociantur, ut ex prædictis patet. Unde nulli dubium esse debet sæculares compelli posse auctoritate apostolica ut ad societatem studii religiosos admittant." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p.* 12.)

authority, or mission, or character—to preach, and to absolve, and to exercise other ecclesiastical functions. Some took the opposite extreme, and declared that religious men, however holy they might be, could never, even with the approbation of their ecclesiastical superiors, perform these pastoral duties. Others imagine, says the Saint, that bishops cannot confer these powers on regulars without first obtaining the consent of the inferior clergy.* S. Thomas, taking for granted that the two former errors have been already proscribed, and visited with just anathema, attacks the third at length, and shows that the general good of the Church, the wants of the people, and the salvation of souls, call for the establishment of Religious Orders, to assist the secular priests in preaching, and in the administration of the Sacraments.

William of S. Amour maintained that religious,

* "Sciendum est ergo, quosdam fuisse hæreticos, et adhuc esse, qui potestatem ecclesiastici ministerii in vitæ sanctitate ponebant, ut videlicet qui sanctitate caruerit, ordinis quoque potestatem amittat, et qui sanctitate fulget, etiam ordinis potestate potiatur. Quam quidem sententiam esse erroneam, quia de ea non agitur, supponatur ad præsens. Ex hujus autem erroris radice processit quorumdam præsumptio, et præcipue monachorum, qui de sua sanctitate præsumentes, ministrorum Ecclesiæ officia proprio arbitrio usurpabant, absolvendo scilicet peccatores, et prædicando absque alicujus auctoritate Episcopi, quod eis nullatenus licebat."

"Sed quidam nimis incaute ab hoc errore recedentes, in errorem contrarium sunt prolapsi, asserentes monachos, et religiosos ad prædicta non idoneos esse, etiamsi de auctoritate Episcoporum hoc agant."

"Quidam autem novellum sibi statuentes errorem in tantam prorumpunt audaciam ut asserant non solum propter religiosorum conditionem, sed etiam propter Episcoporum impotentiam non posse per Episcopos religiosis prædicta committi absque parochialis sacerdotis voluntate. Et quod etiam perniciosius est, non posse eis hoc ipsum asserunt per Apostolicæ Sedis privilegium indulgeri. Et sic per viam contrariam ad eumdem finem hujusmodi error elabitur cum prædicto, ut scilicet subtrahant aliquid ecclesiasticæ potestati, sicut et illi qui in vitæ merito potestatem Ecclesiæ consistere arbitrantur." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. IV., p.* 14—15.)

however much they might be occupied in other matters, if they did not employ themselves in manual labour, were in a state of damnation.* S. Thomas, in the fifth chapter, oversets this error with arguments from Scripture and from reason. Not that he desires in any manner to encourage idleness, which, according to the Bible, is the source of all evils; but because there are many ways in which men may be usefully employed. Hence, he teaches, in the first place, that all men are bound to labour, both by natural law, and by Divine precept; and, secondly, that manual labour is necessary to society, and is useful and laudable in all conditions, both in the cloister and in the world. But far from pretending that this is a law of necessity for *every* condition of life without distinction; he clearly proves, on the contrary, in the case of religious in particular, that those who, by their position or vocation to an Apostolical Order, are obliged to labour for the salvation of souls, ought to prefer such occupations as are more intimately connected with their responsibilities, and of much more service to their neighbour.†

* "Quia vero per sufficientes rationes religiosos a fructu animarum arcere non possunt, eos indirecte impedire nituntur, imponentes eis necessitatem manibus operandi, ut vel sic saltem retrahantur a studio, quo ad prædicta redduntur idonei: in quo hostes civitatis sanctæ præfati malignantes ostenduntur. Unde super illud Nehem., VI. 1. *Veni, et percutiamus fœdus etc.* dicit Glossa: 'Hostes civitatis sanctæ suadebant Nehemiæ in campestria descendere, et fœdus pacis secum inire. Sic et hæretici, et falsi catholici cum veris catholicis pacis consortium habere volunt, non ut ipsi ad arcem catholicæ fidei, et operationis ascendant, sed ut potius eos quos in culmine virtutum commorantes aspiciunt, ad infima operum, vel pauperiem dogmatum descendere cogant.'" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p.* 23.)

† "Qui autem prædictis operibus quasi privatis vacant, a labore manuum abstinentes, quandoque quidem sunt transgressores præcepti

Here S. Thomas deals with two opposite errors: one, of certain ancient monks, who looked upon labour as opposed to an entire abandonment of self into the hands of Providence—and it was in refutation of this conceit that S. Augustine wrote his treatise on the "Labour of Monks:" the other, of those, who, recognizing no other employment besides manual labour, aimed at making it of general obligation, and indispensable for all who made profession of religious life. We will prove, on the contrary, says S. Thomas, that religious, without manual labour, are in the way of Salvation. This the Saint abundantly does by appeals to reason, and to many texts of Scripture *—for example: First, works of piety and mercy should be preferred to manual labour; for the Apostle says:

Apostolici, quando scilicet sunt de illis quibus denuntiat Apostolus, ut *cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent* ut dictum est. De his ergo loquitur Augustinus, ut patet ex hoc quod dicit: *Cur non et præceptis apostolicis observandis aliquas partes temporum deputamus?* et etiam ex hoc quod dicit: *Citius exauditur una obedientis oratio quam decem millia contemptoris:* et ex hoc quod dicit *Quæ est ista perversitas, lectioni nolle obtemperare?* Ex quibus omnibus patet quod loquitur de vacantibus spiritualibus operibus, qui præceptum apostolicum transgrediuntur. Nec transgrediuntur nisi qui ad observandum obligantur, de quibus prius dictum est: *Quandoque autem vacantes prædictis*, ut etiam privatis operibus, *Apostoli præceptum non transgrediuntur, manibus non operantes: quia non laboriosam vitam ex pigritia fugientes, vacui, et otiosi volunt pasci; sed abundantia divini amoris ab omni exteriori opere retrahuntur, ut contemplationi vacent:* ut per auctoritates supra inductas probatum est." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p.* 28.)

* "Item. Opera misericordiæ præferuntur corporalibus exercitiis: 1. Timoth. IV. 8. *Corporalis quidem exercitatio ad modicum utilis est; pietas autem ad omnia valet.* Sed opera pietatis sunt intermittenda, ut vacetur prædicationi. Actuum VI., 2: *Non est æquum nos derelinquere verbum Dei, et ministrare mensis:* Lucæ IX., 60. *Sine ut mortui sepeliant mortuos suos; tu autem vade, et annuntia regnum Dei:* Glossa. 'Dominus docet bona minora pro utilitate majorum esse prætermittenda. Majus est enim animas mortuorum prædicando suscitare quam corpus mortui terra abscondere.' Ergo et illi qui licite prædicare possunt qualitercumque, debent laborem manuum propter prædicationem intermittere." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p.* 26.)

"Bodily exercise is profitable to little, but godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."* Now, those who have to preach the Word of God can, from time to time, interrupt even works of mercy, and other offices of piety, in order to apply themselves to preaching, according to the Apostle: "It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God, and serve tables."† With much greater cause, then, may manual labour be put on one side for the sake of so holy and useful an occupation. Secondly, this manual labour is either of counsel or of precept. If only of counsel, nobody, strictly speaking, is obliged to it; unless a man be bound to it by virtue of his profession. Those religious are not bound to it in whose Rule it is not prescribed. If it be of precept, then, seculars are bound to it as much as religious are; for *precepts* are binding on all. In fact, when S. Paul said: "If any man will not work, neither let him eat,"‡ the distinction between religious and seculars had not been introduced.§

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* 1 *Tim., IV.*, 8. † *Acts IV.*, 2. ‡ 2 *Thes., III.*, 10.

§ "Item. Hoc exemplo probari potest. Beatus enim Benedictus, ut Gregorius in II. Dialogorum narrat, tribus annis in specu mansit manibus non laborans, ut ex hoc victum quæreret, quia longe a conversatione hominum positus erat, soli Romano monacho cognitus, qui ei victum ministrabat. Quis tamen audeat dicere cum tunc in statu salutis non fuisse, cum Dominus eum servum suum nominaverit cuidam sacerdoti dicens: *Servus meus illo in loco fame moritur?* Multa etiam alia exempla sanctorum patent in Dialogo, et in vitis Patrum, qui sine labore manuum istam vitam transigebant."

"Item. Laborare manibus aut est præceptum, aut consilium. Si consilium est, nullus tenetur ad laborandum manibus, nisi qui ad hoc voto se astrinxit. Ergo religiosi qui ex regula sua non habent quod debeant

William of S. Amour plausibly makes use of several passages of Scripture, and of the example of the Apostle himself, to prove his point. S. Thomas replies that S. Paul teaches that manual labour is necessary in three cases : when its omission would lead to dishonesty, or to covetousness, or to restlessness and curiosity. Now it is certain that those to whom the office of preaching is confided, can perform their duty, and avoid falling into these three vices, without having to engage in manual labour. It is true that S. Paul sometimes worked himself, though he was continually occupied in preaching. But the Apostles preached by inspiration, whilst in these days, preachers, both religious and secular, are obliged to prepare themselves by constant study. S. Thomas remarks, moreover, that S. Paul looked upon his manual labour as a work of supererogation ; and explains, in accordance with the Apostle, that he was led to do so through motives of prudence and of charity. These reasons will be found stated at length in the ninth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.* Finally, the Saint adds, that when the Apostle was at Athens, or elsewhere, where he could preach the Word every day, then he did not engage in manual

manibus laborare, ad laborem manuum non tenentur. Si autem est in præcepto, cum ad præcepta divina, et apostolica æqualiter teneantur religiosi, et sæculares, non magis ad laborem manuum tenentur religiosi quam sæculares. Ergo si licebat alicui sine labore manuum vivere quando in sæculo erat, idem licebit quando in religione aliqua erit." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p.* 25.)

* *Verses* 11, 12, 13, 15.

labour, because he did not wish to interrupt his preaching;* in this case, he allowed the faithful to support him by their charity, for "so also the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel."†

William of S. Amour also maintained that no man can lawfully renounce everything he has, without providing in some way for his subsistence; that is, either by entering a convent which possesses an income, or by undertaking to work. To do otherwise, he said, would be to tempt God. S. Thomas refutes this error, by the teaching of our Lord, and by the example of His disciples. He shows that such a proposition cannot be defended, without condemning a great many of the Saints, and without falling into the errors of Jovinian and Vigilantius, who condemned the practice of the Evangelical counsels, and particularly the observances of monastic life.‡ He shows the difference

* "Ad 5. Ad id quod quinto objicitur, dicendum, quod hoc quod Apostoli manibus laboraverunt, quandoque quidem fuit necessitatis, quandoque supererogationis. Necessitatis quidem fuit quando ab aliis victum invenire non poterant, ut patet 1 Corinth., IV., per Glossam prius inductam. Quod etiam supererogationis fuerit, patet per id quod habetur 1 Corinth., IX. Hac tamen supererogatione tribus de causis Apostolus utebatur. Quandoque quidem ut occasionem auferret pseudoapostolis prædicandi, qui propter sola temporalia prædicabant. Quandoque propter avaritiam eorum quibus prædicabat, ne gravati, si Apostolo seminanti spiritualia providerent temporalia, a fide discederent. Tertio ad dandum exemplum otiosis operandi. Nec tamen Apostolus laborabat in illis locis in quibus quotidie prædicandi facultatem habebat, sicut Athenis, ut Augustinus dicit in Lib. de Opere Monach. Et ideo non est de necessitate salutis quod religiosi in hoc Apostolum imitentur, cum non teneantur ad omnes supererogationes. Unde nec alii Apostoli manibus laborabant, nisi forte quando non inveniebant qui eis daret: in quo casu tenetur quilibet manibus laborare." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p. 27.)*

† 1 *Cor.*, *IX.*, 14.

‡ "Sciendum ergo est, hæreticum quemdam fuisse Romæ antiquis temporibus, Jovinianum nomine, qui in hunc errorem lapsus est ut diceret,

between voluntary poverty and mendicancy. The latter is a disgrace, and naturally breeds flatterers, and encourages base servility; the former is honourable in the religion of Jesus Christ, and does not expose its true votaries to kindred perils. Those who beg, through an overweening desire of enriching themselves, and that they may lead an idle life, are justly condemned by the law, and can be of no service to the commonwealth. They are doubly guilty before God, for they give themselves up to criminal sloth, and bring suspicion on those who are really in want. It is not so with those who have become poor by choice, in imitation of the humility of Jesus Christ; who occupy themselves, according to their state of life, in the service of their neighbour, and know how to be contented with the necessaries of life.* Far from diminishing

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omnium baptizatorum qui suum baptisma servaverunt, unam in regno cælorum esse remunerationem, ut Hieronymus narrat in Lib. quem contra eum scribit: ex quo intantum processit ut diceret, virgines, viduas, et maritatas, quæ semel in Christo sunt lotæ, si non discrepent ceteris operibus, ejusdem meriti esse, et quod inter abstinentiam ciborum, et perceptionem eorum cum gratiarum actione nulla esset differentia, matrimonium per hoc virginitati adæquans: in quo consilium de virginitate servanda enervabat, quod habetur a Domino Matth., XIX., 11. *Non omnes capiunt verbum istud* scilicet ut a nuptiis abstineatur, sed *qui potest capere capiat:* et ab Apostolo I. Corinth. VII.,25. *De virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do.* Unde positio ejus pro hæresi damnata est, ut Augustinus narrat. Hic autem Joviniani error in Vigilantio surrexit, ut Hieronymus dicit in epistola contra Vigilantium, qui veritatem fidei impugnabat, ut ibidem dicitur, pudicitiam odio habens, et in convivio sæcularium contra jejunia sanctorum declamans, ut Hieronymus in eadem epistola dicit." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VI., p.* 30.)

* Here S. Benedict is cited as an example:—"VI. Quod autem pauperes qui reliquerunt omnia propter Christum, possint de eleemosynis vivere, probatur primo exemplo beati Benedicti, de quo narrat beatus Gregorius in 2 Lib. Dialog. quod tribus annis in specu manens, de his quæ a Romano monacho ministrabantur, refectus est, postquam domum parentis reliquerat; et tamen validus corpore existens non legitur de labore

the alms of the poor, they greatly increase them, by their counsels and their exhortations. That which they themselves receive from the people is rather the fair price of their labours than any gratuitous liberality, or alms, according to these words of S. Paul :* "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things."†

S. Thomas proves, incontrovertibly, in the arguments which follow, that religious, whose vocation it is to work for the salvation of souls, can receive their support from the charity of the faithful; even though in preparing themselves for carrying out their obligations, they spend day and night in reading, studying, and meditating on the Scriptures, and on religious subjects. This

manuum victum quæsivisse." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p.* 39.) Again :—

"Item. Vacare contemplationi divinæ laudabilius est quam vacare studio Philosophiæ. Sed aliqui sine peccato ut studio Philosophiæ vacent, de eleemosynis vivunt ad tempus. Ergo et aliqui, ut contemplationi vacent, ad tempus possunt prætermisso labore manuum de eleemosynis vivere. Sed contemplationi divinæ vacare in omni tempore est laudabilius quam certum tempus ad hoc præfigere. Ergo aliqui possunt, ut contemplationi vacent, toto tempore vitæ suæ, prætermisso labore, de eleemosynis vivere." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p.* 40.)

* 1 *Cor., IX.*, 11.

† "Item. Apostolus probat quod poterant Apostoli temporalia accipere ab eis quibus prædicabant, quia eis spiritualia seminabant : quia qui dat magna, non est mirum, si accipiat parva : unde dicit in eodem cap. (vers. 11.) *Si nos vobis spiritualia seminavimus, magnum est, si nos carnalia vestra metamus ?* Sed eadem spiritualia quæ prædicant prælati, prædicant alii ex eorum auctoritate. Ergo etiam ipsi possunt ab his quibus prædicant, carnalia accipere, unde vivant." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p.* 40.)

"Dicit Apostolus : *Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annuntiant de Evangelio vivere:* Glossa : 'Hoc rationabiliter fecit, ut expeditiores sint ad prædicandum verbum Dei.' Sed omnes qui ad prædicandum deputantur, oportet esse expeditos ad prædicandum, sive sint prælati, sive auctoritate prælatorum prædicent. Ergo ad eos etiam qui non sunt prælati, ordinatio Domini se extendit, ut de Evangelio vivant : quod etiam patet ex ipsis verbis Apostoli. Non enim dicit, qui habent ordinariam auctoritatem, sed simpliciter *qui annuntiant." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII, p.* 40.)

indeed, is their labour—a labour, according to S. Thomas, far more glorious, far more useful, and far more necessary, than mere toiling with the hands. But the Holy Doctor has not a word to say in favour of those who do neither one nor the other, but live in criminal sloth—all the more criminal in proportion as it is the more scandalous, and the more unworthy of their state.

In the third part of the work, S. Thomas answers the malignant reproaches heaped upon religious mendicants, respecting the poverty manifested in their persons; the duties they sometimes undertake through motives of charity; and the journeys they make in discharge of their office as preachers of the Word.* The friars are slandered, moreover, on account of actions which are indifferent in themselves, but which are turned against them in a bad sense: such as resisting their opponents; being found in the courts of kings; rejoicing in the great things which God has done for them, and such like. They are defamed in all manner of ways, by exaggerating

* "Ita et prædicti malignantes in lege Dei, quam religiosi custodiunt, occasionem detractionis inveniunt, eos in contemptum inducentes."

"Primo ex ipso habitu humilitatis, quem deserunt."

"Secundo ex officio caritatis quod proximis impendunt, dum aliis serviunt juxta posse aliorum negotia caritative pertractando."

"Tertio ex hoc quod non habentes hic manentem civitatem, de loco ad locum discurrunt ad fructificandum in populo Dei."

"Quarto de hoc quod studio vacant."

"Quinto de hoc quod verbum Dei ordinate, et gratiose proponunt. Ad hoc etiam refertur, quod in eis paupertatem, et mendicitatem, et doctrinam contemnunt, et fructum animarum, quem in populo faciunt ex licentia prælatorum, de quibus supra tractatum est." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VIII., p.* 49.)

their weaknesses, by making much of the faults of an individual, and then, either by straightway ascribing his shortcomings to the whole body of which he is a member; or by violently reproaching the brethren for sins they have never committed. Suspicion is cast upon all their actions—or, to use a well-known phrase, "the wells are poisoned." Whether they pray or fast, or renounce themselves, or perform other actions which are manifestly praiseworthy, it matters not. They are made out to be oily hypocrites, and sleek impostors, and unworthy of any trust.* Just as the pagans formerly, according to S. Augustine, held the Christians responsible for all the calamities that fell upon the empire; so, William of S. Amour, whose object was to destroy the Religious Orders totally, did not scruple to attribute to their agency all the misfortunes which occurred both in Church and in State. He did more than this: he put down to them, in advance, all the fearful horrors which were to happen in the last days; and did his best to excite

* "Item. Hypocrisis videtur esse maximum peccatorum: Unde Dominus in Evangelio contra hypocritas plus invehitur quam contra alios peccatores: et Gregorius in Pastor: *Nemo amplius in Ecclesia nocet quam qui perverse agens nomen, vel ordinem sanctitatis habet.* Sed sub vilitate vestium latet hypocrisis; pretiositas autem vestium ad delicias carnis pertinet, vel etiam aliquem motum superbiæ occasionaliter inducit. Ergo vituperabilius est excedere in vilitate vestium quam in pretiositate."

8. "Item. In Domino Jesu Christo omnis religionis, et sanctitatis perfectio fuit. Sed ipse portavit vestem pretiosam, scilicet tunicam inconsutilem, quæ desuper erat contexta per totum, ut dicitur Joan IX., in quo videtur quod erat facta tali opere, sicut panni consuuntur acu cum auro et serico: et quod pretiosa esset, patet ex eo quod milites eam dividere noluerunt, sed sortem super eam miserunt. Ergo hoc ad religionem non pertinet quod aliquis vilibus vestibus induatur." *(Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VIII., p. 49.)*

the fierce passions of the people against them, by declaring, amongst other things, that those days were near at hand, and that the members of the Religious Orders were the envoys and precursors of Antichrist. And, whilst penning all these libels, William of S. Amour flattered himself that he was labouring and suffering in the cause of truth, and out of a burning zeal for religion. The King and the Pope did not agree with him in this persuasion.*

In reading the "*Contra Impugnantes*," it is impossible not to be struck by the completeness with which the Holy Doctor answered all the accusations —or rather calumnies and slanders, of his adversary. He not only reduced him to powder in his main reply, but he pursued him into all details and through all *minutiæ*, and does not let one argument escape thorough refutation, and complete exposition. The knowledge of Scripture here manifested is very remarkable. Students, in those days, were without the facilities which are possessed in these. S.

* "Sic igitur divina auxiliante gratia malignorum detractionibus repressis, evidenter apparet quod nihil damnationis est his qui sunt in Christo Jesu, qui non secundum carnem ambulant, sed crucem Domini bajulantes, operibus spiritualibus insistunt, carnalia desideria contemnentes. Pateret quidem locus multa replicandi contra prædictos detractores : sed eos divino judicio reservamus ; cum eorum nequitia possit esse omnibus manifesta ex his quæ ex corde suo nequissime protulerunt, secundum sententiam Domini dicentis, Matth. XII., 34. (*Quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali? Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur. Si quis ergo emundaverit se ab istis*, ut habetur 2 Timoth., II., 21., eorum scilicet iniquitati non consentiens, *erit vas in honorem sanctificatum, et utile Domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum.* Qui vero eis consentiunt, cæci cæcos sequentes, simul cum eis in foveam cadent : a qua ut liberemus, hæc dicta sufficiant, Domino adjuvante, cui sit honor, et gratiarum actio in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." (*Epilogus, et totius operis conclusio, p.* 74—75.)

Thomas could not refer to carefully composed concordances, and dictionaries. Still, he is never at a loss. Then, his ingenuity of proof; his clear, deep incision of argument; his well-measured phrase; his calm unruffled advance; the grand balance of his mind, which reigns throughout, speak of two things: they say that he is a Doctor, and they say that he is a Saint. Solidity, force, modesty, unimpassioned power, brilliancy, and depth, are manifested here. He never says too much; and yet, has the constant art of never saying too little. It would repay any student who has a love for logic, for truth, and for elevated thought, to make himself master of the entire treatise.

The "Epilogue" runs as follows: "Having thus, by the help of Divine Grace, answered the evil speaking of our enemies, it becomes evident that there is no damnation for those who are in Christ Jesus, and do not live according to the flesh; but, who, carrying the Cross of the Lord, persevere in spiritual works, contemning carnal devices. We could retort, at length, upon our detractors, the accusations which they advance against us; but we leave them to the Divine judgment, since their iniquity is patent to everyone, from those things which they have poured forth from their wicked hearts; according to the Word of the Lord, which says: 'How can you speak good things, whereas you are evil? For out of the abundance of the

heart the mouth speaketh.'* 'If any man therefore shall cleanse himself from these,' that is, by not consenting to their iniquity, 'he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and profitable to the Lord, prepared unto every good work.'† Those, therefore, who consent to them, like the blind leading the blind, will fall together with them into the pit. What has been said is sufficient to liberate us from this calamity, with the help of the Lord, to Whom be honour and thanksgiving for ever and ever. Amen."

From the extracts which have been given in the notes of this chapter, and from the examples of the Angelical's method in the text, it is very evident how inveterate was the hatred of the principles of religious life in the hearts of a large section of the secular element in the Paris University. The whole religious "position" seems to have been profoundly studied by the enemy. Every principle of action which spoke of religious life; every practice which seemed conducive to its advancement; the very corner-stones on which the whole fabric rested; in fact, the theory and action of the high service of God, were artfully and perseverantly assailed. One of the great advantages of the foe, in such warfare as this, consists in his possessing on his side the strong passions of human nature. Even the perfection of the system

* *Matt., XII.*, 34. † 2 *Timoth., II.*, 21.

which is attacked, offers an opening to deceitful men. In the lofty theory of religious life, it stands to reason that men's professions, without being insincere, are oftentimes more perfect than their practice. So that, at once, the malicious can exclaim that, when a man professes one thing, and does another, he must be acting the part of a hypocrite ; never remembering that the very same accusation which they throw against the friar or the monk, may, perhaps in a greater degree, recoil upon themselves. In the attack of William of S. Amour, not only dishonesty was freely imputed to the Mendicants, but the very action of the monastic principle was struck at in such a manner, as to arouse, as much as possible, popular prejudice against anything the friars might do, however pure and holy. Intellect, and its various weapons—reasoning, satire, ridicule, appeals to popular passion, imputation of vile motives, in point of fact, every instrument which could be brought to bear—was unscrupulously, nay, recklessly made use of, in order to destroy the *prestige* of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the Paris schools. When men of keen mind, and considerable influence, practise thus upon the principles of supernatural religion, the danger quickly grows into a terrible peril. The only successful method of meeting such an onslaught is by advancing boldly against the enemy, and by confronting him with the bright powerful arms of reason and revelation.

Satire and ridicule are here unworthy of a great cause. Charity and patience, kindly feeling for others, and a desire for their real happiness, shrivel the life out of scorn or sarcasm. Men may not acknowledge it in the heat of contest, but in the long run, real wisdom—that is, enduring strength—rests with the calm, repeated utterances of unimpassioned truth. Grasp the wisdom of God; learn how to unfold it skilfully before the eyes of the enemy, and how to enforce it with powerful logic, yet, with a loving sweetness; manifest its greatness, its sublimity, its beauty; show how it governs man, whilst it makes him free; and how it alone has the power to illuminate the intelligence and lift up the heart, and to remodel the creature on the image of his God; and as surely as the snow melts in the sun, so surely, in God's own good time, will truth be justified, and will error, with all its blatant obtrusiveness, and with all its deep-set artfulness, be overthrown. Man, after all, comes back to truth, though he may, for the time, wander from it. However great may have been, and still yet may be, the enemies of the monastic principle, there will always be a sufficient force on the side of right, to maintain it against the world. It may have to suffer, and to struggle; it may be trodden under foot for a time; but it will ever rise; it will never die: for it contains its imperishable principle of life within itself.

Now, it was the Angelical who had the gift,

thoroughly, to understand the power of monasticism. He not merely comprehended the theory of its advance, but he had, in the practice of his own life, a personal experience of its workings on the soul. Had he simply possessed a giant intellect, he would never have saved the Religious Orders. He had another power within him—he had a giant heart. He saw clearly that love, purity, reverence, adoration, represented a kind of spiritual life, which was most elevating and refining; and which could not, without great detriment to human happiness and progress, be dispensed with. He saw the intimate relationship between a high system of moral perfection, and an intellectual appreciation of the truths of faith. He perceived that, when the heart gets wrong, the intellect is almost sure to follow it—that there is a mysterious sympathy, and link, between the two; and that the taint contracted by the one, acts, at once, infallibly upon the other. When the centre, out of which the intelligence springs, is, as it were, healthy; when morality is sound; then, faith and reason stand in little danger. Only let that basis be an insecure one, and the superstructure will, with a moderate shock, tumble to the ground. Only destroy the science of the saints—the organized methods of perfection—and the mighty fortresses, which defend the country against attack, are dismantled and destroyed: and then, license, infidelity, and its accompanying moral degradation,

are certain to invade and occupy the land. Strike down the models of perfection—the types of heroism—and perfection and heroism soon decay. All this must have been vividly appreciated by the great Angelical. It appears in his way of treating William of S. Amour. He earnestly sets himself to an anxious and delicate task, and he acquits himself like a man who had no fear of meeting difficulties, and was never content till he had thoroughly subdued and overcome them. Point by point he meets the assailants of religion, and point by point, gently, without bitterness, yet crushingly, he oversets them. His treatise is not only a masterly exposition of the principles of religious life, but a pattern method of reply to the artful unscrupulousness of a spiteful and a powerful antagonist.

We must now pass on to consider, still more fully, the monastic theory, as explained by the Angelical; for he did not content himself with writing one treatise in reference to religious men, nor with simply defending the practices of their lives; he also expanded, into a luminous and scientific form, those fundamental principles, so marvellously fruitful in their consequences, on which the whole structure of perfection rests. How any man, except one who is utterly depraved, after reading S. Thomas's teaching on religious life, can oppose the monastic principle, is an enigma which cannot be solved—at least, by the ordinary light of human reason.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MONASTIC PRINCIPLES EXALTED.

It would not be doing justice to the labours of S. Thomas at this period, to omit very briefly to touch on his work: "Against those who Hinder Men from Entering Religion;" and his tract: "On the Perfection of the Spiritual Life." Besides, these writings, unlike his other ones, are also an apology for the state which he embraced himself, and persevered in, in spite of the warm opposition of his nearest relatives.*

The first-named treatise commences with a very beautiful introduction, showing how our Lord's whole life teaches man to abstract himself from earthly things, and to fix himself on those which are of heaven.† This one aim, the devil

* These are the respective titles of the Opuscula in question:—"*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. III., p.* 103—125): then, "*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. II., p.* 76—102.)

† "Christianæ religionis propositum in hoc præcipue videtur consistere, ut a terrenis homines abstrahat, et spiritualibus faciat esse intentos. Hinc est quod auctor fidei, et consummator Jesus in hunc mundum veniens sæcularium rerum contemptum et facto, et verbo suis fidelibus

incessantly labours to defeat. Jovinian and Vigilantius did their best to upset the monastic principle, but they were both confuted by S. Jerome, who slew the unclean animal of heresy. But one of the heads of the beast has come to life again; and a new following of Vigilantius has arisen, which would cunningly withdraw men from their desire of dedicating themselves to God. First, these men declare that nobody ought to enter religion, and practise the counsels of perfection, who has not been previously exercised in the precepts.* Thus, boys, and recent converts, are

demonstravit. Facto siquidem, quia, sicut dicit Augustinus in Lib. de Catechizandis Rudibus: 'Omnia bona terrena contempsit homo factus Dominus Jesus, ut contemnenda monstraret; et omnia terrena mala sustinuit, quæ sustinenda præcipiebat, ut neque in illis quæreretur felicitas, neque in istis infelicitas timeretur. . . . . Insurrexerunt ut olim . . . . Jovinianus Romæ, Vigilantius in Gallia, quæ antea errorum monstris caruerat: quorum primus virginitati matrimonium, secundus paupertati divitum statum præsumpserunt æquare manifesta perfidia; evangelica, et apostolica consilia, quantum in ipsis est, reddentes inania. Si enim divitiæ paupertati, virginitati matrimonium comparantur ex æquo, frustra vel Dominus de paupertate servanda, vel ejus Apostolus de virginitate custodienda dedit consilium. Unde insignis doctor Hieronymus utrumque eorum efficaciter confutavit. Sed, sicut in Apocalypsi legitur, unum de capitibus bestiæ, quod quasi occisum fuerat, a plaga suæ mortis curatur." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. I., p.* 103.)

* "Insurgunt enim iterato in Gallia novi Vigilantii, a consiliorum observantia multipliciter, et astute homines retrahentes. Primo namque proponunt, nullos consiliorum observantiam per religionis introitum debere assumere, nisi prius in mandatorum observantia exercitatos: per quorum dictum et pueris, et peccatoribus, et noviter conversis ad fidem, arripiendæ perfectionis via præcluditur. Addunt insuper, quod consiliorum viam nullus debeat assumere, nisi prius multorum consilio requisito. Per quod quantum impedimentum assumendæ perfectioni paretur hominibus, nullus sanæ mentis ignorat, dum carnalium hominum consilia, quorum major est numerus, facilius a spiritualibus homines retrahunt quam inducant. Conantur insuper impedire obligationem hominum ad religionis ingressum, per quam firmatur animus ad perfectionis viam assumendam. Demum paupertatis perfectioni derogare multipliciter non verentur." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. I., p.* 103.)

excluded from monastic life. They add, moreover, that no one ought to become a monk, without having first taken the advice of many persons on the point. They maintain, finally, that men ought not to bind themselves by vow to a Religious Order; and that every religious body should be obliged to secure the maintenance of its members by a common fund. To these allegations, the Saint answers, and says, that those who have not practised the precepts may be considered under three classes, viz.: boys, recent converts, and sinners.* He dedicates one chapter to prove that his adversary's argument is worthless, when applied to the case of boys: for both the Church and the Scriptures sanction the setting aside of children for the service of Almighty God. The example of the saints demonstrates the same. Such a custom can be traced from the time of the Apostles: S. Denis refers to it; S. Placid, and S. Maurus, and S. Benedict himself exemplify the practice; S. Chrysostom, Origen, Venerable Bede, and S. Anselm give it their support; and in like

* "Et quia præsens quæstio ad mores pertinet; in quibus præcipue considerandum est, utrum quod dicitur, operibus congruat: ostendamus primo, hoc quod asserere nituntur, a rectis operibus discordare."

"Sunt autem tria genera hominum, qui præceptorum exercitationem non habent. Primo quidem pueri, qui propter defectum temporis mandatorum exercitium non potuerunt habere. Secundo sunt nuper ad fidem conversi, ante quam nullum in præceptorum observantia exercitium esse potest, quia *omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est*, ut Apostolus dicit ad Rom., XIV., 23: *et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo*, ut dicitur ad Hebr., XI., 6. Tertio peccatores, qui in peccatis vitam duxerunt. In singulis autem præmissorum generibus manifeste apparet falsum esse quod dicitur." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. III., p.* 105.)

manner, the general action of man, in other relations of life, tends to the same conclusion—for instance, laics begin their different careers as boys, and not after they have grown into men.

The Saint shows, in another chapter, that recent converts cannot be excluded from religion. It is absurd, he says, to assert that recent converts are obliged to practise themselves in the precepts, before they may attempt to keep any of the counsels. For Christ, Who was the most perfect exponent of the counsels of the Gospel, and Who transcended all men in the observances of religious life, straightway joined the Apostles to Himself; while S. Paul, immediately, without delay, embraced the way of Evangelical perfection—and such has been the general custom in the Church.*

* "Nunc videre oportet, utrum hoc locum habere possit in his qui nuper ad fidem sunt conversi: quibus si quis religionis habitum interdicat tamquàm in præceptis non exercitatis, primo aspectu absurdum apparet, cum constet Christi discipulos statim in sua conversione ad fidem, esse assumptos ad Christi collegium, in quo primum exemplar consiliorum perfectionis apparuit, et absque dubio cujuscumque religionis statum excessit. Ipse quoque Paulus inter Apostolos conversione novissimus, prædicatione primus, statim ad fidem conversus, viam perfectionis evangelicæ sumpsit. . . . Hoc etiam ex ipsius Christi exemplo nobis ostenditur: legitur enim Matthæi, IV., post baptismum Christi, quo I tunc Jesus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu: ubi dicit Glossa '*Tunc*, idest post baptismum: docens baptizatos de mundo exire, et in quiete Deo vacare.' Hoc etiam ex multorum laudabili consuetudine approbatur, qui ab infidelitate quacumque ad fidem Christi conversi, statim habitum religionis assumunt. Quis autem erit tam improbus disputator qui audeat eis consulere ut potius in sæculo remaneant, quam in religione perceptam baptismi gratiam studeant conservare? Quis sanæ mentis ab hoc proposito eum impediat, ne Christum, quem per sacramentum baptismi jam induit, perfecta imitatione induere mereatur." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IV., p.* 106.)

The next chapter is written to explain how sinners, also, because of their being sinners, are not excluded from religious life. The conversion of S. Matthew is given as an example. These are the words of S. Luke: "Leaving all things, he rose up and followed Him;"* and S. Ambrose says, on the same words: "He who had stolen what belonged to others, left what belonged to himself;" S. Gregory also takes the same view. Pope Stephen gives this counsel to a man who had been in habits of sin: "Go into a monastery." Then, Scripture, as well as the practice of many saints, confirms, by example and by word, the advice given by the Holy Father. In the next chapter, the Angelical digs up, as it were, and displays the root from which these errors spring. They seem to proceed from this, viz., men imagine that the precepts are related to the counsels, as the imperfect is related to the perfect; and therefore, that a man, before he sets about trying to be perfect, must start at the beginning, and commence with imperfection. But, if this is alleged of the precepts, absolutely, it is false. It is evident that the principal precepts are those of loving God, and of loving our neighbour. The perfection of a Christian life essentially consists in the observance of these two laws. The end of them is charity. Perfection consists in attaining the end. Of the end, there is no measure, for we can never love too much; but in the means towards its attainment,

* *Luke, V.*, 28.

a measure is to be observed.* Now, the precept of the love of God, which is the last end of the Christian life, is narrowed within no bounds: therefore it cannot be said that so much love is included within the precept, and that a larger measure, exceeding the limits of the precept, falls under the counsel. But each man is commanded to love God as much as he can. And this is evident from the form itself of the precept, which says: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart." All other precepts and counsels are subservient to this one, of loving God and one's neighbour. The other precepts are related to charity, just as food is related to the body, viz., as being necessary for the maintenance of life; whilst the counsels are related to it, just as medicine is related to the body, viz., as a means of securing health, and of strengthening the system.

* "Oportet autem considerare, quod aliter judicandum est de fine, et de his quæ sunt ad finem. In his enim quæ sunt ad finem, præfigenda est quædam mensura secundum quod congruit fini. Sed circa ipsum finem nulla mensura adhibetur, sed unusquisque ipsum assequitur quantum potest; sicut medicus medicinam quidem moderatur ne superexcedat, sanitatem autem inducit quanto perfectius potest. Sic igitur præceptum dilectionis Dei, quod est ultimus finis christianæ vitæ, nullis terminis coarctatur, ut possit dici, quod tanta dilectio Dei cadat sub præcepto, major autem dilectio limites præcepti excedens sub consilio cadat; sed unicuique præcipitur ut Deum diligat quantum potest: quod ex ipsa forma præcepti apparet cum dicitur: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo.* Unusquisque autem hoc observat secundum suam mensuram, unus quidem perfectius, alius autem minus perfecte. Ille autem totaliter ab observantia hujus præcepti deficit qui Deum in suo amore non omnibus præfert. Qui vero ipsum præfert omnibus, ut ultimum finem, implet quidem præceptum vel perfectius, vel minus perfecte, secundum quod magis vel minus detinetur aliarum rerum amore. Unde Augustinus dicit in Lib. LXXXIII., Quæstionum; *Caritatis venenum est spes adipiscendorum, aut retinendorum temporalium:* quod est intelligendum, si sperentur tamquam ultimus finis: *nutrimentum ejus est imminutio cupiditatis: perfectio, nulla cupiditas.*" (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. VI., p.* 107.)

Is a boy to be told that he must go and live amongst women, and in the company of loose people, and that, after having thus exercised his chastity, he will preserve his virtue in religion? As if it were easier to be chaste in the world than in the cloister! The same argument holds good regarding other virtues and vices.*

The next chapter gives solutions to objections. They are about twelve in number, all cunningly devised, and varying in their subtle ingenuity; but they are fully answered and followed up, in every detail, by the incisive and unsparing logic of the Angel of the Schools.

The eighth chapter gives the adversary's reasons for saying, that, before a man enters religion, he should deliberate for a long time, and ask many persons for advice; whilst the ninth condemns this position. Peter and Andrew immediately left their nets, and followed Christ,† and S.

* "Quis dicat paupertatem pro Christo volenti subire, ut prius in divitiis juste vivat, quasi per divitias animus hominis ad paupertatem præparetur, et non magis propositum paupertatis impediant? Quod manifeste apparet Matth. XIX. de adolescente qui paupertatis consilium a Domino non suscepit, sed abiit tristis propter divitias quas habebat. Et hæc quidem dicta sunt, si comparentur consilia ad præcepta caritatis. Si vero comparemus ea ad alia legis præcepta, quis non videat quanta sequatur absurditas? Si enim per consilia, et religionis observantias tolluntur occasiones peccatorum, per quæ sunt præceptorum transgressiones; quis non videat aliquem tanto magis indigere ut occasiones peccatorum evitet? Numquid ergo dicendum erit juveni: Vivas interim inter mulieres, et lascivorum consortia, ut sic in castitate exercitatus, postmodum in religione castitatem observes; tamquam facilius sit in sæculo quam in religione castitatem servare? Idem etiam de aliis virtutibus, et peccatis apparet." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. VI., p.* 108.)

† "Ad hujus autem falsitatem assertionis ostendendam, primo quidem assumamus quod habetur Matth. IV. quod Petrus, et Andreas continuo vocati a Domino, relictis retibus secuti sunt eum. In quorum commendationem Chrysostomus dicit: *In mediis operibus existentes, audientes jubentem,*

Chrysostom praises them for so doing; James and John did the same, and meet with the approbation of S. Hilary; so did Matthew, and S. Chrysostom commends him. Christ says: "Let the dead bury the dead;" and S. Augustine expounds these words in the traditionary sense.

But the enemy tries to evade the force of this reasoning, by saying: that when the voice of Christ is heard to speak, it must certainly be obeyed; but he refers all the while to that interior voice which is in every man. When that voice is heard, he says, then, man must deliberate.

But this position is replete with error. We should take the words of Christ, which are written in the Scriptures, as if they had come from His very mouth to us. He says: "What I say to you, I say to all, Watch."* The Scriptures were not written simply for the present, but for the future. The counsel given to the young man in the Gospel should be so received as if it had been uttered to each one, by the lips of the Lord Him-

non distulerunt. Non dixerunt: Revertentes domum, loquamur amicis; sed omnia dimittentes secuti sunt eum, sicut Elisæus Heliæ fecit. Talem enim obedientiam Christus quærit a nobis, ut neque in instanti tempore remoremur. Deinde sequitur de Jacobo, et Joanne, qui vocati a Deo statim relictis retibus, et patre secuti sunt eum. Et sicut Hilarius dicit super Matth. *Eis artem, et patriam domum relinquentibus docemur Jesum secuturi, et sæcularis vitæ sollicitudine, et paternæ domus consuetudine non teneri.* Postea vero Matth. IX. de Matthæo subditur, quod ad vocationem Domini surgens secutus est eum: ubi Chrysostomus dicit: *Disce vocati obedientiam: neque lnim resistit neque domum abire rogavit, et suis hoc communicare.* Humana etiam pericula, quæ ei a principibus accidere poterant, parvipendit, dum officii sui rationes imperfectas reliquit, ut Remigius dicit ibidem. Ex quo evidenter accipitur quod nihil humanum nos debet retardare a servitio Dei." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IX., p.* 112.)

* *Mark, XIII.*, 39.

self.* And if the exterior voice is to be followed, much more should the voice of the spirit, speaking interiorly, be obeyed without demur. Hence, the Prophet Isaias : "The Lord God hath opened my ear, and I do not resist : I have not gone back."† The Angelical adduces many more texts of Scripture to the same effect, as well as examples from the saints ; for instance, S. Augustine's story of the two soldiers who read the life of S. Anthony. Then, the words of S. Augustine himself are quoted, expressing his sorrow at having delayed his conversion : "I was greatly ashamed," he says, "that I still listened to the murmuring of those follies, and remained full of indecision." ‡

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* "Sed hæc responsio errore plena est. Sic enim verba Christi quæ in Scripturis dicuntur, debemus accipere, ac si ab ipsius Domini ore audiremus. Dicit enim ipse Marc. XIII. 37. *Quod vobis dico, omnibus dico: vigilate* : et Rom. XV. 4. dicitur : *Quæcumque scripta sunt etc.* Et Chrysostomus dicit : *Si tantum propter illos dicta fuissent, scripta non essent ; nunc autem dicta quidem sunt propter illos, scripta vero sunt propter nos.* Unde et Apostolus inducens auctoritatem veteris Testamenti, dicit ad Hebr. XII. 5. *Obliti estis consolationis, quæ vobis tamquam filiis loquitur dicens : Fili mi, noli negligere disciplinam.* Ex quo patet quod verba sacræ Scripturæ non solis præsentibus, sed futuris loquuntur. Specialiter autem videamus, an consilium quod Dominus dedit adolescenti, Matth. XIX. 21. *Si vis perfectus esse, vade, et vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus* : illi soli sit datum, vel etiam universis : quod considerare possumus ex his quæ sequuntur. Cum enim Petrus dixisset ei (cap. eod. ver. 27) : *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, et secuti sumus te* : universaliter præmium omnibus statuit, dicens (ver. 28.) : *Omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres etc. propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam æternum possidebit.* Non minus ergo sequendum est hoc consilium ab unoquoque, quam si unicuique singulariter ex ipsius ore dominico proferretur." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IX., p.* 113.)

† *Isa., L.*, 5.

‡ "Narrat enim Augustinus in VIII. Conf. de duobus militibus, quorum unus lecta vita Antonii subito repletus amore sancto : ait amico suo : *Ego Deo servire statui, et hoc ex hac hora, in hoc loco aggredior : te si piget imitari, noli adversari.* Respondit ille adhærere se socio tantæ mercedis, tantæque militiæ. *Et ambo jam tui ædificabant turrim sumptu idoneo relinquendi omnia sua, et sequendi te.* In quo etiam Libro Augustinus se ipsum reprehendit de hoc quod retardabat suam conversionem ; ubi dicit :

The efficacy of interior inspiration depends upon unhesitating obedience to its voice : " The grace of the Spirit is foreign to a sluggish endeavour," says S. Ambrose. Ecclesiasticus says : " It is easy in the eyes of God, on a sudden, to make the poor man rich." * S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and Aristotle are quoted in support of the same view of the question. If it is necessary to hold consultations—spiritual, not carnal persons should be had recourse to. Thus, S. Benedict, when a child, fled from his nurse by stealth, and opened his heart to the monk Romanus. Ecclesiasticus says : " Treat not with a man without religion, concerning holiness; nor with an unjust man, concerning justice; . . . but be continually with a holy man." †

Chapter the tenth contains solutions to the arguments advanced by opponents. Before undertaking hard and difficult enterprises, counsel is particularly required. This is the case where the truth is not manifest. To say that the determination of the mind is confirmed by deliberation, is beside the question ; and the text of Scripture : " Prove the

Non erat omnino quid responderem veritate convictus, nisi tantum verba lenta, et somnolenta, Modo, Ecce modo, Sine paululum. Sed modo, et modo non habebat modum, et Sine paululum in longum ibat. Et in eodem Libro dicit ; *Erubescebam nimis quia illarum nugarum murmur*, scilicet sæcularium, et carnalium, *adhuc audiebam, et cunctabundus pendebam.* Non est ergo laudabile, sed magis vituperabile post vocationem interiorem, vel exteriorum vel verbo, vel scripturis factam differre, et quasi in dubiis consilium quærere." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IX., p.* 113.)

* *XI.*, 23. † *XXXVII.*, 12.

spirits," is not at all to the point.* For proof is only requisite where there is no certainty. That "Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light," † is true. But, though the devil can deceive the senses, he cannot beguile the mind from the upright intention it has made, when a man is established in a good life. The proposition which asserts that deliberation must be resorted to in a case which may turn out ill, requires a distinction: for it may turn out ill, either on the part of the object, or on the part of the individual. If there is danger on the side of the object, then, great deliberation must be used; if on the part of the individual only, then great deliberation has no place; otherwise, this same rule would apply to faith, and the Sacraments of faith.

The eleventh chapter states the arguments used by the enemy to prove that men should not bind themselves by vow to religion. The following chapter reprobates this assertion, and shows that

* "Ad 3. Quod etiam tertio inducitur, *Probate spiritus si ex Deo sunt*, ad propositum non facit. Ibi enim necessaria est probatio ubi non est certitudo: unde super illud I. ad Thessal. ult. 21. *Omnia probate*, dicit Glossa: 'Certa non egent discussione.' Incertum autem potest esse his quibus alios ad religionem recipere incumbit, quo spiritu ad religionem veniant, utrum scilicet desiderio spiritualis profectus, an etiam, sicut quandoque accidit, ad explorandum vel ad malefaciendum; vel etiam utrum sint ad religionem apti qui veniunt. Et ideo indicitur eis tam per statutam Ecclesiæ, quam per regulare edictum, eorum qui sunt recipiendi, probatio. Sed his qui propositum religionis assumendæ gerunt, dubium esse non potest qua intentione id faciant. Unde eis deliberandi necessitas non incumbit, præcipue si de suis corporalibus viribus non diffidant, ad quas examinandas religionem intrantibus annus probationis conceditur." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. X., p.* 115.)

† *Cor. XI.*, 14.

an act of virtue, performed under vow, is more meritorious than one performed without a vow.

As the praise of a work depends radically upon the will, the better the will is, so much the more praiseworthy the external action becomes. Amongst other conditions of a good will, this is one, viz., that it be firm and stable.* The better the action therefore, the more the will is established in good. Hence, the Apostle: "Be ye steadfast and immovable." † Aristotle uses a like argument. So, conversely, the more firmly the will is established in evil, so much the more detestable the sin. Hence, obstinacy is one of the sins against the Holy Ghost. It is evident that the will is strengthened by an oath. Now, a vow in this respect has the same effect, for a vow is a species of promise. Hence, an act of virtue is all the more praiseworthy and meritorious, from being performed by a will strengthened by vow. This is proved also from the common practice of life, and is confirmed by

* "Primo igitur considerandum est, quod cum laus operis ex radice voluntatis dependeat, tanto exterius opus laudabilius redditur, quanto ex meliori voluntate procedit. Inter alias autem conditiones bonæ voluntatis una est ut sit voluntas firma et stabilis: unde in vituperium pigrorum inducitur quod habetur Proverb. XIII. 4. *Vult, & non vult piger.* Tanto igitur opus exterius laudabilius redditur, et magis meritorium, quanto voluntas ejus magis stabilitur in bono. Unde et Apostolus monet 1. ad Corinth. XV. 58. *Stabiles estote et immobiles:* et secundum Philosophum ad virtutem requiritur ut aliquis firmiter, et immobiliter operetur. Sed et Justitiam Jurisperiti definiunt quod est constans, et perpetua voluntas. Sicut et e contrario patet quod tanto peccatum est detestabilius, quanto voluntas hominis magis fuerit obstinata in malo: unde et obstinatio ponitur peccatum in Spiritum sanctum. Manifestum est autem quod voluntas firmatur ad aliquid faciendum per juramentum: unde et Psalmista dicebat Ps. CXVIII. 106. *Juravi, et statui custodire judicia justitiæ tuæ." (Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XII., p. 117).*

† 1 *Cor.*, *XV.*, 58.

the writings of Saint Augustine. Again, an act of lesser virtue, if directed towards a higher virtue, becomes so much the more praiseworthy and meritorious—abstinence, for instance, when it is ordered towards charity, or if it be directed towards the worship of God.* A vow is an act of the worship of God; for it is a promise made to the Almighty with respect to His worship. Fasting, therefore, is all the more meritorious, and the more praiseworthy, from being done under vow. The Angelical then proceeds to prove that it is a praiseworthy act to take a vow to join a regular Order. Children can take simple vows to enter religion, if they have come to the use of reason. If they make vows at an age in which they are subject to their parents, that is, under twelve, for girls, and fourteen, for boys; then, their parents, or the tutor who represents them, can revoke such vows. They may not take solemn vows till they arrive at twelve and fourteen years of age, respectively; that is, at the age of puberty; and then, the exterior solemnities must be performed in the same way

* "Amplius considerandum est, quod opus inferioris virtutis laudabilius redditur, et magis meritorium, si ad superiorem virtutem ordinetur, sicut opus abstinentiæ, si ordinetur ad caritatem. Pari ergo ratione, et si ordinetur ad latriam, quæ est abstinentia potior. Votum autem est latriæ actus: est enim promissio Deo facta de his quæ pertinent ad Dei obsequium: unde Isa. XIX., 21, dicitur: *Cognoscent Ægyptii Dominum in die illa, et colent eum in hostiis, et in muneribus, et vota vovebunt Domino, et solvent.* Jejunium igitur laudabilius erit, et magis meritorium, si fiat ex voto. Hinc est quod in Psalm. LXXV., 13, vel consulitur, vel mandatur: *Vovete, et reddite Domino Deo vestro:* quod frustra mandaretur, vel consuleretur, nisi opus bonum ex voto facere melius esset." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XII., p.* 117.)

as is done in the holy Orders of the Church.* A profession made before the age just mentioned, would be *ipso facto* null and void. This opinion is held commonly in the Church, though Innocent III. is said to have thought differently.

The thirteenth chapter solves objections, some of which are to the following effect:

1. The more a thing is a matter of necessity, the less it is a matter of merit: of necessity which runs counter to a man's will—true; of necessity which is self-imposed—false. Hence, S. Augustine says to Paulina: "Happy necessity, which constrains one to choose the better part."†

2. The Council of Toledo declares that the Jews are not to be forced to become Christians. But to take a vow to enter religion is to impose a necessity upon the will: therefore, it is contrary to the decrees of the Council to take such a vow. But, not so; for the vow does not offer violence

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* According to the Council of Trent, no one can be admitted to profession before the completion of the sixteenth year. (See *Sessio XXV., Cap. XV.*)

† "His igitur visis, facile est ad omnia objecta respondere."

"Ad 1. Quod enim primo inducitur de verbis Prosperi: *Sic jejunare debemus, ut non nos necessitati jejunandi subdamus:* intelligitur de necessitate coactionis, quæ voluntario repugnat: unde subdit *ne jam non devoti, sed inviti rem non voluntarie faciamus.* Non autem loquitur de necessitate voti, per quam magis augetur devotio, quæ a devovendo nominatur."

"Ad 2. Quod vero secundo propositum est, quod necessarium est, minus meritorium, intelligendum est de necessitate quæ ab aliquo imponitur contra voluntatem ipsius. Sed cum aliquis sibi ipsi necessitatem imponit bene faciendi, ex hoc laudabilior reddita quia per hoc se facit quodammodo servum justitiæ, ut Apostolus monet ad Rom. VI. Unde et Augustinus dicit in epistola ad Paulinam et Armentarium: *Felix necessitas quæ ad meliora compellit.*" (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p.* 118.)

to the will: it merely confirms it in that which is good.*

3. He who takes a vow may fall away from it, according to the words, addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees: "Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: because you go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, you make him the child of hell two-fold more than yourselves."† This argument, however, is refuted by the words of the Apostle: "Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?"‡ That is to say, the fact that some men abuse what is good, is no prejudice to other men who persevere. It is also forcibly confirmed by Scripture; by the example of the Jews; and by the writings of S. Chrysostom and S. Paul.

4. Those who have taken a vow to enter religion, have, before now, broken their vow, and yet have become good bishops. This is false, for it contradicts the decretal of Pope Innocent. Men who transgress their vows cannot be good bishops, or good archdeacons.

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* "Ad 3. Quod vero tertio propositum est de Judæis convertendis libera voluntate, patet ad propositum non pertinere: libertati enim voluntatis, non opponitur confirmatio voluntatis in bono: alioquin nec Deus, nec beati liberam voluntatem haberent. Opponitur autem ei necessitas coactionis ex violentia, vel metu procedens. Et ideo signanter dicit canon de Judæis: *Præcepit sancta Synodus nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre.* Per votum autem, aut juramentum non infertur homini vis: sed ex eis voluntas hominis confirmatur in bonum: unde per hoc non redditur homo invitus, sed magis firmiter volens; et jam incipit homo quodammodo facere inquantum se obliget ad faciendum. Et per hunc etiam modum nullus sanæ mentis diceret esse illicitum inducere Judæos ut se propria voluntate obligarent vel juramento vel voto ad accipiendum baptismum." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p.* 118.)

† *Matth., XXIII.*, 15. ‡ *Rom., III.*, 3.

5. It is wrong to induce any one to enter religion by the offer of temporal goods—it would be wrong to make a bargain : "Let there be no compact, and let all transactions cease." But it is not illicit to offer temporal advantages as a means of attracting men to spiritual good ; otherwise, it would be unlawful to make certain distributions to those who minister in churches.*

6. It is practising a deception to draw youths into the hardships of religious life. This contains falsity. The hardships are made known to them ; nor is there anything deceitful in drawing persons into religion, where the difficulties are manifest, and where spiritual consolations are promised.

7. To take a vow to enter religion is contrary to the statute of Innocent IV., which requires a year's probation, and that the candidate should be fourteen years of age. This allegation is not to the point. The Pope speaks of solemn vows ; we, of simple.

8. Vows made by children under a certain age

* "Quod autem septimo propositum est, quod non sunt aliqui ad Dei cultum muneris interventu provocandi, solvitur per idem cap. quod ad hoc inducunt. Sequitur enim post præmissa : *Nisi forte de pauperum alimento quis in commune proponat, quorum nulli, cujuscumque professionis esset, victualia negabantur.* Ex quo patet quod inconvenienter redarguunt eos qui pauperibus scholaribus bursas procurant, et eos in studio nutriunt, ut postmodum sint religioni aptiores. Sed et si qua alia beneficia terrena alicui conferantur, ut ex hoc ejus familiaritate captata provocetur ad melius, non est illicitum : esset autem illicitum, si aliqua pactio, vel conventio interveniret. Unde et in eod. cap. subditur : *Dum tamen omnis absit pactio, et omnis cesset conventio.* Alioquin si non liceret aliquem per temporalia beneficia provocare ad aliquod spirituale bonum, illicitum esset quod in quibusdam Ecclesiis quædam distribuuntur his qui ad officium divinum accedunt." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom., XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p.* 119.)

can be cancelled by their parents : therefore, it is not lawful to take such vows. This objection has no force. Because an act can be revoked, it does not follow that it is therefore wrong. Were it wrong, it would be prohibited by the Canons which give power to parents to annul such vows.

9. The Canons forbid boys to be bound by oath before they are fourteen years old. This is not to the point; for the Canons do not forbid children to take an oath, but they forbid them to be compelled to do so.*

10. It is implied that those children who enter religion are miserable and senseless. Pious ears cannot bear such language. For who would suffer the boy Benedict to be accused of folly because he left his home, and his father's possessions, and, desiring to please God alone, sought out "the habit of holy conversation" in the desert? Who, but a heretic, would blame John the Baptist? of whom we read in S. Luke : "The child grew and

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* "Ea vero quæ undecimo de apparatu Decretalium, et Summis Juristarum proponuntur, ad propositum non faciunt : quia loquuntur de voto solemni, quod monachum facit, vel cujuscumque religionis professum : de quo fuerunt inter Doctores juris canonici opiniones diversæ : quamvis inconsonum, et derisibile videatur quod sacræ doctrinæ professores Juristarum glossulas in auctoritatem inducant, vel de eis disceptent."

"Illud etiam quod duodecimo de juramento proponitur, ad propositum non facit : quia non prohibent canones pueros jurare, sed decernunt quod jurare non cogantur."

"Quod vero tertiodecimo proponitur falsitatem continet. Pueri enim ligati sunt professione fidei christianæ, quam etiam in baptismo sacramentaliter elegerunt. Unde possunt iterato ligari, et eligere perfectionis statum. Quamvis et propter aliud hoc incongrue dicatur, quia et in ipso sacramento Baptismi pueri christianam religionem suscipiunt, et religantur Deo, ipsum iterum eligentes, a quo per peccatum primi parentis fuerunt separati." *(Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p.* 119.)

was strengthened in spirit, and was in the desert until the day of his manifestation to Israel."*

Manifestly, these revilers prove themselves to be animals, for they hold those things to be folly which proceed from the Spirit of God—that Spirit which, according to S. Ambrose and Gregory, works such marvellous things amongst men. The Apostle says: "If any man among you seem to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise"—† a fool, according to the wisdom of the world, which is folly with God, but not according to the wisdom of God, which thus speaks to little ones: "O children, how long will you love childishness?" and afterwards: "Turn ye at My reproof; beloved, I will utter My Spirit to you." ‡ The last three chapters state the arguments urged by opponents against the poverty of the Mendicants; confute the errors of their view; and upset, one by one, the fallacies adduced in proof of them.§

* *I.*, 80. † *Cor., III.*, 18. ‡ *Prov., I.*, 22, 23.

§ "Demum profanam conclusionem pueros stultitiæ arguentem, piorum aures ferre non valent. Quis enim puerum Benedictum stultitiæ argui patiatur, quod relicta domo, rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sanctæ conversationis habitum, et desertum quæsivit? Quis nisi hæreticus blasphemet Joannem Baptistam, de quo legitur Luc. I. 80. quod *puer crescebat, et confortabatur spiritu, et erat in desertis usque ad diem ostensionis suæ ad Israel?* Manifeste tales insultatores animales se esse demonstrant, dum stultitiam reputant ea, quæ sunt spiritus Dei, qui, sicut Ambrosius dicit super Lucam, *non coercetur ætatibus, non obitu extinguitur, non alvo matris excluditur*, et sicut Gregorius dicit in homilia Pentecostes, *qui implet cytharœdum puerum, et Psalmistam facit; implet Pastorem armentarium sycomoros vellicantem, et prophetam facit, implet puerum abstinentem, et judicem senum facit; implet piscatorem, et prædicatorem facit; implet persecutorem, et doctorem gentium facit; implet publicanum, et Evangelistam facit.* Utar ergo e contrario verbis Apostoli dicentis 1 ad Corinth. III., 18. *Si quis inter vos videtur sapiens in hoc sæculo, stultus fiat, ut sit sapiens.* Stultus quidem secundum sapientiam mundi, quæ stultitia est apud Deum: non autem secundum sapientiam Dei, quæ, sicut legitur Proverb. I., 22, parvulos alloquitur dicens: *Usquequo parvuli diligitis infantiam?* Et post: (vers. 23.) *Convertimini ad correptionem meam, en proferam vobis spiritum meum.*" (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p.* 120.)

The keenness with which the Saint felt these reasons put forward by the enemies of religious, to prevent youth joining the regular bodies, comes out in strong expression throughout the treatise. He finishes by saying: "This is what occurs to me at present to write against the erroneous and pestiferous teaching of those who would prevent men from entering religion. If anybody would combat what I have stated, let him not chatter before children, but let him write, and make his writing public, that the wise may judge what truth there is in his views, and that what is erroneous in them may be confuted by the authority of truth."*

In this Opusculum, in which the Angelical combats those who would hinder men from joining the Religious Orders of the Church, there are many arguments which are well worth diligent study at this day. The principle of liberalism, which induced William of S. Amour and those able and dangerous men who followed him, to use their talents in an

* "Quod vero octavo propositum est de hoc quod religiosi necesse habent circa eorum negotia solicitari a quibus pascuntur; fateor quod habent quidem, sed circa spiritualem eorum salutem, vel ut tribulatos consolentur; quæ quidem solicitudo est caritatis, unde religioni non repugnat; quinimmo, ut dicitur Jacob. I. 27: *Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et Patrem hæc est, visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum.* Quod autem ultimo propositum est, omnino est frivolum: quia ea quibus utuntur religiosi ad sustentationem vitæ, non sunt eorum quantum ad proprietatem dominii, sed dispensantur ad usum necessitatis eorum ab his qui harum rerum dominium habent, quicumque sint illi. Hæc igitur sunt quæ ad præsens scribenda occurrunt contra erroneam et pestiferam doctrinam avertentium homines a religionis ingressu. Si quis autem his contradicere voluerit non coram pueris garriat, sed scribat, et scripturam proponat in publico; ut ab intelligentibus dijudicari possit quod verum sit; et ut quod erroneum est, auctoritate veritatis confutetur." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XVI., p.* 125.)

onslaught upon Religious Orders, still exists at the present time. Rationalism and irreverence have little sympathy with monastic theology, or with monastic life. When men have wholly abandoned a principle of action which their forefathers held in reverence, it is little surprising that they should do what they can to hinder others from embracing it also. The true significance of love, in its real depth—in the depth of its intensity, and in the height of its sacrifice—cannot well be understood by men, whose first principle of action is incompatible with an entire abandonment of self. When monastic theology teaches that a spirit of adoration, of subjection, of self-distrust, and of reverence is a necessary element in spiritual advance, and that humility of intellect is as essential as humility of will, such men as Abelard and William of S. Amour are urged, by a natural impulse, to oppose it as a method which strikes directly at the darling passion of their nature. The keenness of the contest in which the Angelical was engaged, is evident, not only from the first Opusculum which has been noticed, but it is perhaps, still more emphatically expressed in that which has just been touched upon. One thing it is to assail a theory, and that is bad enough; it is another thing to address oneself to individuals, and to use every effort to hinder souls, called by God, from entering religion. It must be remembered that the Angelical was not attacking some man of straw, or oversetting propositions

which began and stopped with the disputations in the schools; but he was combating a living enemy—an enemy highly educated, with a strong position, and with many human elements of success, which were wanting to the friars.* He was engaged with an enemy who had, for some time past, been consolidating himself, and now thought himself strong enough to appear in the open field, and risk the chances of a decisive battle. The arms, certainly, were not those of brute force; they were the more precise and more delicate weapons of principle and logic. Well-seasoned professors; keen, sharp youths; deep thinkers; shallow, off-hand talkers; men of every calibre, and all degrees of culture, who filled the Paris schools, were open to the impress of talent and of truth. Though some might be tempted to be carried away with the glowing rhetoric and brilliant sophisms of the secular party, still, men of character and religion must have been deeply influenced by the calm and clear exposi-

* Anyone desiring to convince himself of the difficult position in which the regulars were placed, might read the following Bulls of Alexander IV.: (1) "Cancellario Ecclesiæ S. Genovefæ Parisien., ne quis Licentiæ stadium decurrat, nisi juret se Religiosis concordia conjunctissimum fore." Vid. *Bullarium FF. Ord. Prædic., Vol. I., p.* 375. "Episcopo Parisiensi, ne Parisienses cum Guillelmo de Sancto-amore usum illius rei consocient."—*Ibid.* "Nonnullorum Parisiensium Doctorum erga Fratres Prædicatores, et Minores merita prædicans, ipsos ad perseverantiam cohortatur."—*Ibid., p.* 376. "Episcopo Parisiensi, ut quæ de Studio Parisiensi sancita sunt, statuta servanda curet, Diploma, Fratres Prædicatores et Minores illustri laude celebrans, indicet in vulgus, et in Guillotum quendam animadvertat."—*Ibid.* "Magistris et Scholaribus Parisiensibus, ne Guillelmo de Sancto-amore studeant, et ut Fratres Prædicatores ac Minores habeant commendatos."—*Ibid., p.* 377. "Regi Francorum, ut Episcopo Parisiensi manum auxiliarem præbeat adversus turbatores Parisiensis Studii."—*Ibid., p.* 378; see also *p.* 379, beginning with the words, "Ad aures," "Meritis vestræ," &c.

tions of the Angel of the Schools. Words which are delivered on the stump, or even the well-weighed, spoken addresses of an accurate thinker, have not the same influence on the understanding as a carefully written argument, which a man can look at with his eyes, and examine and take to pieces at his leisure. All the power of the secular party over the imagination would simply go for what it was worth, when their case had been drawn out on paper; and when such a man as the Angel of the Schools had taken their arguments point by point, and, after establishing the one principle which would crush them all, had displayed their worthlessness in detail.* Many a good and true cause has been spoiled by the blundering incompetence of an advocate. It is by no means every cause that is lost which could not have been triumphantly defended. It is quite possible, considering the state of the Paris schools, when the Angelical defended the monastic principle, that, had he not been gifted, in an extraordinary degree, with clearness, vigour, and great astuteness, the popular feeling in

* If the estimate of the author of the *Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino* is not exaggerated, certainly the Angelical was quite capable of meeting and crushing *any* adversary: —"Se tutti i granelli dell' arena del mare, & tutte le frondi degl'alberi si convertissero in lingue eloquenti, non potrebbono à pieno celebrare l'heroiche virtù, & gli eccelsi Encomij di questo Angelico Dottore maraviglia, anzi stupore di tutto l'universo; Prencipe de' Dottori scholastici; lume delle verità Teologiche: ferma, & stabile colonna della Sāta Chiesa Catholica: Inespugnabile scudo di tutta la christianità; martello irrefragabile de gl'empij heretici, & infedeli: lucido, & chiaro Sole, c'ha sgombrate tutte l'heretiche pravità; gloria del Regno di Napoli; decoro della nobilissima famiglia d'Aquino; specchio, & ornamento del sacro ordine de' Predicatori; pietra pretiosissima; & lucida gemma dell'almo, & regio Convento di S. Domenico di Napoli; incomparabile tesoro, & ricettacolo di santità, & di tutte l'altre virtù." (*Vita, p.* 4.)

the University would have overpowered the regular bodies altogether. A complicated war requires an experienced and an able general and strategist. A difficult cause must be defended by an able man. The forces of the enemy must not only be met, but they must be overcome. Sense must subdue prejudice; reason must slay the fantastic creations of the imagination; the influence of duty must disarm mere sentiment; sound logic must be brought to bear, with all its crushing force, on fallacy, sophistry, and chicane; and, as error and delusion recede, and as truth pushes her advance with steadiness, the fair form of principle displays her beautiful proportions, and religion is at length seated safely on her throne.*

And this seems to have been the work performed by the great Angelical. He confronts his adversaries fairly in the field; he states their arguments, with honesty and with force; he slurs nothing over; he meets each allegation point by point; if a false principle be stated, he throws the

* It may be said that, at the time of S. Thomas, the schools had reached their greatest power with respect to the influence of logic on the mind of Christendom. In earlier days, when merely a fragmentary knowledge of the Aristotelian teaching had been acquired, men had not sufficient hold upon the dialectical method to effect any great results; even Abelard, with all his brilliant keenness, appears rather to have dazzled his hearers, than to have instructed them much, or edified them. He possessed his instrument, but as yet the subject-matter of religion had not been brought in contact with it in a large and systematic way. It was only after more than one generation had been trained to the use of it, and the truths of religion had been brought fully under its influence, that theologians began to perceive how vast a power was in their hands, not merely for destroying error, but, after having destroyed it, for building up in symmetry and strength the grand fabric of theological truth.

light of truth upon it, and exhibits all its hollowness ; if a fallacy is advanced, he makes it collapse by touching it with the point of genuine logic ; if error be pushed forward dressed in the garb of truth, he applies his test, and, dividing each from each, rejects the one, and takes the other under his protection : and finally, after having slain the enemy, he then proceeds to do what is still more important than mere destruction—to establish, upon a deep and broad basis of truth, that system which he had undertaken to defend against attack.*

It is especially in the Opusculum which I am going to notice, that the Angelical displays his great constructive powers. The tract, as it may be called : "On the Perfection of the Spiritual Life," makes up the *triplex funus quod non facile rumpitur*—the three-fold cord which is not easily broken. The Saint felt that it is always a serviceable thing to pull down error ; yet that it is a still more serviceable thing to build up truth. He not only desired to defend religion against assault, and to make her feared ; he also wished to see her deeply loved. He desired to manifest her goodness, her beauty, and her truth.

* "S. Tomaso fù quello, ch'aperse la Scola della vera Teologia, manifestando à tutti i celesti secreti, & facendo chiare le cose difficoltose. Nè vi è misterio tanto occulto, ch'egli à pieno dichiarato, & esposto non habbia, di maniera, che possi da tutti essere indubitatamente inteso. Non è testo nella santa, & divina scrittura dal principio del Genesi, insino all' ultimo capitolo dell'Apocalisse, ch'egli non l'habbia secondo il vero senso esposto, & dichiarato. Per mezo della sua dottrina sono rimasti gli Heretici, & i Gentili confusi, & la santa Catholica fede fortificata & ampliata ; di maniera tale, che i suoi nemici non hanno più forza di oppugnarla." (*Vita, p.* 4.)

As has been said before, either through malice, or through ignorance, or through the blindness which passion breeds, there were many at the University who made out all manner of foolish stories about the practices of Mendicants, and threw the whole action of religious life into a false light, turning it into ridicule, wounding it with sarcasms, and attributing principles to it as fundamental, which, in reality, were not principles of monastic life at all.

Since, says the Saint, persons ignorant of perfection have presumed to say vain things regarding the religious life, it is our intention to write a treatise on Perfection, asking what it is to be perfect; how perfection is acquired; in what the state of perfection consists; and what are the duties of those who have embraced it.

Spiritual life consists, chiefly, in charity. He who does not possess it, according to S. Paul,* is nothing, spiritually.† S. John makes the whole

* 1 *Cor.*, *XIII.*, 2. 1 *John*, *III.*, 14.

† "Quoniam quidam perfectionis ignari, de perfectionis statu vana quædam dicere præsumpserunt, propositum nostræ intentionis est de perfectione tractare, quid sit esse perfectum, qualiter perfectio acquiratur, quis sit perfectionis status, et quæ competant assumentibus perfectionis statum . . . ."

"Primum igitur considerare oportet, quod perfectum multipliciter dicitur. Est enim aliquid simpliciter perfectum, aliquid vero dicitur perfectum secundum quid. Simpliciter quidem perfectum est quod attingit ad finem ejus quod ei competit secundum propriam rationem; secundum quid autem perfectum dici potest quod attingit ad finem alicujus eorum quæ comitantur propriam rationem; sicut animal simpliciter dicitur esse perfectum, quando ad hunc finem perducitur ut nihil ei desit ex his quæ integritatem vitæ animalis constituunt, puta cum nihil ei desit ex numero, et dispositione membrorum, et debita corporis quantitate, et virtutibus quibus operationes vitæ animalis perficiuntur: secundum quid autem perfectum animal dici potest, si sit perfectum in albedine, aut in odore, aut

spiritual life to consist in love. He who is perfect in charity, is perfect in the spiritual life. There are two precepts of charity: the one appertains to the love of God; the other, to the love of one's neighbour. The perfection of the spiritual life consists, first and principally, in the love of God; secondarily, in the love of one's neighbour. There are many degrees of this perfection. A thing can be loved, so far forth as it is loveable; a thing can be loved inasmuch as the lover has a capacity for loving.* A thing is loveable in proportion to its goodness. The goodness of God being infinite, God is infinitely loveable. But no creature can love infinitely. A finite power cannot elicit an infinite act. God alone, then, can love Himself, according

in aliquo hujusmodi. Sic igitur et in spirituali vita, simpliciter quidem homo perfectus dicitur ratione ejus in quo principaliter spiritualis vita consistit; sed secundum quid perfectus dici potest ratione cujuscumque quod spirituali vitæ adjungitur." *(Opusc. II., De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Tom. XV., Cap. I., p.* 76.)

* "Perfectione autem circa caritatem principaliter considerata, plane accipi potest in quo perfectio spiritualis vitæ consistat. Sunt enim duo præcepta caritatis: quorum unum pertinet ad dilectionem Dei, aliud autem ad dilectionem proximi. Quæ quidem duo præcepta ordinem quemdam ad invicem habent secundum ordinem caritatis. Nam id quod principaliter caritate diligendum est, est summum bonum, quod nos beatos efficit, scilicet Deus. Secundario vero diligendus ex caritate est proximus, qui nobis quodam socialis vitæ jure conjungitur in beatitudinis perceptione, vel participatione. Unde hoc est quod in proximo ex caritate debemus diligere, ut simul ad beatitudinem perveniamus. Hunc autem ordinem præceptorum caritatis Dominus in Evangelio Matth. XXII. 37. ostendit dicens: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* Primo igitur et principaliter consistit spiritualis vitæ perfectio in dilectione Dei: unde Dominus ad Abraham loquens dicit Genes. XVII. 1. *Ego Dominus omnipotens: ambula coram me, et esto perfectus.* Ambulatur autem coram Deo non passibus corporis, sed affectibus mentis. Secundario vero consistit spiritualis vitæ perfectio in proximi dilectione: unde Dominus cum dixisset Matth. V. 44. *Diligite inimicos vestros*, et plura subjunxisset quæ ad dilectionem proximi pertinent, concludit in fine [ver. 48.] *Estote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester cœlestis perfectus est.*" *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. II., p.* 76.)

to the highest and most perfect degree of charity.

The perfect love of the rational creature is to love with all his powers, by actively keeping his whole being concentrated on the Supreme Good, in its fullest intensity of love. But this belongs, not to "*viatores*," but to "*comprehensores.*" The third degree of love consists in referring all things, either actively or habitually, to God. This third degree is obligatory upon all men, by reason of the precept. The second degree is not possible to a man on earth, unless he be both a "*viator*," and a "*comprehensor*," as Jesus Christ was. But, though the second is not possible to us; still, we should strive our best to aim at something like it.* It is in this that the perfection of that life consists, to which we are invited by the counsels. It is evident, that the more the human heart is drawn from the

* How profound are not these words of the Angelical! How firmly he grasps the truth!—"Comprehensionem autem accipit non secundum quod importat inclusionem, aut terminationem comprehensi, sic enim Deus incomprehensibilis est omni creaturæ; sed secundum quod comprehensio importat consecutionem ejus quod insequendo aliquis quæsivit. In illa autem cœlesti beatitudine semper actualiter intellectus, et voluntas creaturæ rationalis in Deum fertur, cum in divina fruitione illa beatitudo consistat. Beatitudo autem non est in habitu, sed in actu. Et quia Deo creatura rationalis inhærebit tamquam ultimo fini, qui est veritas summa; in finem autem ultimum omnia per intentionem referuntur, et secundum ultimum finem omnia exequenda disponuntur; consequens est quod in illa beatitudinis perfectione creatura rationalis diliget Deum ex tote corde, dum tota ejus intentio feretur in Deum ex omnibus quæ cogitat, amat, aut agit; ex tota mente, dum semper actualiter mens ejus feretur in Deum, ipsum semper videns, et omnia in ipso, et secundum ejus veritatem de omnibus judicans; ex tota anima, dum tota ejus affectio ad Deum diligendum feretur continue, et propter ipsum omnia diligentur, ex tota fortitudine, vel ex omnibus viribus, dum omnium exteriorum actuum ratio erit Dei dilectio. Hic est ergo secundus perfectæ dilectionis divinæ modus, qui est beatorum." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. IV., p.* 77.)

love of *many* objects, so much the more intensely it can adhere to *one* object. So, the more the soul is withheld from the love of temporal things, so much the more will it be borne towards the love of God. Therefore, all the counsels by which we are urged to perfection have this one scope : to draw away the soul from creatures ; that the mind may all the more freely go towards God, by contemplating, loving, and fulfilling His blessed Will.*

The Saint then dedicates a chapter to show how the practice of voluntary poverty, by which religious leave external goods, tends towards this end. Another chapter is written to prove how the renunciation of corporeal affections, and of marriage, sets a man at liberty to enter God's service, and to adhere all the more perfectly to Him. The ninth chapter contains useful and practical advice with regard to making good the above necessary renunciation. Then comes the third way of perfection, viz., the abnegation of one's own will.

* In these words the Angelical gives the grand principle of perfection :—"Sed cum Apostolus dixisset, *Non quod jam comprehenderim, aut perfectus sim*, subdit, *Sequor autem si quo modo comprehendam :* et postmodum subdit : *Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus.* Ex quibus verbis manifeste accipitur quod etsi comprehensorum perfectio non sit nobis possibilis in hac vita, æmulari tamen debemus ut in similitudinem perfectionis illius, quantum possibile est, nos trahamus : et in hoc perfectio hujus vitæ consistit, ad quam per consilia invitamur. Manifestum namque est quod humanum cor tanto intensius in aliquid unum fertur, quanto magis a multis revocatur. Sic igitur tanto perfectius animus hominis ad Deum diligendum fertur, quanto magis ab affectu temporalium revocatur. Unde Augustinus in Lib. LXXXIII., Quæstionum dicit, quod *venenum caritatis est spes adipiscendarum, aut retinendarum temporalium rerum ; augmentum vero ejus est cupiditatis diminutio ; perfectio vero nulla cupiditas.* Omnia igitur consilia, quibus ad perfectionem invitamur, ad hoc pertinent ut animus hominis ab affectu rerum temporalium avertatur ; ut sic liberius mens tendat in Deum, contemplando, amando, et ejus voluntatem implendo." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. VI., p.* 78.)

Corresponding to these three ways, there is, in Religious Orders, a three-fold vow—of poverty, of continence, and of obedience unto death. It is becoming that this three-fold vow should enter into the idea of religion; for S. Augustine says: "Religion does not seem to signify any kind of *cultus*, but the worship of God." That *cultus* which belongs to God alone, is indicated by the act of sacrifice.* A sacrifice of external things is then offered to God, when, for God's sake, they are given away; according to that: "Do not forget to do good and to impart, for by such sacrifices, God's favour is obtained."† A man's own body is offered to God, "when they that are Christ's have crucified their flesh, with the vices and concupiscences," ‡ as S. Paul says to the Galatians. Hence, he writes to the Romans: "Present your bodies a living sacri-

* "Secundum autem triplicem viam perfectionis assignatam, in religionibus triplex commune votum invenitur, scilicet votum paupertatis, continentiæ, et obedientiæ usque ad mortem. Per votum paupertatis primam perfectionis viam religiosi assumunt, omni proprietati abrenuntiantes. Per votum autem continentiæ aggrediuntur viam secundam, matrimonio perpetuo abrenuntiantes. Per votum autem obedientiæ maxime viam tertiam assumunt, voluntatem propriam abnegando. Hoc etiam triplex votum congrue religioni adaptatur. Nam, sicut dicit Augustinus X. De Civit. Dei, *religio non quemlibet, sed Dei cultum significare videtur.* Unde et Tullius dicit in Rhetorica, quod religio est *virtus quæ cuidam superiori naturæ, quam divinam vocant, cultum, cæremoniamque affert.* Cultus autem soli Deo debitus in sacrificii oblatione ostenditur. Offertur autem Deo sacrificium de exterioribus rebus, quando eas aliquis propter Deum largitur, secundum illud Hebr. ult. 16. *Beneficentiæ, et communionis nolite oblivisci: talibus enim hostiis promeretur Deus.* Offertur etiam Deo sacrificium de proprio corpore, quando scilicet qui Christi sunt, carnem suam crucifigunt cum vitiis, et concupiscentiis, ut dicit Apostolus Galat. V. Unde et ipse dicit Rom. XII., 1. *Exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem.* Est etiam sacrificium tertium Deo acceptissimum, quando aliquis spiritum suum offert Deo, secundum illud Psalm. L., 19. *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XI., p.* 83.)

† *Heb., XIII.*, 16. ‡ *V.* 24.

fice, holy, pleasing unto God." * The third sacrifice is also most acceptable to God, when a man offers his spirit to God, according to the psalm: "A sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit." †

But, it should be understood that, as S. Gregory says, there is this difference between a holocaust and a sacrifice, viz., that every holocaust is a sacrifice, but every sacrifice is not a holocaust. In a sacrifice, a part is offered; in a holocaust, the whole. "When, therefore, a man dedicates to God, by vow, a portion of what he has, it is a sacrifice; but when he makes over to the Omnipotent God, by vow, all his substance, his whole life, and all his knowledge, it is a holocaust." ‡ And this is accomplished by the three vows just named. The religious state not only contains the perfection of charity, but it contains the perfection of penance also. There is no sin so great, that a man can be ordered to enter religion as a penance for having committed it.

* *Rom., XII.*, 1. † *L.* 19.

‡ "Sed *sciendum* quod, sicut Gregorius dicit super Ezech. *hoc inter sacrificium et holocaustum distat, quod omne holocaustum est sacrificium, et non omne sacrificium holocaustum. In sacrificio enim pars pecudis, in holocausto vero totum pecus offerri consueverat. Cum ergo aliquis suum aliquid Deo vovet, et aliquid non vovet, sacrificium est. Cum vero omne quod habet, omne quod vivit, omne quod sapit, omnipotenti Deo voverit, holocaustum est.* Quod quidem impletur per tria vota prædicta. Unde manifestum est eos qui hujusmodi vota Deo emittunt, quasi propter holocausti excellentiam antonomastice religiosos vocari. Per sacrificii autem oblationem secundum legis mandatum pro peccatis satisfacere oportet, ut in Levitico expresse jubetur. Unde Psal. IV. cum. dixisset: *Quæ dicitis in cordibus vestris, et in cubilibus vestris, compungimini:* statim de sacrificatione scribens, dixit: *Sacrificate sacrificium justitiæ;* idest, opera facite justa post pœnitentiæ lamenta, ut Glossa exponit. Sicut ergo holocaustum sacrificium est perfectum, ita per vota præmissa perfecte homo Deo satisfacit, cum et de exterioribus rebus, et de proprio spiritu holocaustum offert." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XI., p.* 83.)

Of these three vows, the principal one is that of obedience, which is evident for many reasons. First, because, by the vow of obedience, a man offers his own will to God; whilst, by the vow of continence, he offers to Him the sacrifice of his own body; and, by the vow of poverty, his external possessions. Now, since a man values his body more than his external goods, and his soul more than his body; so, the vow of continence is to be placed before the vow of poverty, and the vow of obedience before either. Secondly, because a man makes use, by means of his own will, both of his own body, and of external goods: so that a man who gives up his own will, may be said to have sacrificed all he possesses. Hence, the vow of obedience is more comprehensive than the vow of continence, or of poverty; and, in a certain way, includes them both. It is on this account that Samuel prefers obedience to all sacrifices, saying: "Obedience is better than sacrifices." *

Just as there are many degrees of the love

* The Saint's high appreciation of "obedience" is accounted for thus:—"Inter hæc autem tria quæ ad religionis statum diximus pertinere, præcipuum est obedientiæ votum: quod quidem multipliciter apparet. Primo quidem, quia per obedientiæ votum homo Deo propriam voluntatem offert: per votum autem continentiæ offert ei sacrificium de proprio corpore; per votum vero paupertatis offert de exterioribus. Sicut ergo inter bona hominis corpus præfertur exterioribus rebus, et anima corpori; ita votum continentiæ voto paupertatis præfertur, votum autem obedientiæ utrique. Secundo, quia propter propriam voluntatem homo et exterioribus rebus utitur et proprio corpore. Sic igitur qui propriam voluntatem dat, totum dedisse videtur. Universalius igitur est obedientiæ votum quam continentiæ et paupertatis; et quodammodo includit utrumque. Hinc est quod Samuel obedientiam omnibus sacrificiis præfert, dicens 1 Reg., XV., 22: *Melior est obedientia quam victimæ.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XI., p.* 83.)

of God, so there are many with respect to the love of one's neighbour. There is one perfection which falls under precept; another, which is included in counsel. The love of one's neighbour which falls under precept is this: that a man should "love his neighbour as himself"—that is, that he should wish him to have what is good, and be freed from what is evil; and also that he should manifest by act, the love he feels in his heart: "Little children, let us not love in word and in tongue, but in deed and in truth."* The perfection of the love of one's neighbour which falls under the counsel is divided into three heads.† First, respecting its extension; under this comes the love a man bears his relations; then, that love which he feels for those for whom he entertains a sort of natural affection; and, lastly, the love which is due to his enemies—this degree of love being taught by our Lord: "Love your

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* *John, III.*, 18.

† "His autem consideratis de perfectione caritatis quantum pertinet ad dilectionem Dei, considerandum relinquitur de caritatis perfectione quantum pertinet ad dilectionem proximi. Est autem considerandus multiplex gradus perfectionis circa dilectionem proximi, sicut et circa dilectionem Dei. Est enim quædam perfectio quæ requiritur ad salutem, quæ cadit sub necessitate præcepti: est etiam quædam ulterior perfectio superabundans, quæ sub consilio cadit. Perfectio autem dilectionis proximi necessaria ad salutem considerandа est ex ipso modo diligendi, qui nobis præscribitur in præcepto de proximi dilectione, cum dicitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* Quia enim Deus est universale bonum supra nos existens, ad perfectionem dilectionis divinæ requiritur ut totum cor hominis secundum aliquem modum convertatur in Deum, sicut ex supradictis patet. Et ideo modus divinæ dilectionis convenienter exprimitur per hoc quod dicitur: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo.* Proximus autem noster non est universale bonum supra nos existens, sed particulare infra nos constitutum: et ideo non determinatur nobis modus ut aliquis diligat proximum ex toto corde, sed sicut se ipsum." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIII., p.* 86.)

enemies; do good to them that hate you;"* and in this He shows that the perfection of love is included. Hence, He ends by saying: "Be you therefore perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect." That the practice of this love is beyond common perfection is clear from the writings of S. Augustine.† It follows of necessity from the precept, that a man exclude not his enemy from the general charity with which he is bound to love his neighbour, and that he admit not into his heart anything contrary to such a love. But, that a man should actually fix his mind, without necessity, upon the love of his enemy, appertains to the perfection of the counsel. This love of one's enemy is derived, directly, from the Divine love alone. God only is able to move man to a love of his enemy. And man loves him as the creature and the

* *Matt., V.*, 44.

† "Consideratis igitur his quibus dilectio proximi perficitur perfectione necessaria ad salutem, considerandum est de perfectione dilectionis proximi quæ communem perfectionem excedit, et sub consilio cadit. Hæc autem perfectio secundum tria attenditur. Primo quidem secundum extensionem. Quanto enim ad plures dilectio extenditur, tanto videtur dilectio proximi esse magis perfecta. In hac autem dilectionis extensione triplex gradus considerandus occurrit. Sunt enim quidam qui alios homines diligunt vel propter beneficia sibi impensa, vel propter naturalis cognationis vinculum, aut civilis; et iste dilectionis gradus terminis civilis amicitiæ coarctatur. Sunt autem alii qui dilectionis affectum etiam ad extraneos extendunt, dum tamen in eis non inveniatur aliquid quod eis adversetur: et hic quidem dilectionis gradus quodammodo sub naturæ limitibus coarctatur. Quia enim omnes homines conveniunt in natura speciei, omnis homo est naturaliter omni homini amicus. Et hoc maxime ostenditur in hoc quod homo alium errantem in via dirigit, et a casu sublevat, et alios hujusmodi dilectionis effectus impendit. Sed quia homo naturaliter se ipsum magis quam alium diligit; ex eadem autem radice procedit ut aliquid diligatur, et ejus contrarium odio habeatur; consequens est ut infra naturalis dilectionis limites inimicorum dilectio non comprehendatur. Tertius autem dilectionis gradus est ut dilectio proximi etiam ad inimicos extendatur: quem quidem dilectionis gradum Dominus docet Matth. V. 44. dicens: *Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite his qui oderunt vos:* et in hoc dilectionis perfectionem esse demonstrat: unde concludit subdens [ver. 48.]: *Estote igitur vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester perfectus est.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIV., p.* 87.)

image of God. The more fully a man is possessed by the charity of God, so much the more easily is his mind capable of being bent to the love of his enemy. The second head regards the intensity of the love. It is evident that, in proportion to the intensity of a man's love, will be the ease with which he can contemn other things for that love's sake. There are three degrees of this contempt. There are some men who despise exterior goods: "If I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor:"* "If a man should give all the substance of his house for love, he shall despise it as nothing."† They are wanting in this perfection who, possessing goods, do not assist those who are in want: "He that hath the substance of this world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall put up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?"‡ The second degree is to expose one's body to labours, out of love for one's neighbour.§: "In labour and in toil we worked night

* 1 *Cor., XIII.*, 3. † *Cant., VIII.*, 7. ‡ 1 *John, III.*, 19.

§ "Consideratur autem secundo perfectio dilectionis proximi secundum intensionem amoris. Manifestum est enim quod quanto aliquis intensius amatur, tanto facilius alia propter ipsum contemnuntur. Ex his ergo quæ homo propter dilectionem proximi contemnit, considerari potest an sit perfecta dilectio proximi. Hujus autem perfectionis triplex gradus invenitur. Sunt enim aliqui qui exteriora bona contemnunt propter dilectionem proximorum, dum vel ea particulariter proximis administrant, vel totaliter omnia necessitatibus erogant proximorum: quod videtur Apostolus tangere cum dicit 1 Cor. XIII. 3. *Si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnem substantiam:* Et Cant. VIII. 7. dicitur: *Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suæ pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet eam.* Unde et Dominus hoc comprehendere videtur, dum consilium de perfectione sectanda cuidam daret, dicens Matth. XIX. 21. *Si vis perfectus esse, vade, et vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus: et habebis thesaurum in cœlo: et veni, sequere me:* ubi omnium bonorum exteriorum abdicationem ad duo videtur ordinare: scilicet ad dilectionem proximi, cum dicit *Et da pauperibus;* et ad dilectionem Dei, cum dicit, *Sequere me.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spirituali, Cap. XIV., p.* 88.)

and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you."* They fail in this, who, for the sake of others, will give up no pleasure, and put themselves to no inconvenience: "You that sleep on beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches; that eat the lamb out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd; you that sing to the sound of the psaltery; they have taught themselves to have instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments; and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph."† The third degree of this contempt is to lay down one's life for one's brethren. Hence, S. John says: "In this we have known the charity of God, because He hath laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."‡ In this third degree, the perfection of fraternal love consists.§

And it not only concerns perfection to do what is perfect, but also to vow what is perfect. He

* 2 *Thess., III.*, 8. † *Amos, VI.*, 4. ‡ 1 *Jn. III.* 16.

§ "Secundus autem gradus dilectionis est ut aliquis corpus suum laboribus exponat propter proximorum amorem cujus rei exemplum Apostolus in se ipso ostendit, cum dicit, 2 Thess. III. 8: *In labore et fatigatione nocte et die operantes, ne quem vestrum gravaremus.* Et ad idem refertur, si quis tribulationes et persecutiones propter proximorum amorem pati non recuset: unde et Apostolus dicit, 2 Cor. I., 6: *Sive tribulamur, pro vestra exhortatione et salute*: et 2 Tim. II. 9. dicit: *Laboro usque ad vincula quasi male operans; sed verbum Dei non est alligatum*: *ideo omnia sustineo propter electos, ut et ipsi salutem consequantur.* Ab hoc autem gradu deficiunt qui de deliciis nihil omitterent, nec aliquid incommodi sustinerent pro aliorum amore: contra quos dicitur Amos VI. 4: *Qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lascivitis in stratis vestris*: *qui comeditis agnum*

who performs a perfect action, under vow, attains a double perfection. He who observes continence, for instance, possesses one perfection, whilst he who obliges himself to continence by vow, and keeps his promise, practises both the perfection of continence, and the perfection of the vow. Perfection, which proceeds from the vow, changes a man's state and condition, in so far forth as liberty and subjection are considered as distinct conditions or states. He who vows continence, deprives himself of the liberty of marrying. He, however, who observes continence, without the vow, does not deprive himself of the said liberty.* Then, if a man undertakes to do a special work, during a

de grege, et vitulos de medio armenti : qui canitis ad vocem psalterii, sicut David, putaverunt se habere vasa cantici bibentes vinum in phialis, et optimo unguento delibuti et nihil patiebantur super contritione Joseph. Et Ezech. XIII. 5, dicitur : *Non ascendistis ex adverso, neque opposuistis vos murum pro domo Israel, ut staretis in prælio in die Domini.* Tertius autem gradus dilectionis est ut aliquis animam suam pro fratribus ponat : unde dicitur I Joan., III. 16 : *In hoc cognoscimus charitatem Dei, quoniam ille pro nobis animam suam posuit et nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere.*" *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIV., p.* 88.)

* "Est autem considerandum, quod, sicut supra præmisimus perfectionis est non solum aliquod opus perfectum facere : sed etiam opus perfectum vovere : de utroque enim consilium datur, ut supra dictum est. Qui ergo aliquod opus perfectum ex voto facit, ad duplicem perfectionem attingit : sicut qui continentiam servat, unam perfectionem habet ; qui autem ex voto se obligat ad continentiam servandam, et eam servat, habet et continentiæ perfectionem, et voti. Perfectio autem quæ est ex voto, conditionem mutat, et statum, secundum quod libertas, et servitus diversæ conditionis, vel status esse dicuntur. Sic enim accipitur status II. quæst. IX. ubi Hadrianus Papa ait : *Si quando in causa capitali, vel causa status interpellatum fuerit, non per exploratores, sed per se ipsos est agendum.* Nam dum aliquis vovet continentiam servare, adimit sibi libertatem ducendi uxorem ; qui autem simpliciter continet absque voto, prædicta libertate non privatur. Non ergo in aliquo mutatur ejus conditio, sicut mutatur conditio ejus qui vovet. Nam et apud homines si quis alicui obsequatur, non ex hoc conditionem mutat ; sed si obligat se ad serviendum, jam alterius conditionis efficitur." *(Ibid., Cap. XV., p.* 89.)

certain time, he only loses his liberty to the extent of his promise. But, he who gives himself up into another's power, without condition, and reserves no liberty to himself, such a one absolutely changes his condition, and becomes a complete slave. He who vows to fast, or to make a pilgrimage, does not change his state beyond the extent of his vow. But, he who gives his entire life over to God by vow, to serve Him in works of perfection, takes upon himself, absolutely, the state or condition of perfection. Sometimes, men do works of perfection which they have not vowed; sometimes, men do not perform the works of perfection which they have vowed. Hence, it follows that there are some who are perfect, and yet are not in the *state* of perfection; whilst others are imperfect, who are in the state of perfection.*

This state of perfection is proper to the Episcopate; for by virtue of their office, bishops are obliged to this perfection of charity, viz., that they

* "Sed considerandum est, quod potest aliquis sibi libertatem adimere vel simpliciter, vel secundum quid. Si enim aliquis se Deo, vel homini obliget ad aliquid faciendum speciale, et pro aliquo tempore, non simpliciter libertatem amisit, sed solum secundum illud, ad quod se obligavit. Si autem se totaliter in potestate alicujus ponat, ita quod nihil sibi libertatis retineat; simpliciter conditionem mutavit factus simpliciter servus. Sic ergo dum aliquis Deo vovet aliquod particulare opus, puta peregrinationem, et jejunium, aut aliquod hujusmodi, non simpliciter conditionem, vel statum mutavit, sed secundum aliquid tantum. Si vero totam vitam suam voto Deo obligavit, ut in operibus perfectionis ei deserviat; jam simpliciter conditionem, vel statum perfectionis assumpsit. Contingit autem aliquos opera perfectionis facere non voventes; aliquos vero totam vitam suam voto obligantes ad perfectionis opera, quæ non implent. Unde patet quosdam perfectos quidem esse, qui tamen perfectionis statum non habent; aliquos vero perfectionis statum habere, sed perfectos non esse." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XV., p.* 89.)*

lay down their lives for their brethren. They should also, like religious, love their enemies, and minister to them; they should expose themselves to danger of death, in the interests of their flocks; they should order their whole lives towards the service of their neighbours, and render them spiritual assistance. Indeed, the episcopal state is more perfect than the religious state; for it is evident that greater perfection is required in one who has to make others perfect, than in one who has simply to perfect himself. Then, the obligations of bishops are heavier than those of religious. To give one's life for the salvation of others, is a greater and a more difficult undertaking than to observe the vows. Then, again, in a certain way, bishops are bound in the same manner as religious. They have to feed their flocks, not only by word and example, but also by material assistance. S. Gregory asks: "Who would not be ready to sacrifice his substance for his sheep, when he is prepared to give his life for them?" * Then, they have to be chaste. Religious

* "In his ipsis ad quæ religiosi obligantur, Episcopi quodammodo obligari videntur. Tenentur enim Episcopi bona temporalia quæ habent, in necessitate suis subditis exhibere, quos pascere debent non solum verbo, et exemplo, sed etiam temporali subsidio. Unde Petro Joan. ult. ter dictum est a Domino ut ejus gregem pasceret: quod ipse retinens, alios ad hoc ipsum exhortatur dicens 1 Petr. ult. 2. *Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Domini.* Et Gregorius dicit in auctoritate supra inducta, ex persona Episcoporum loquens: *Exteriora nostra misericorditer ovibus ejus debemus impendere*: et postea subdit *Qui non dat pro ovibus substantiam suam, quando pro his daturus est animam suam?* Ipsi etiam Episcopi ad castitatem obligantur. Nam cum alios mundare debeant, ipsos præcipue convenit esse mundos. Unde Dionysius dicit III. cap. Cæl. Hierar. quod purgativos ordines oportet ex abundantia purgationis aliis tradere de propria castitate. Et quidem religiosi per votum obedientiæ se uni præ-

are subject to one prelate. The bishop makes himself the servant of all those who are under his jurisdiction: "Whereas I was free as to all, I made myself the servant of all :" * "For we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ our Lord; and ourselves your servants, through Jesus" †—hence, the custom of the Sovereign Pontiff calling himself "Servant of the Servants of God." Again, bishops are obliged, by vow, to lead others to God. S. Gregory says that "no sacrifice is more pleasing to God than zeal for souls." Therefore, the episcopal state is most perfect. This is evident, too, from the practice of the Church, which absolves religious, when they are raised to the episcopate, from obedience to superiors; and this would not be lawful were not the episcopal state more perfect than the religious state. The Church of God follows the saying of S. Paul :‡ "Be zealous for the better gifts." § The eighteenth chapter

lato subjiciunt; Episcopus vero servum se constituit omnium, quorum curam assumit, dum tenetur non quod suum est quærere, sed *quod multis* prodest, *ut salvi fiant*, ut dicit Apostolus 1 Cor, X. 33." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XVII., p.* 90—91.)

* 1 *Cor., IX.*, 19. † 2 *Cor., IV.*, 5. ‡ 1 *Cor., XII.*, 31.

§ "Unde ipse de se dicit IX. cap. vers. 19. ejusdem epistolæ : *Cum liber essem ex omnibus, omnium me servum feci* : et 2 Corin. IV. 5. *Non nosmetipsos prædicamus, sed Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, nos autem servos vestros per Jesum.* Unde et consuetudo inolevit ut summus Pontifex se scribat servum servorum Dei. Unde patet episcopalem statum majoris perfectionis esse quam statum religionis."

"Iterum. Dionysius dicit VI. cap. Eccles. Hierarchiæ, monachorum ordinem non esse adductivum aliorum, sed in se ipso stantem in singulari, et sancta statione. Ad Episcopos autem ex obligatione voti pertinet alios ad Deum adducere. Dicit autem Gregorius super Ezech., quod nullum sacrificium est magis Deo acceptum quam zelus animarum. Ordo igitur Episcoporum perfectissimus est. Hoc autem evidenter ostenditur ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine, per quam religiosi a suorum prælatorum obedientia absoluti, ad Episcopatus ordinem assumuntur. Quod quidem licitum non esset, nisi episcopalis status esset perfectior. Sequitur enim Ecclesia Dei Pauli sententiam, qui dicit 1 ad Corinth. XII. 31. *Æmulamini charismata meliora.*" *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XVII., p.* 90—91.)

answers objections which seem to have been framed against the perfection of the episcopal state; and the chapter following shows that, though the state of a bishop is more perfect than that of a religious, it is not on that account to be sought after. Though men can meritoriously desire to enter the religious state, they cannot thus desire to be bishops, without falling into the vice of ambition. A religious denies himself, and subjects himself to others: a bishop is placed in a position of dignity. To look out for such advancement is presumptuous; since greater influence, and greater honour, are due only to those who are more worthy. This is evident, from the writings of S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom. Again, the religious state does not suppose perfection, but it leads to perfection. The Pontifical dignity supposes it already attained. He who possesses the Pontifical honour assumes the spiritual "*magisterium:*" "I am appointed a preacher and an apostle (I say the truth, I lie not), a doctor of the Gentiles, in faith and truth."* It is presumptuous for a man to consider himself to be perfect.†

* 1 *Tim.*, *II.*, 7.

† "Est etiam et aliud advertendum, quod religionis status perfectionem non præsupponit, sed ad perfectionem inducit; pontificalis autem dignitas perfectionem præsupponit. Qui enim Pontificatus honorem suscipit, spirituale magisterium assumit. Unde Apostolus dicebat 1. Timoth. II. 7. *Positus sum ego prædicator, et Apostolus* [*veritatem dico, non mentior*] *doctor gentium in fide, et veritate.* Ridiculum autem est perfectionis magistrum fieri qui perfectionem per experimentum non novit. Et sicut, dicit Gregorius in Pastorali, *tantum debet actionem populi actio transcendere præsulis, quantum distare solet a grege vita pastoris.* Quæ quidem differentia ex verbis Domini manifeste colligitur. Cum enim Dominus paupertatis consilium daret, his verbis est usus [Matth. XIX. 21.] *Si vis perfectus*

Hence, the Apostle: "Not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect:" * and then: "Let us, therefore, as many as are perfect, be thus minded." Then, religious relinquish property; those who become bishops acquire property. In support of this argument, S. Gregory is quoted at length; and then, S. Jerome is adduced, to show that he who becomes a monk, avoids the dangers into which other men are liable to fall.† The twentieth chapter gives the arguments of those who maintain that the state of those who have the cure of souls, viz., of curates and archdeacons, is more perfect than the religious state; and it gives their solutions also. One thing is an *act* of perfection; another thing is a *state* of perfection. Now, two things can be considered in those who have the

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esse, vade, vende omnia quæ habes et da pauperibus. Unde manifeste apparet quod paupertatis assumptio perfectionem non præexigit, sed ad eam ducit. . . . "

"Quod autem aliquis perfectionem desideret, et eam assequi velit, non præsumptionis, sed sanctæ æmulationis esse videtur: ad quam Apostolus hortatur 1 Corin. XII. 31. *Æmulamini charismata meliora.* Et ideo religionis statum assumere, laudabile est; ad prælationis autem fastigium anhelare nimiæ præsumptionis est." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIX., p.* 92—93.)

* *Philip., III.*, 12.

† "Dicit Gregorius, *David auctoris judicio pene in cunctis actibus placens, ut principatus pondere claruit, in tumorem vulneris erupit, factusque est in morte viri crudeliter rigidus, qui in appetitu feminæ fuit enerviter fluxus: prius ferire comprehensum persecutorem noluit, et post cum damno exercitus devotum militem sub studio fraudis extinxit.* Qui autem statum religionis assumit, pericula peccati vitat. Unde Hieronymus ex persona monachi loquens in epistola contra Vigilantium dicit: *Ego cum fugero*, scilicet mundum, *non vincor in eo quod fugio, sed ideo fugio ne vincar. Nulla securitas cum vicino serpente dormire: potest fieri ut me non mordeat, tamen potest fieri ut aliquando me mordeat.* Quod ergo aliquis pericula peccati evitans religionis statum assumat, prudentiæ est. Quod vero sponte ad prælationis statum aspiret, vel nimiæ præsumptionis est, si se tam fortem existimet esse ut inter pericula possit manere securus; vel omnino suæ salutis curam non habens, si peccata vitare non curat. Ex his ergo apparet quod prælationis status, etsi perfectus sit, tamen absque vitio concupiscentiæ appeti non potest." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIX., p.* 93.)

cure of souls: the office, and the dignity. The former imposes no abiding duty; whilst the religious state entails a perpetual obligation. And, though men having the cure of souls may be perfect, as far as the habit of charity, and may participate in some works of perfection, they are not, on that account, in the *state* of perfection. By this principle, difficulties made up out of the words of S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome, are solved by the Angelical.

It appears that, after S. Thomas had written the above chapters, other objections were made against his thesis, by persons "desirous of creating a quarrel." * And hence he dedicates another chapter to the confutation of their errors. He considers their objections to be frivolous, ridiculous, and, in many respects, erroneous. † He shows that the authorities brought forward are not to the point; because the writers who are quoted, treat of the grade, and not of the state; and brings to bear, with great power and clearness, the principles which he has already established. The twenty-fourth chapter demonstrates, that solemn benediction and consecration do not, as some affirm,

* "Verum quidam contentionis studio exagitati, neque quæ dicunt, neque quæ audiunt, debite ponderantes, adhuc conantur prædictis contradicentes obviare: quorum obviationes postquam præmissa conscripseram, ad me pervenerunt. Ad quorum confutationem, necesse est aliqua ex supra positis replicare." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XXI., p. 95.)*

† "Hæc autem quæ posita sunt, quam sint frivola, derisibilia, et in multis erronea, demonstrandum est singulorum efficaciam dilgenter ponderando." *(Ibid., Cap. XXIII., p. 97.)*

put a man in a state of perfection.* The twenty-fifth chapter contains a series of solutions to other objections, some of which appear so unmeaning and absurd in the eyes of our Saint, that, evidently, he hardly had patience to answer them seriously. The last chapter touches upon the objections which have already been mentioned, against monks studying, teaching, and having the power to preach, and to hear confessions; and the Saint concludes with these words, so worthy of him, and so full of meaning, and suggestive, even to modern controversialists. "I should be very glad," he writes, "if anyone would reply to what I have said; for there is no better means of displaying truth, and of confuting error, than by discussion; according to the words of Solomon: 'Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend;'† for God himself will judge between us and them, Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen." ‡

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* "Ostenso igitur quam frivolæ sunt rationes quas inducunt ad ostendendum, quod archidaconi, et presbyteri curati, sunt in statu perfectiori quam religiosi; ostendendum est quam frivolum sit quod objiciunt contra hoc quod dictum est, quod in statu perfectionis quis ponitur per solemnem benedictionem, aut consecrationem." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XXIV., p.* 100.)

† *Prov., XXVII.*, 17.

‡ "Si autem hoc intendant, quod religiosi non possunt prædicare, vel confessiones audire ex superiorum prælatorum commissione; patet hoc esse falsum: quia quanto quis est celsior, tanto, et illis erit potentior, ut habetur XVI. quæst. I. *Sunt nonnulli.* Unde si sæculares sacerdotes non curati, possunt hujusmodi facere ex commissione prælatorum, multo magis hoc possunt religiosi, si eis committatur."

"Hæc respondenda occurrunt his, qui perfectionem religionis denigrare nituntur a contumeliis abstinendo: quia, sicut scriptum est, Prov.

It may seem a pity, in writing the life of a Saint, to interrupt the course of his personal history, by making a long *resumé* of his works. The writer feels the full force of such an objection. But, were he to omit giving an insight into the Saint's mind and works, as manifested at this period, or were he to pass over lightly his immense influence on religious thought, it would be impossible for the reader fully to realize the texture and power of his mind, and the immense service he rendered to religion.*

It is clear enough, from these three brochures; from the principles which the Saint felt himself obliged to re-establish; and from the nature of the objections which were advanced against religious life, that the state of men's minds at the University,

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X. 18. *qui profert contumeliam, insipiens est:* et XX. 3. *Omnes stulti miscentur contumeliis.*"

"Si qui vero contra hæc rescribere voluerint, mihi acceptissimum erit. Nullo enim modo melius quam contradicentibus resistendo, aperitur veritas, et falsitas confutatur, secundum illud Salomonis Proverb. XXVII. 17. *Ferrum ferro acuitur, et homo exacuit faciem amici sui.* Ipse autem Deus judicet inter nos et eos qui est benedictus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." *(De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XXVI., p.* 102.)

* In point of fact, the life of a great thinker and writer must necessarily consist in a treatment, not so much of his personal adventure—for great scholars generally lead very quiet lives—as of his thought and of his influence. Were no lives to be written, except of those who had a long and eventful personal history, most of the greatest benefactors of the human race would soon fall out of men's remembrance. They would have no biographers. Plato and Aristotle, who form the two great hinges on which the intellect of the world has turned, would undergo the common fate; and unless a man made a great display of *himself* he would stand little chance of that immortality (a very miserable one) which is the greatest human reward that genius can desire. No; the history of a great thinker and writer is the history of his thought, of his position, of his action on the present, and of the change his influence has produced upon the world—a change which is arrived at by comparing the current as it approached him, with what it was when it left him, after it had been directed by the power of his genius.

during this period, gave cause for the greatest concern and alarm. The very first principles of Evangelical perfection were called in question: and this not by men of damaged fame and small repute, alone; not by a handful of scoffers, and worldly men of wanton habits and idle lives; but by clever, shrewd professors, who were looked upon with reverence for their gifts; who were men of logical and powerful minds; and who, by their exceptional character and abilities, were gaining, daily, fresh influence over the young. The scholars, doctors, and students of a university cannot be put down by mere *verbiage*, nor reduced to silence by violence or force. If they have to be subjugated at all, they must be beaten with their own weapons. Not, indeed, by sarcasm or by ridicule, or by brilliant retort; but by reason, and logic, and sense. They must be fairly met, and fairly combated, and then truth, sooner or later, will surely conquer. Who, in the University, was capable of allaying passion by the power of his own self-control? * Who was the man for the emergency, fit

* It is pretty clear whom Tocco would think capable of successfully fulfilling such a mission. He says:—"Et quia tam splendidum luminare, quod misericors Deus in mundi vespera fidelibus voluit mittere, ab ipso quasi mundi principio debuit præmonstrari; ideo in veteri Testamento prædicti Doctoris multiplex figura non defuit, quæ præsignaret divinitus qualis fuit; ut sic novæ Legis fructus temporibus ultimis in figuris prænuntiaretur antiquis; et Deus, dum in præsentibus implet præterita ad se ostendat pertinere futura. Unde hic Doctor mirabilis dici potuit esse prævisus in Isaac filio Abrahæ; qui cum ad agrum Scripturarum ad vesperum senescentis Ecclesiæ ad meditandum egreditur, sicut ille Rebeccam, sic iste in sponsam Dei sapientiam habere meretur, per quam sicut deposita hydria servo Abrahæ, etiam camelis, potus tribuitur; sic per hujus scientiam, quasi hydriam, cunctis fidelibus aqua divinæ sapientiæ mira felicitate donatur." (Tocco *in Vita, Boll., Cap. III., n.* 16, *p.* 662.)

to encounter clever, skilful fencers, practised to perfection in all the tricks and arts of thrust, and blow, and parry, and feint, and sudden lunge? Who could convince prejudice that she *was* prejudice; hit the nice division between right and wrong, and true and false; defend the right, admit the wrong, and acknowledge the imperfections which were mixed up in his cause, whilst, at the same time, victoriously defending it? Who, by the depth of his penetration, and the vigour of his grasp of principle, could get beneath the shallow, sparkling stream of words—the rapid sophistry of clever men—and uproot, and draw out, and expose to view, the flimsy framework of plausibility and pretence on which men seemed infallibly to count? Who could hammer and break to pieces false maxims and sharp sayings, and, with the same movement with which he warded off a deadly thrust, transfix the enemy in the very act of triumphing? Who could build up the crumbling walls of truth; complete the structure; encompass it with a powerful *enceinte*, and then, sally forth, in force, and triumphantly strike home amongst the enemy; and by superior weapons, skill, and strategy, at length drive him out of his position? *

* Tocco compares the Angelical to Jacob thus:—"Dici potest hic congrue Jacob, qui post luctam devicti certaminis, et acceptam de rore cœli benedictionis dulcedinem, ad puteum perveniens Scripturarum, hausit quasi Rachelis ovibus, id est, Christi fidelibus, poculum et ipsam Rachelem Dei sapientiam habere meruit, quam aspiciens concupivit, obtinuitque Angelica in sponsione Israelis vocabulum, postquam de Divinis

The only man who had the requisite gifts for executing such a work as this, in the thirteenth century, was S. Thomas of Aquin. From boyhood he had earned the reputation of being a powerful and a brilliant debater. He possessed all the qualities necessary for success—weight of metal, as well as precision of aim; and his whole intelligence was thoroughly impregnated with the traditionary teaching of the Church. It is true that Albert did his share of work, and S. Bonaventure wrote his excellent treatise: "On the Poverty of Christ," as well as his "Apologia for the Poor." But, after all, it was S. Thomas whose exceptional grasp embraced the entire religious question; and his genius it was which replaced the fundamental principles of the highest love of God in their old position of reverence and honour; and, in achieving this result, the Angelical left to all coming generations the most profound refutation of deadly error, and the most masterly exposition of religious truth which has ever been given to the world by any doctor of the Church.*

Scripturis habuit clarum veritatis aspectum. Hic ut Jacob super Petram Christum, dum per humilitatem quievit subditus fieri meruit meditatione supremus: unde vidit in somnis scalam per quam ad summam veritatis notitiam debebat ascendere, cœlum attingere, et Angelos ascendentes per scalam, qui orantis Thomæ Deo offerrent oracula; et descendentes, qui contemplanti revelarent divina in veritate secreta; et Dominum innixum scalæ, qui prædicto Doctori ostenderet se inspirasse scientiam, et acceptare doctrinam. Quod bene per modum scalæ componitur, quia in ea semper aliquod notum principium, et quasi quibusdam gradibus, congruis propositionibus, conclusio veritatis infertur." (Boll., *Cap. III.*, *n.* 16, *p.* 662.)

* Tocco compares S. Thomas to Joseph, and to Moses: —"Hic est ille Joseph, qui dum Spiritu sapientiæ repletur in carcere, de ipso eductus meruit plus omnibus Ægyptiis divina cognoscere, et de utriusque Testamenti segetibus divini eloquii frumenta in libris, quasi in horreis collecta

And the Angelical did something more than write an exposition. He was a living type of a perfect monk, a model for professors, a doctor in the truest and widest meaning of the word, and the most illuminated teacher amidst a host of distinguished men.* He had applied the principles of the monastic system to his own life. He had been drilled and trained according to the rules of perfect charity. His heart and mind had been elevated and purified by the highest and most noble influences; and he stood before the eye of intellectual, criticizing Paris, as the pattern of a system of

servare : qui, ut ille fratribus suis, primo frumenta divini eloquii gratis eorum ingeniis tribuit, et toti Ecclesiæ postmodum de alimentis divinæ Sapientiæ sine invidia distribuenda providit. Appropriate autem et singulariter dici potest, quod hic fuit quasi alter ille Moyses, qui de aquis mundanæ vanitatis eductus, quia de Aquinorum prosapia generatur, miro modo per Pharaonis filiam matri Ecclesiæ, cui tollitur, redditur, et uberibus divinæ sapientiæ lacte nutritur. Hic est Moyses cui de rubo sub flammæ ignis similitudine Dominus loquitur, et hic quasi Deus locatus ei fuerit, edocetur : qui missus ad fratres suos, non sine signis admirandis et prodigiis, ductor populi delegatur. Hic est Moyses, qui, sub duplici columna nubis et ignis, fideles de Ægypti tenebris duplicis scientiæ habitu doctus eduxit : ut in columna nubea intelligatur scientia secularium scripturarum, quam sensibus acquisivit ; et in columna ignis lex illa ignea, quam ex dextera divinæ largitatis, Deo revelante, suscepit." (Boll., *Cap. III.*, *n.* 16, *p.* 662.)

* "Hic est Moyses, qui montem divinæ speculationis ascendens, non sine divini stylo digiti scribentis in ejus animo, sub duarum tabularum similitudine duorum testamentorum scientiam de summa divinorum speculatione portavit. Hic est iterum Moyses, cujus ex divini sermonis consortio facies splendens efficitur, ut non possent filii Israel nisi velatis vultibus in ipsum aspicere ; quem Deus decreverat aliis illustrare, ut dum hodie quorumdam facies velatæ permanent, ad hujus Doctoris intelligentiæ faciem, aut cæca æmulatione aut ignorantiæ tenebris obscurati eorum aspectus intelligentiæ non pertingant. Hic est Moyses qui facie ad faciem Domino loquitur : qui divina, quæ sibi Deus revelare voluit, sic intellexit lucide, velut ænigmaticam illam Dei faciem in Scripturis vidisset aperte. Qui cum frequenter raptum a sensibus pateretur, supra humanum intellectum divina vidisse creditur, quibus ejus animus sorberetur : quorum magnitudine intellecta et scripta despiceret pro excellentia illorum, quæ vidisset : sicut circa finem suæ vitæ maxime patuit, cum præ revelationis magnitudine a scribendo ulterius præ stupore cessavit : quibus cum finem imposuit, admiranti de ejus raptu socio mysterium revelavit." (*Boll.*, *Cap. III.*, *n.* 16, *p.* 662.)

education which restless men were beginning to grow weary of, but which, through his genius and address, subdued its enemies, and established itself in a stronger position than ever it had held before. To read his arguments would, no doubt, in the case of an unimpassioned enquirer, have been sufficient to convince the intellect. Few men are so depraved as to be blind to the beauty of self-sacrifice, and the heroism of the followers of the Cross. Most men esteem—at a distance, at all events—the glorious courage of the martyrs, and the firmness of brave men professing the truth, for which they would consider it a joy to die. There is a natural generosity in the heart of every upright man, which springs with spontaneous sympathy towards what is true and noble, when presented forcibly before his consciousness.* Men who might, in theory, spurn the reverential principles of monastic life, could not refuse their admiration, were they actually forced to fix their attention upon the living expression of them in one of the saints of God. He who would mock at

* Nothing could hardly be more fanciful, or more unphilosophical, than the arbitrary position in which Dr. Temple, in his celebrated Essay on the *Education of the World*, places the power of example. In order to arrange his conceit about the growth of the world, so as to be in keeping with the progression of man from childhood to old age, he is obliged to make the period of youth, or "the meeting-point of the child and the man," to be the special time in which "example" holds its principal sway. Who would ever have dreamt of doing this except a man who was working out a puzzle, or framing a theory into which *nolens volens*, the order of reality and fact, was arbitrarily to be shoved? The power of human nature, and the influence of man on man, does not begin now, and stop then, but the broad experience of life teaches us that as long as the imagination or the passions can be impressed, evil company should be avoided; and that he who would be virtuous must keep good company.

purity in theory, would be struck dumb with admiration, were he actually to see John's loving face, as he leans on the bosom of his Master. He who knows not what Divine love is, would so learn its secret, as never to forget, could he but behold the countenance of Christ, burning with charity for men; and he who never knew how to adore, or what adoration meant, would learn it for all his life, were he to watch Magdalene weeping at the feet of Jesus. Where theory does not move the heart; where it does not manifest itself as the informing principle of a course of action, or of suffering, its power is little felt, and little realized.*

So with the theory of monastic life. Men of the past, and men of the present, may pick holes in it—may misunderstand its drift; but they cannot mistake it, when thrust before their notice, in living examples, and patterns of its action.† The

* It is remarkable that, both in *Ecce Homo* and in Renan's *Life of Jesus*, the one great power that seems to attach those writers to the person of Christ is His moral beauty. They cannot get over it. They are obliged to make use of expressions, regarding the marvellous life, which, though they would have it not so, touches upon the absolutely divine. Without almost calling Him "God," they cannot even express to the cynical philosopher—the depreciating critic—the store of beauty, and transcendant moral loveliness, which, even they are obliged to admit, belongs to the name of Christ. The very thought of Him seems, in spite of "modern criticism," and "philosophical tests," to warm the cold heart and colour the washed-out imagination. Had they but seen Him in the flesh, and felt His eye as Peter did, then they would have, possibly, used Peter's language. But the point here is, that godly beauty *must* be recognized even by those who would deny it to be Divine. If those who disbelieved are so impressed, what must it not be with those who have the key!

† Even those who cannot fully take in the whole power of the monastic idea, for the simple reason that they are not Catholics, catch, however, glimpses of its beauty, and are impressed with its power to influence. The monks "upheld and exhibited the great—then, almost original idea, [!] that men needed to rule and govern themselves, that

practice of voluntary poverty may, in the abstract, be combated: but, who can combat Christ, when, weary and exhausted, he meekly resigned himself to live in a condition of more abject poverty than that of the birds of the air, and of the foxes of the earth? The practice of chastity may be ridiculed, and called unnatural; yet, who can look on the radiant spotlessness of God's tender saints, and cast a stone at them, or refuse to acknowledge the surpassing resplendence of holy purity? The practice of obedience may be called a slavery; but, who can look upon his Lord freely offering Himself, despising the shame, and obedient unto death, and not perceive in Him the fairest type of liberty? And when, by an irrevocable vow, these three practices of poverty, chastity, and obedience, become systematized into a rule of life, and are embraced by a body of men, the critic may carp at them in theory; but, when viewed in practice, if he has not lost his manhood, together with his sense of moral loveliness and beauty, he will be compelled to admit that, the more rigidly these vows are observed, so much the more closely will the Divine pattern be approached. In a word, no man, with a man's heart left, can look upon heroic

they could do it, and that no use of life was noble and perfect without this ruling. It was hard and rough discipline, like the times, which were hard and rough. But they did good work then, and for future times, by impressing on society the idea of self-control and self-maintained discipline; and, rude as they were, they were capable of nurturing noble natures, single hearts, keen and powerful intellects, glowing and unselfish affections." (Church, *Life of S. Anselm, Chap. III., p.* 68.)

purity, sacrifice, and charity, without being affected with a sense of adoration.*

Now, the life of the Angelical was a striking manifestation of the three-fold power of the vows. Love and sacrifice, in him, were realities that lived. The theory which he expresses so admirably, was carried out by him in perfect practice. Who so truly poor as he was, who had utterly abandoned all that the creature could offer him? Who so chaste as he, who overcame, once for all, his great temptation, and never once committed a deliberate sin; and who so obedient as he, who loved Another's will far better than his own, and found his true delight in living in subjection, and had, as his only terror, the fear of being made something of? And what was the outcome of all this? A crystal clearness of intellect, undisturbed by any prejudice or passion; a vision into the unseen world, which became like the habit

* With what profound thought does not Hettinger identify Christ with Christianity:—"Aber das Christenthum, ist *nichts ohne Christus:* es ist eben nur die *Lehre von Christi Person und Werk;* die Person des Erlösers ist das Centrum des ganzen Christenthums, von ihm gehen alle geistigen und sittlichen Kräfte aus, zu ihm kehren sie wieder zurück. Und seine Sittenlehre ist kein hohles, luftiges Gebilde der Phantasie, das bei näherer Betrachtung zerfliesst, keine blosse Ideenlehre, keine abstracte Moral: sie ist nur das *Bild Jesu Christi selbst,* unser Vorbild und lebendiges Ideal das in die Geschichte eingetreten und Mensch geworden ist, und in ächt menschlicher Weise durch's Leben gegangen, 'uns gleich in Allem, die Sünde ausgenommen;' und alle sittliche Grösse besteht eben nur in der *Annäherung an dieses concrete ächt menschliche Urbild* des Menschenlebens, das unerreichbar hoch über uns steht, und doch uns wieder so unendlich nahe ist. Ein Blick auf das Bild Jesu, wie es uns in einfachen Zügen die Evangelien gezeichnet haben, die Betrachtung seines Lebens, wie es in der Oeffentlichkeit und im Angesichte eines ganzen Volkes begonnen ward und sich vollendet hat, wird uns auch ohne Wunder in unwidersprechlicher Weise das Göttliche in seiner Erscheinung darthun." (*Apologie des Christenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Achtzehnter Vortrag, p.* 787.)

of a life; and a nobility, a refinement, and a delicacy of understanding; a tenderness, an expansion, and a gentleness of heart, which could only have been produced by the influence of a supernatural grace, acting on a soul of noblest creation.*

It was his being so firmly set in the monastic principle that made him so marvellously stable amidst the flow with which he was surrounded. It has often been said that whenever there was a difficult piece of work to be done, in the Church, at least, or tempestuous and dark times to be confronted and fought with, the man to do the work, and to fight the battle, would be a monk. Why? Because he had made the great venture, and had abandoned, out of love for the Crucified, all that *could* be dearest and tenderest to his heart; because he had thrown up earth for the sake of heaven. So he would be *free* to dedicate all his powers, without self-seeking, to furthering the glory of his Master. This was the case with the Angelical. He had, with his eyes open, renounced

* Tocco likens the Angelical to Solomon and to the Apostle, S. Thomas:—"Hic disputavit, ut Salomon a cedro, quæ est in Libano, usque ad hyssopum, qui de pariete oritur, id est, a Dei filio, divinitatis candore de Patre genito, usque ad eumdem de gloriosa Virgine cum corpore nostræ humanitatis assumpto; a quo sicut studium inspiratæ veritatis incepit sic scribendi et videndi terminum in eo, qui scire et vivere dederat, felici morte finivit. Unum adhuc hic Doctor dici potest, quasi ille Thomas non dubius, sed quasi certus in scientia divinorum: qui dictus est abyssus propter profunditatem ingenii, vel qui abyssum in Christi latus invitatus ingreditur, et ad scrutanda divinorum secreta tam certa notitia sibi inspirata descripsit in libris, quasi ipsa haberet præ oculis, et quasi ipsa manu contingeret, quæ intelligentiæ digito indicaret: ut jam non restaret amplius, nisi ut supra intellectum, quantum homini erat possibile, in divinitate ipsum conspiceret, quem supra alios ænigmatice didicisset." (*Boll., Cap. III., n.* 16, *p.* 662.)

a brilliant future, the love of friends, and the pleasures of life—pride, ambition, fame. All he sought was "Wisdom." The stream might flow, the current might grow rapid, but to possess this one treasure was his passion; and to draw others to it was his one delight. The mists that float about the heart, and the vapourings which rise up from the passions, were unknown to the Angel of the Schools.

If the devoted and mortified lives of the Mendicants in the great university towns, served as lights in darkness, and as beacons in distress; if the licentious student, with all his lewdness, was compelled to respect purity, and charity, and spiritual-mindedness, and to condemn himself, in presence of those whose simplicity of life, and guilelessness of character, were a continual protest against his own misdeeds; if, in the face of high morality, license stood self-condemned; so, also, was it with regard to faith and infidelity.* Where monastic virtue really flourishes, there, true faith resides. True reverence, true intellectual humility, together with calm vision, always accompany that

* The influence of morals on faith has not been as earnestly insisted on in these days as it deserves; and this itself is one of the results of the decay of the supernatural in the hearts of men. Where the disease is not fully understood, and where its seriousness is not appreciated, there, as a necessary consequence, the remedy is neither much cared for, nor vigorously applied. Let the full light of revelation be brought to bear upon men's consciences, and then they will, whilst looking on truth and all its beauty, see also themselves, and get a glimpse af their own errors and deformity. There is a profounder meaning in the words: "He that believes shall be saved," than many people imagine. Fragmentary faith is followed by fragmentary morals. What is concave on one side, is convex on the other. Where the understanding is darkened, the will is at fault.

obedience which makes man free; that chastity which makes him clean of heart to see without disguise; that poverty which robs him of all things, save one treasure alone, viz., the love and possession of his Sovereign Good. Here it was that the Angelical excelled, viz., in firm belief, in adoring reverence, and in tender love; and then, in giant grasp, in force of logic, and readiness of intuition; in mastery of methods, and in intellectual sway.* In the midst of the mental lawlessness and revelry which encompassed him, he was, just as he had been amongst Albert's scholars at Cologne, as unmoved as he was gentle. The boldness and prying curiosity of the rationalistic spirit had no influence over him. On the contrary, he exerted his influence over it. He perceived, and took possession of, what was good in it; and, leaving the chaff, turned it to the best account. Wherever truth displayed itself, in the midst of those days of unrestraint, he seized upon it, as upon his birthright, and reverenced it as the gift of God, and

* And though S. Thomas was so active a logician, he was still pre-eminently a contemplative. It is a vulgar error to imagine that contemplation leads to inactivity, or to fanaticism. When that sublime practice is regulated by the rules of spiritual science, it leads to great and telling results, even in the material order. Görres says that those saints who were most remarkable for their mystic learning and piety "were far from exhibiting, in their features and expression, the characteristics usually attributed to them. They are popularly considered, and by artists represented, as soft, fainting, and, perhaps, hysterical persons; whereas their portraits present to us countenances of men, or women, of practical, businesslike, working character. . . . Her true portraits all represent her (S. Teresa) with strong, firmly-set, and almost masculine features; with forms and lines that denote vigour, resolution, and strong sense. Her handwriting perfectly suggests the same conclusion." (*Vide* Cardinal Wiseman's *Preface* to Mr. Lewis's excellent translation of *The Complete Works of S. John of the Cross.*)

exhibited it in its proper colour and form. He used the powers of darkness to bring forth light, and vanquished the enemy with his own weapons, being guided, as he was, by the light of revelation, as it presented itself to the mirror of his mind, which was brightened for its reception by the ceaseless practice of monastic life.* Speaking of the activity of the human reason, and of the works of the Mendicants at this period, Dr. Newman says: "If there ever was a time when the intellect went wild, and had a licentious revel, it was at the date I speak of. When was there ever a more curious, more meddling, bolder, keener, more penetrating, more rationalistic exercise of the reason than at that time? What class of questions did that subtle, metaphysical spirit not scrutinize? What premiss was allowed without examination? What principle was not traced to its first origin, and exhibited in its most naked shape? What whole was not analysed? What complex idea was not elaborately traced out, and, as it were, finely

* Father Lallemant, who had had a great experience of the intellectual advantage of "purity of heart," offers matter for deep thought in the following words: "Concupiscence and the passions insensibly extinguish the infused and supernatural lights of the understanding, so that in the end they succeed in stifling them entirely. Hence it is that we see minds of a high order extremely blind nevertheless in spiritual things. A man enjoys strong sight, but it does not therefore follow that he has a strong mind; the two faculties are quite distinct. Such as are led by passion to make a profession of heresy . . . are, at the beginning, heretics only by humour and passion. . . . But in course of time, as passion strengthens, and sins multiply, all that remained of the light of faith is lost, the understanding is darkened, and they become altogether heretics." (See Lallemant's *Spiritual Doctrine, Princip. III., Chap. II., Art. II.*, § *III.*, *p.* 104.) Now, "cleaning the mirror," according to monastic theology is practising purity of heart, and curbing and overcoming concupiscence and the passions. *Beati mundo corde!*

painted, for the contemplation of the mind, till it was spread out in all its minutest portions, as perfectly and delicately as a frog's foot shows under the intense scrutiny of the microscope? Well, I repeat, here was something which came somewhat nearer to theology than physical research comes. Aristotle was a somewhat more serious foe, beyond all mistake, than Bacon has been since. Did the Church take a high hand with philosophy then? No; not though it was metaphysical. It was a time when she had temporal power, and could have exterminated the spirit of enquiry with fire and sword; but she determined to put it down by *argument*. She said: 'Two can play at that, and my argument is the better.' She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being S. Thomas, who, in those mediæval universities, fought the battle of revelation with the weapons of heathenism.* It was no

* Bishop Hampden shows very well, in the second Lecture on *Scholastic Philosophy*, how the mediæval doctors formed, of the truths of reason and revelation combined, one grand system for attack or defence. The object was "to erect theology into a perfect science, to enable the Christian, when assailed on points of heresy, or perplexed with questionings as to truths simply proposed to his belief, to give a *reason* of the doctrines of his faith. Assuming that matters of faith might become matters of understanding to those who believed, it attempted to establish, by processes of reasoning from given principles of theology, each doctrine of religion, independently of the sacred authority on which it rests in the Scriptures. Arguments, proposed originally as answers to an opponent . . . . were applied as grounds of evidence for the establishment of the truth universally. And thus a vast collection of principles was obtained, from which conclusions in theology might be drawn. At length, theology rose into a regular demonstrative science, built up on axioms of metaphysics, and cohering in all its parts, by the cement of logical connexion." (*Lect. II., p.* 77.)

matter whose the weapon was : truth was truth all the world over. With the jawbone of an ass, with the skeleton philosophy of pagan Greece, did the Samson of the Schools put to flight his thousand Philistines." *

Yes ; "it was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being S. Thomas," who had to steer the ship, and keep her steady in a gale of wind, with a chopping sea, and amidst dangerous breakers ; who had to combat enemies without, and allay discords which raged within ; who had to bring to bear upon the society of that day the force of supernatural principle, and the power of a supernatural life. There was a store of brilliant men and learned scholars, of the secular order, in the Paris schools ; but it was not *talent* which was to do the work, but reverence, and piety, and prayer. † If God must be in the heart truly to love, God must be also in the mind rightly to know. There was plenty of the wisdom of fools ; what was wanted was the wisdom of the divinely wise.

* *Lectures on University Subjects, p.* 281—282.

† Theology seems almost to be the *test* of pride, conceit, and immorality. How long does a man who dedicates himself to teaching or studying that divine science remain orthodox after he has been possessed, either by the intellectual devil of pride, or the corporeal devil of carnality? Will talent, quickness, logic, keenness in discovering a flaw, readiness in pointing out an error, swiftness of speech and readiness of reply, help him? Does wind and sail help a ship which has sprung a leak, and which is simply filling with water? Do they not rather hasten her to the bottom? Theology is a thing of God. He who deals with God should come with his heart pure and his hands clean. The mediæval doctors knew this. See the Angelical bent in prayer : see him prostrate before the crucifix ! Then, see him so modestly triumphing in the schools ! Yet, it was rather love than talent that was victorious.

It is passing strange that philosophers, men who pride themselves in tracing out the working of cause and effect, should not have perceived the immense influence which the monastic principle exerts upon the intellectual man.* Its action is essentially to maintain man's intellect in its supremacy, and to affect the will. As long as the faculties remain in their right moral order, their operations will be just. But it is evident, from the constant experience of every one, that, to preserve that right order is the one great difficulty of life. The will, the passions, the affections, and the imagination, are all of them strong energizing powers; but they have no regulating quality of their own. They have impetus, but it is blind: they require direction; and, for that, they must be under complete control. "Till the passions and affections are rightly subordinated, the imagination restrained and tamed down to the service of the reason; till the reason is either independent of the will, or directed by it in the right order; till the will is habituated to a normal state of action; till, in a word, the eye of the intellect is quite clear from the films of prejudice and self-regard, it cannot see clear, and, therefore, cannot be a safe guide. But, this is not the work of a day. It requires patient labour, and the acquisition

* Fichte has said many a foolish and unmeaning thing, but nothing could be more profound than this:—"Unser Denksystem ist oft nur die Geschichte unseres Herzens." (*Die Bestimmung des Menschen, Sämmtliche Werke, B. II., p.* 253.)

of confirmed moral habits. Such an excellence is not even the property of those who, *on the whole*, preserve themselves from the excesses of passion (ἐγκρατεῖς), though they may partially possess it. In its fulness, it is the exclusive property of him who is altogether free from such aberrations, and is secure in his liberty—the σώφων of Aristotle. He it is, then, who has what the great philosopher calls the 'eye of practical experience.' The film has been removed from his sight—that film which clouds the vision of the many. He is not an inventor or dreamer, but *seer*."*

The intellect, then, cannot be "a safe guide," until a man has, through "patient labour," acquired "confirmed moral habits;" that is, until the mind be made clean and bright, and is kept so, it will not be able, securely, to see things as they are located in the world of reality, and to form true judgments as to their relative worth and position. And to do this perfectly, it is not enough for a man to be free from the excesses of passion, "on the whole," but he must be altogether free from them. All this is intelligible; and, by its own reasonableness, is conformable to the sound and practical judgment of the mind. It is not so much a question of religion, as of cause and effect—of the influence of passion on passion, and of the relative import of the various faculties of the human

* See a remarkable treatise *On Moral*, by F. Harper, in *The Month*, *Vol. XIII., No. LXXVII.—New Series, No. XI. Nov.* 1870.

soul.* What is taught, on this point, in the Catholic schools, is confirmed by the authority of Aristotle and the pagans, and by all philosophers, whatever their religious bias, who have written upon morals and psychology.

Now, it is not for a moment doubted that many intelligent men do, very seriously, exercise themselves in such a way as to form habits of mind conducive to the acquisition of truth.† The heathens themselves have done this. "Good men," even amongst those who did not believe in God at all, from the fact of their "goodness," were thought capable of exerting an influence, and eliciting actions, which others, less virtuous than themselves, were unable to emulate, even at a distance. All this, far from weakening what is going to be said, tends to increase its force. For, if individuals, through their own unaided exertions, have so trained themselves as to rise head and shoulders

* De Bonald, in the *Preface* to his *Démonstration Philosophique*, brings out with great force the influence of passion upon the reason. He says: "On demandera peut-être pourquoi il y a tant d'incrédules et d'ennemis de la religion, si elle est prouvée à la fois par la raison et par l'autorité. La réponse est facile: Il y a longtemps qu'on a dit que, s'il résultait quelque obligation morale de la proposition géométrique, que les trois angles d'un triangle sont égaux à deux angles droits, cette proposition serait combattue et sa certitude mise en problême."

† S. Augustine clearly saw the intimate connection between sin and intellectual error. "Unde falsitas oritur," he says, "non rebus ipsis fallentibus, quæ nihil aliud ostendunt sentienti quam speciem suam, quam pro suæ pulchritudinis acceperunt gradu; neque ipsis sensibus fallentibus, qui pro natura sui corporis affecti, non aliud quam suas affectiones præsidenti animo nuntiant: sed *peccata animas fallunt*, cum verum quærunt, relicta et neglecta veritate. Nam quoniam opera magis quam artificem atque ipsam artem dilexerunt, hoc errore puniuntur, ut in operibus artificem artemque conquirant; et cum invenire nequiverint (Deus enim non corporalibus sensibus subjacet, sed ipsi menti supereminet), ipsa opera existiment esse et artem et artificem." *(De Vera Religione, Cap. XXXVI., n. 67, p. 152. Patrologiæ Lat., Tom. XXXIV.* Migne.)

above their fellows, how much more effectual would not be the action of a *system*, constructed by the wisest, and holiest, and keenest men, for achieving the same result?—a system, too, which not merely has been formed by wisdom and prudence, but which has also been tested by experience, and brought into perfection, by the action of time, and the force of circumstances, and the practical bearing of events—a system which essentially aims at directing man's mind to the highest goodness and perfection; which cuts off from him a thousand disturbing influences; which deprives him, by a solemn, irrevocable vow, of all present and future power of possessing the distracting goods of this life; which crushes passion, by trampling upon the flesh with an uncompromising severity; and which frees him, as much as possible, even from himself, through the action of that obligatory obedience which he promises, from the purest of motives, to a man whom he looks upon as God's representative in his regard.* His one interest now becomes to look upon, and love the Source of all Light, and the Fount of all Moral Perfection. He takes his position as a creature, and the Creator is acknowledged to be God, not simply in *theory*, but with the most intimate per-

* For a most interesting and profound treatment of the influence of the moral state of man upon his intellectual action, and of goodness upon truth, see Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums, Erster Band, Der Beweis des Christenthums, Erste Abtheilung, Erster Vortrag, Der Religiöse Zweifel, p.* 1—48.

suasion of the entire being, and with the intensest worship of the heart. Those things which grow upon other men, and sometimes master, and occasionally enslave them, upon him exert no abnormal action.* He knows their value. His imagination does not bear him away into the dangerous realm of unreality; time receives its colour from eternity; the creature is seen in the light of an eternal future; human interests do not rise above their intrinsic worth; all things are located and adjusted by a wisdom which springs from a Divine illumination, shedding its light upon an intellect spotless as a mirror, and prepared by a process of constant brightening and cleansing for performing its allotted task. And not merely does the mind perceive and weigh natural things in the scales of unbiassed judgment, but it also can apprehend more clearly its own proper object—moral and intellectual truth.† It sees, as others cannot see,

* "Desire and sensual satisfactions hinder the knowledge of high things, as it is written: 'The bewitching of vanity obscureth good things, and the wandering of concupiscence overturneth the innocent mind.' Those persons, therefore, who are not so spiritually advanced as to be perfectly purified from their desires and inclinations, but are still somewhat sensual, believe and account those things to be important which are, in truth, of no account in spirituality, being intimately connected with sense; they make no account [of] and despise those things which are highly spiritual, further removed from sense, yea, sometimes they look upon them as folly, as it is written 'The sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God: for it is foolishness to him, and he cannot understand.'" (See Lewis's *Complete Works of S. John of the Cross, Vol. II., p.* 291.) All writers on spiritual life insist on the necessity of repressing passion and mere feeling, that the higher powers may have fair play.

† Let the reader study the Sixth Book of Plato's *Republic*, and he will find that those qualities, which, in that philosopher's opinion, go to form the true philosophic disposition, are just those which are developed by the monastic system. "Those who are able to apprehend the eternal and immutable, are philosophers; while those who are incapable of this, and who

the abstract world of thought, and possesses a spirituality, an angelic quickness of perception, a spontaneity of intuition, and an accuracy and breadth of mind, which is an earnest of the soul's perfection, when it shall rejoice in a closer and more intimate union with its Supreme Reward. What is brought about in the moral order by contemplation, is, in its measure, realized also in the intellectual. The doctor-saints of the Church possessed a kind of vision. The Angelical, we are told, till we are almost tired, learnt his theology by "prayer," through "divine illumination," "at the foot of the crucifix," "from the mouth of Christ." His biographers never weary of repeating this, and in saying it, they are simply recording the perfection of S. Thomas in the religious state. They show the effects of a *system*, constructed in order to lead men to love and to embrace truth. They manifest its workings in the scientific and intellectual, as well as in the moral order; and they seem to say to the "learned" of the present day: "If you would be truly scientific men—men of rare intelligence, do not under-

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wander in the region of change and multiformity, are not philosophers. . . . Do you think that there is a particle of difference between the condition of blind persons, and the state of those who are absolutely destitute of the knowledge of things as they really are, and who possess in their soul no distinct exemplar, and cannot, like painters, fix their eyes on perfect truth as a perpetual standard of reference, to be contemplated with the minutest care, before they proceed to deal with earthly canons about things beautiful, and just, and good—laying them down where they are required; and where they already exist, watching over their preservation?" (Davies and Vaughan, *The Republic, Book VI.*, *n.* 484—485.)

value the methods of the saints, and the systems constructed by the Church for insuring to man true activity, liberty, and stability—true expansion, spontaneity, and freedom in the search of truth."* There never was a profounder utterance than the words of Göthe :—

> "Wie Einer ist, so ist sein Gott,
> Darum ward Gott so oft zu Spott."†

And whilst this is said, no one for a moment denies that what in itself is good may be misused. *Corruptio optimi pessima* is as trite as it is true. If monks have been saints, monks have also been sinners. The angels, the prophets, the apostles, the deacons—every order has had its tokens of weakness and infirmity. Monks, before now, have become apostates, and have turned atheists and infidels. But was it their monasticism that made them prevaricators? Was it not, rather, one of two: either the demon of pride, or the demon of carnality, which they did not resist in time, and

* Does not the following character of the Angelical, given by Tocco, speak of the training of religious life, and is it not most beautiful, and most winning? "Erat enim prædictus Doctor in sui reputatione humillimus, corpore et mente purissimus, oratione devotus, consilio providus, conversatione placidus, caritate diffusus, intellectu lucidus, ingenio acutus, judicio certus, memoria retentivus, a sensibus quasi quotidie elevatus, et omnium quasi contemptivus temporalium, ut omnium virtutum unus homo haberet habitus, ex quibus sibi ad meritum et aliis in exemplum similes producerentur effectus . . . . Unde cum potuisset Doctor mirabilis ex illa sublimi speculatione a divinis ad humana descendere, sic erat in conversatione tractabilis et in locutione suavis, ut vere ostenderet a Christi forma se exemplariter procedere, cujus vitam meruit et contemplando cognoscere et prædicando docere quia non potuisset a Deo tantam habere scientiam, nisi vivendo prius didicisset ejus humilitate doctrinam." (*Boll., Cap. V., n.* 24—25, *p.* 666.)

† *Zahme Xenien, IV.*

which finally enchained them, and then dragged them from their high estate into the abyss? If history—both the history of the world, and the history of man's nature—may be believed, pride and sensuality form the soil from which springs that bitter and half-devilish hatred with which men regard those amongst their fellows who have sacrificed all that nature loves, for high and noble motives. The very sight of a priest, to a man given over to leading a mere gross, natural life—to a man who indulges his passions, and places his heaven in making the best of earth, is unspeakably distasteful. He does not take the pains—indeed, most likely, he does not know how—to analyze the uncomfortable feeling that possesses his mind. But, if he did try and get to the bottom of it, he would, most probably, discover that it proceeded from the alternative latently suggesting itself, that either he himself must be a mere animal, or the priest must be an impostor and a hypocrite. The mixture, or confusion, which would be created in his intelligence by the conflict of these two ideas, would naturally result in an excessively painful feeling, and in his turning, mentally, at least, upon the priest, as the occasion of his suffering.* Then,

* "Utque deam vidit, formâque armisque decoram,
Ingemuit, vultumque ima ad suspiria duxit.
Pallor in ore sedet: macies in corpore toto:
Nusquam recta acies: livent rubigine dentes:
Pectora felle virent: lingua est suffusa veneno.
Risus abest; nisi quem visi movere dolores.
Nec fruitur somno, vigilacibus excita curis:
Sed videt ingratos, intabescitque videndo,
Successus hominum: carpitque et carpitur una:
Suppliciumque suum est."
(*Ovid, Met., Lib. II., n.* 774. Ed. Delphin.)

the nicety of the balance between his willingness to condemn his neighbour of hypocrisy, and his secret misgiving as to whether or not he himself were living a low and sensual life, would add to his discomfort. For the fact seems to be that, though men are not in the habit of making known their consciences to each other, it seldom happens that a man is able, in his inmost heart, to persuade himself that he is innocent when he is guilty: and that one who is really living a purer, holier, and more devout life than himself, is, in reality, beneath him in the moral scale. In the conscience, more truths are spoken than men care to tell; and what is more unpalatable to a bad man than the rebuke administered to him by his moral sense, in reality through the influence of one who lives a life, and displays a set of principles, which are the direct condemnation of his own?

There was a day when, in this our own country, the high principles of monastic life were held in veneration, and when the noblest and the most pure-minded in the land looked upon the poverty and obedience of Christ, manifested in His servants, with tenderness and unfeigned regard.* But the

* See what, in justice, a Protestant is forced to say of a man who, from childhood, loved the monastery best, and was a pattern of the action of monastic life: —"S. Anselm," says Mr. Church, was "a great teacher, a great thinker, a great kindler of thought in others, he was also an example of gallant and unselfish public service, rendered without a thought of his own convenience or honour, to fulfil what seemed a plain duty, in itself very distasteful, and not difficult to evade, if he had wished to evade it. Penetrated, too, as he was by the unflinching austerity of that hard and stern time, he was remembered among men, less as the great sage who had

day came when the sins of some, and the imperfections of individuals, were made use of as pretexts, by carnal men, for bringing to ruin the whole system of the saints spread throughout the land. The same odium and detestation which William of S. Amour endeavoured to create against monasticism in the Paris schools, was implanted in the breasts of the many, by the envy, rapacity, and spitefulness of the wicked, and the sensuality of the worldly in England. For, not only those who were scandals to religion were spurned, but those also who manifested in their lives the highest perfection of the Cross, were treated with indifference; and the cardinal principles of the perfect love of God—of genuine sacrifice, being first misinterpreted and then misunderstood, have finally been scouted with scorn, or treated with serene and unctuous contempt.* It was an awful change that came over the moral life of England, a terrible

opened new paths to thought, or as the great archbishop who had not been afraid of the face of kings, or as the severe restorer of an uncompromising and high-aiming discipline, than as the loving and sympathizing Christian brother, full of sweetness, full of affection, full of goodness, full of allowance and patience for others, whom men of all conditions liked to converse with, and whom neither high nor low ever felt cold in his friendship, or unnatural or forced in his condescension." (*Life of S. Anselm, Chap. I., p.* 7.)

* Plato tells us the fate of the "just man" at the hands of those "who commend injustice above justice. They will say that in such a situation the just man will be scourged, racked, fettered, will have his eyes burnt out, and at last, after suffering every kind of torture, will be crucified; and thus learn that it is best to resolve not to be, but to seem, just. Indeed, those words of Æschylus [a man of true simplicity and nobleness, resolved not to seem, but to be, good] are far more applicable to the unjust man than to the just. For it is, in fact, the unjust man, they will maintain, inasmuch as he devotes himself to a course which is allied to reality, and does not live with an eye to appearances, who 'is resolved not to seem, but to be, unjust.'" (Davies and Vaughan, *The Republic, Book II., p.* 44. *n.* 362.)

eclipse, when the models of perfect heroism were taken down, and hacked to pieces, and buried out of sight, or scattered to the winds; an awful day, when the exponents of the life of Christ Crucified were nailed, like their Master, to the tree, or hung on a gibbet for derision. What would become of England's military prowess, or of the loyalty of her people, if, in detestation of the strategy of war, or if, in abhorrence of her kingly rule, the statues of her greatest generals were smashed to bits, on the one hand; or the emblems of the Queen, her arms and crown, were broken to atoms, on the other? To declare, as a palliation, that war leads to bloodshed, and sovereignty leads to despotism, would not be received as any justification by thinking men.* To destroy the rarest specimens of brightest virtue, and then to turn round, and declare, as an excuse, that virtue sometimes degenerates into vice, would be to add the foulest hypocrisy to the most brutal form of unmitigated wickedness.

* Plato, in constructing his Republic, places greatest stress upon the influence, not merely of standards, but on "fables" taught to children. Does not the following, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to our day?—"Then you are aware that, in every work, the beginning is the most important part, especially in dealing with anything young and tender? for that is the time when any impression, which one may desire to communicate, is most readily stamped and taken. Precisely so. Shall we then permit our children, without scruple, to hear any fables, composed by any authors, indifferently; and so to receive into their minds opinions generally the reverse of those which, when they are grown to manhood, we shall think they ought to entertain? No, we shall not permit it on any account. Then, apparently, our first duty will be to exercise a superintendence over the authors of fables—selecting their good productions, and rejecting the bad. And the selected fables we shall advise our nurses and mothers to repeat to their children, that they may thus mould their minds with the fables, even more than they shape their bodies with their hands. But we shall have to repudiate the greater part of those which are now in vogue." (Davies and Vaughan, *The Republic, Book II., n.* 377, *p.* 65.)

It is to be hoped that we are coming to a day when our countrymen will think better of the past. England is less isolated than she was. The pestilence of the Reformation is gradually giving way to larger views, and higher aims and aspirations.* If, on the one hand, naturalism and infidelity are absorbing a large portion of the population, it cannot be denied, that, upon the other, there is a growing class, which is being drawn to see through the mist that surrounds them, and to follow the higher dictates of their hearts. It is something when such pagans as Seneca, and Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, are appreciated, for their superior gifts, and for their natural virtue. It is encouraging when men begin to put what is best in paganism on a pedestal, and to point out pagan heroes as patterns upon which Christian men should endeavour to mould their lives. It is a hopeful sign when a Christian clergyman tells Christian people

* That selfishness which naturally results from having abandoned the great Christian ideals, and the practice of heroism in religion, as is easily explained, has made its way into the arts. Speaking of Architecture, for instance, Mr. Ruskin says :—"There is not a building that I know of, lately raised, wherein it is not sufficiently evident that neither architect nor builder has done his best. It is the especial characteristic of modern work. All old work nearly has been hard work. It may be the hard work of children, of barbarians, of rustics ; but it is always their utmost. Ours has constantly the look of money's worth, of a stopping short wherever and whenever we can, of a lazy compliance with low conditions ; never of a fair putting forth of our strength . . . let us confess our poverty or our parsimony. It is not even a question of how *much* we are to do, but of how it is to be done ; it is not a question of doing more, but of doing better. Do not let us boss our roofs with wretched, half-worked, blunt-edged rosettes : do not let us flank our gates with rigid imitations of mediæval statuary. Such things are mere insults to common sense, and only unfit us for feeling the nobility of their prototypes." (See *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, by John Ruskin, A.M., *Chap. I., p.* 19—20.)

that they are far below the standard of the infidel.* It is encouraging, and it is hopeful, because, when the depth of their degradation is pointed out to Englishmen, and that by one who is a Christian minister, and who, with an inimitable simplicity, is wholly unconscious of the shame he is thereby bringing upon England's Christianity—there is some chance of the thoughtful perceiving the condition to which the religion of their country has been reduced. Not that anyone would blame a man, because he indicated the good that is in any creature, however far from the Christian standard, provided that he insisted, at the same time, on the immense difference between the Christian and the pagan ideal. The heroism, the courage, the truth, and the simplicity of life of the worshipper of stocks and stones, can be used as a spur to urge on Christians to a fuller performance of their duty ;—doubtless. † But, what is dangerous and confusing

* "And yet with all our knowledge and enlightenment, we fall far short of some of them [the Pagans] ; we are less stern with our faults, less watchful, less self-denying, less tender to one another. . . . We ought to have attained to far loftier moral altitudes than they, but we have not. . . . . Some of these heathens showed themselves to be nobler, loftier, holier, freer from vanity, freer from meanness, freer from special pleading, freer from falsehood, more spiritual, more reasonable—on some points, even more enlightened, than many among ourselves. . . . Perhaps the contemplation of virtue, and zeal, and integrity, and consistency, even in heathen lives, may produce, at least, some infinitesimal effect in arousing some of us to a desire for 'something more high and heroical in religion than the present age affecteth.'" (See *Seekers after God*, by the Rev. F. W. Farrar, M.A., F.R.S. *Preface, p. X.)*

† Professor M. Ott, of Rottwill, has shown the real position of Seneca and the pagans in their relation to Christianity, in a very remarkable paper in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* (Drittes Quartalheft Tübingen, 1870) headed : "Die Humanitätslehren heidnischer Philosophie um die Zeit Christi." After showing what Seneca and others did, Professor Ott says : "Durch solche und ähnliche Bewegungen auf dem geistigen Gebiet

in the extreme is, when a teacher of morality manifestly is either ignorant of, or ignores, the distinct line that should be drawn between pagan and Christian virtue, and the motive which should give soul and life to human action since the Incarnation; when *teachers* see little difference between the courage of Epictetus, and that of S. Francis; between the truthfulness of Seneca, and that of S. Dominic; between the uprightness of Marcus Aurelius, and that of S. Bernard or S. Norbert—when, in a word, Christianity and heathenism are coupled together in the moral order, the "saints" of the one standing side by side with the Saints of the other, it is time to look forward to the general break-up of everything like the reality of a Christ-like life. Where the supernatural is ignored, or denied, that which issues from the supernatural, will, of a certainty, be misunderstood.* Saints that spring out of the earth, and do not grow from

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um die Zeit Christi hat sich der Boden gelockert, der den Samen des Evangeliums aufnehmen sollte, hat die Vorsehung mitten unter den Dorngestrüppen des Heidenthums Saatfelder für das Christenthum bestellt und hergerichtet. Denn solasterhaft im Grossen die alte Welt geworden war, war es doch nicht lauter Sumpf und Moder der Verworfenheit, dem die Christusreligion gleichsam eingepflanzt werden sollte" (*p.* 400.)

* Any thinking man who traces the fall of individuals and of nations, will discover the genesis of their gradual decay to arise, first, from some weakness; then, from a habit formed in consequence of indulging in that weakness. After the habit has become a second nature by repetition, moral and intellectual blindness is the inevitable consequence—that is, the conscience becomes seared, and the mind ceases to apprehend the deordination which has been produced. Indeed, at length it begins to maintain that the new nature which has been created is a good one; false maxims are formed, falling in with the dictates of this corrupted state of being, and evil takes the place of good, paganism takes the place of Christianity, self-indulgence of restraint, the natural man supplants the supernatural, and the monastic principle makes way for moderated sensuality, and respectable self-indulgence.

heaven, will be like the earth, earthly; and hence men see little incongruity in placing the Christian ideals on a line with the heroes of philosophy. Those who have not the gift to see, farther than the natural eye will carry them, into the lives of the saints of God—whose history is an enigma, without a recognition of the action of grace in the supernatural order—will very possibly perceive in them, not only much which is unintelligible, but something, also, which will shock. They can grasp the pagan conception with much greater readiness. The stoic's virtues are comprehensible enough. He is no foreigner, speaking a strange language, practising strange customs, and holding views which are extravagant, and wanting in hard, common, worldly sense. Still, it may be opined that some men in the Anglican Church look further, and see somewhat beyond the bare flesh-and-blood materialism of mere natural religion; and that they are becoming daily more sensible to the incongruity of speaking in the same breath of Socrates and S. Anselm, of Seneca and S. Thomas, of Epictetus and S. Paul, and of Aurelius and S. Polycarp, or S. Justin Martyr. They will by degrees, it is to be hoped, look higher than paganism for their model men. They will no longer be content with mere natural virtue. They will yearn after *Christian* heroism, and long to fix their eyes upon a Divine original, and never be content till they have before them the highest

pattern of all human and Divine perfection, of natural and supernatural virtue—and that displayed in its sublimest form—in the Image of Christ crucified, and of those noble saints who, out of sheer love for Him, have been crucified together with Him.*

And what is the out-come of this love and reverence for Christ? It is this: that he who admires the original, admires the copy also, and admires it in proportion as it is true to the original. He who loves and reverences Christ, and bears a personal love for Him, will love those nearest to Him and dearest, and most resembling Him. He will see in the monastic system, not a harsh, minute, meaningless, and enslaving complication of rules and observances—a mere military system of police; but a large and loving method of truly Christianizing the heart and mind of man.† He

* How profoundly Hettinger speaks of the difference between Christ our model, and the wise men of the heathen:—"Auch die antike Welt," he says, "hatte Ideale eines Weisen; aber es waren auch nur Ideale, nie sind sie Leben und Wirklichkeit geworden. Und selbst in Jenen, welche die Weisheit lehrten, wie gross ist der Abstand zwischen Wort und That, Lehre und Leben! Blieb doch selbst der Beste unter den Besseren der Vorzeit seiner Lehre nicht getreu da er in der Stunde vor seinem Tode dem Aberglauben seines Volkes huldigte. Nicht so Christus. Wie er *lehrte, so lebte er, wie er lebte, so starb er.* Es ist diess ein Einklang von Wort und That, von Lehre und Leben, wie er nur *einmal* in der Weltgeschichte, *einzig* in Ihm erschienen ist. Es ist die *Idee* und *Wirklichkeit* zugleich, wie es seine Lebensbeschreiber in dem kurzen Wort zusammengefasst haben: es fing Jesus an zu *thun* und zu *lehren.*" (See *Der Beweis des Christenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Achtzehnter Vortrag, p.* 800—801.)

† Though Mr. Church writes gracefully, in his *Life of S. Anselm*, it cannot be expected that he should be able to fathom the depths of the monastic principle. How different a view from Dr. Newman's *Summa Quies*, and comparatively how shallow, is the following:—"The governing thought of monastic life was that it was a warfare, a *militia*, and a monastery was a camp or barrack: there was continual drill and exercise, early hours, fixed times, appointed tasks, hard fare, stern punishment; watchfulness

will detect, in the essential elements of religious life, in the practice of chastity, obedience, and poverty, under vow, that quality which beams forth, with radiant light, in every action, and in every word of the Saviour of the world; and he will be able to imagine, with all his thought, no method of multiplying the Life and Character of our Lord upon the earth, more effective or successful than that which is based upon Evangelical perfection. He who loves Christ, and thinks Him great and noble, though he may not hold Him to be Divine, cannot, without committing a flagrant breach of logic and consistency, reject the beauty of the monastic life, which turns out monastic men; for no man, unless he be a hypocrite, or an idiot, can detest in the copy what he admires in the original.

If Englishmen would measure monastic and religious life by the rule of the Cross, they would possess the key to many an enigma. If they would judge an organism by the spirit which inhabits it, and not ignorantly condemn, from outside, what they cannot straightway understand, they would speedily begin to perceive how mighty a power of order, stability, and reverence, monasticism might be, amidst the turmoil and uncertainty of

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was to be incessant, obedience prompt and absolute; no man was to have a will of his own, no man was to murmur; . . . training as rigorous . . . as in a regiment or ship's crew which is to do good service." (See *Life of S. Anselm, Chap. III., p.* 43—44.) Like most outsiders, Mr. Church sees the regular and ordered movement of the visible body, but he has not grasped the true character of the soul. "The governing thought of monastic life" is rather *peace*, than war.

this anarchical world.* For what are the three crying evils of the present age? The first, is it not a brutalizing immorality amongst the people, and a refined lewdness amongst the rich?1 Is not the second an overweening regard for material prosperity? and the third, a license and liberty of will without control? And, to add a fourth, is there not an instability of mind, and an infidelity of heart, which, like some terrible disease, is eating into the vitals of all genuine belief? Now, what is the principle of monasticism but the very reverse and corrective of all this? † What is it

* This is one of the miseries encouraged by so much printing and desultory reading. Men who write, have no time to think. Those who read, do not study—but they *skim*. Few go below the surface: fewer still, meditate. Thus, prejudice, old associations, thoughts and views that have been made to order, are upheld, as fresh and new as if they possessed the immortality of truth itself! Men are content with their stock-in-trade, and look upon views different from their own as the fashion of the foreigner; or, if they happen to be the principles and persuasions of their forefathers, as antiquated or exploded judgments or opinions, which might have passed muster in their day, but which no more become the present age than would the costumes which were worn by those who maintained them. . . Let men only meditate; let those who write, think; let those who read, study; and the value of reverence, purity, love, and adoration in a social, nay, and even in a political point of view, will be recognized in course of time—men will admire, and not spurn the monk.

† Tosti shows the intimate connection of monasticism with Christ and the Church:—"L'ideale Christiano," he says, "percorrea tutte le forme della primitiva Chiesa, dico il vivere in commune, l'affrontare la morte, l'innocenza dei costumi, e in nissuna di queste posava come in parola suprema di sè stesso. Solo nelle Vergini e nei Padri del deserto posava, come in suprema forma, che il determinava e l'esprimeva perfettamente. Pel celibato e pel monachismo sappiamo che la Chiesa non solo conosce, ma sente il Cristo. Per la qual cosa, quelle non sono istituzioni, ma naturali manifestazioni di un morale individuo, quale è la Chiesa che svolge pel sentimento la coscienza del Cristo. Chi vuol sapere della origine del celibato e del monachismo cattolico, non deve andare a interrogare scritture e tradizioni, perchè perderebbe il tempo e la speranza di vincere i contradditori di quei due fatti: ma egli deve assorgere alla economia psicologica della Chiesa, e troverà come il celibato ed il monacato non sia legge bandita da alcun uomo, ma sia un fatto che obbedisce alle leggi generali dell' umano sentimento." *(Prolegomeni alla Storia Universale della Chiesa, Vol. I., Cap. III., p.* 290—291.)

but preaching on the house-top—preaching, in the practice of a life, the law of purity, spiritual-mindedness, and subordination? What is it but a grand manifestation of stability and truthful faith, which, if men would not imitate, they would be constrained, at all events, to admire? What would monasticism in England be at this hour, but a display of the principles of social, as well as of spiritual salvation—but a continual reminder, bringing before men's consciousness and imagination the fact that the supernatural virtues of religion have not died out; and that, if future and inevitable disorder and ruin are to be prevented, it will alone be done by introducing those principles of stability, of subordination, and of self-restraint, which form the basis of the monastic life?*

If men will see the power of these principles, let them study them as illustrated by the Angel of the Schools. Let them see what his life did. Clever infidels cannot jeer at him, for they know that he was cleverer than they; heresy itself treats him with marked respect; the Eastern and the Jew

* The three great virtues of poverty, chastity, and obedience, have before now been called by English critics the "dead virtues." It is the tendency of flippant and smart writers to make sharp hits at what can much easier be ridiculed, than fully understood. Flippancy and smartness would have no play, if serious matters had to be treated in a serious manner. The evil which arises from such superficialness cannot easily be exaggerated. The very foundations of society at length begin to be tampered with; frivolity becomes the order of the day, and men by degrees become unable to appreciate the relative value of principles and of things. When a man does not see the difference between trifling with a crest or tile, and trifling with a foundation-stone—if he be a trifler—the house which he amuses himself with will not stand long.

pay him exceptional honour. Whilst the prince of dialecticians, he is the gentlest and tenderest of companions; whilst his breadth and largeness of mind are of the proportions of a giant, he is precise and minute in the observance of his rule; whilst filled with the spirit of the widest and freest charity, he is uncompromising in his maintenance of truth, and fearless in his condemnation of error; whilst possessing all the stability and balance—the habit of silence and solitude of the Benedictine, he manifests all the highest gifts of the active and chivalrous S. Dominic. And, no doubt, this perfection of character in him was based upon a happy disposition, and rare natural gifts; but these were perfected by the practices of religion, and they were developed and brought to perfection under the influence of the holy vows.

Nor is the case of the Angelical an isolated one. He did not become what he was in spite of the influence of the system into which he threw himself, but through its workings upon his heart and mind.* The animating centre-principle, or soul of monastic life, when once it masters a man or woman in its fullness, of a necessity lifts up the mind, enlarges the heart, and ennobles the entire being. When men tell us that the scope of religious life is to fight—to become soldiers of Christ; or that it

* For a beautiful account of the monastic virtues of the Angelical, see, besides Tocco and Touron, Frigerio's *Vita di S. Tomaso D'Aquino, Libro Secondo, Delle Virtù, Cap. I., p.* 65; *Cap. X., p.* 119.

is peace or rest—that men may, undisturbed by creatures, contemplate the Creator, they do not express the vital idea of the monastic state.* It is war, yes—to repel the onslaught of the enemy of Him we love ; it is peace and rest, yes—to live and bask in His beautiful light, and to breathe securely under His immediate Eye : but it is more than this, it is not simply resting and fighting : it is something that nerves the arm to combat, and soothes the heart into repose. In a word, it is the principle of *heroic love*, thrown into system by the saints ;—*love*, for it is the abandonment of the entire being—the venturing all for Him, with the hope of serving Him with more devotedness, and of offering Him the heart, with a larger, a more sovereign, and exclusive charity ;—*heroic*, because self, with life and death, and all the world can offer, or passion or affection hold out, is trodden upon, and spurned, through the mighty energy of the soul which has one swift, direct, unswerving aim—that

* There is little doubt that in proportion as the power of the Catholic faith decreases in a nation, in that same proportion the personal love of Christ as Man-God, with body and soul, with features and expression, and human heart and feelings, as well as with Divinity, dies out in the consciences of the men who compose it, and an *abstraction* is consequently set up in the place of the real living Christ. For if it be not Christ, as He is in reality, that men love ; it must be something which is *not* Christ, or at best, an abstraction, which can save no soul, and pour grace into no heart. Honest men fall back upon duty, honour, self-respect, the feeling of a gentleman, personal dignity, and the like—in a word, they fall back upon *self ;* and when once a man or a nation habitually makes that blunder, the consequence is inevitable, viz., private judgment ; then, anarchy in religious thought ; next, rationalism and indifference ; and, finally, general moral, and intellectual corruption.

of being His, and His only; and working for Him, and for Him alone. When the spirit is once thus affected, then, it may bravely fight, or gently rest, according as the voice of duty to the Supreme Love of the monk's heart speaks to his conscience. It was this high holocaustic love which made men saints. It was this devotion that made S. Anthony, S. Pachomius, S. Basil, S. Benedict, S. Francis, S. Dominic, and the other great founders of Religious Orders, lights to the world in days of darkness and storm. Man may do much; natural virtue is beautiful; courage, simplicity, truth, and, sometimes, even purity, can spring from innate uprightness of character: but it is love alone that can do great things, resist violent temptations, persevere in arduous ways, and—with elasticity of step, and abandonment of devotedness—run the way of God's commandments, through all the chequered vicissitudes of human life.* The heroism of the Cross is not

* What is monastic life, after all, but carrying out, in its fullest meaning, and widest scope, the principle of "*Frui et Uti*" of S. Augustine, which was so often insisted on by the Scholastics, and by the Lombard in particular?—"Frui enim est amore alicui rei inhærere propter seipsam. Uti autem, quod in usum venerit ad id quod amas obtinendum referre, si tamen amandum est. Nam usus illicitus, abusus potius vel abusio nominandus est. Quomodo ergo, si essemus peregrini, qui beate vivere nisi in patria non possemus, eaque peregrinatione utique miseri et miseriam finire cupientes, in patriam redire vellemus, opus esset vel terrestribus vel marinis vehiculis quibus utendum esset ut ad patriam, qua fruendum erat, pervenire valeremus . . . in hujus mortalitatis vita peregrinantes a Domino (2 *Cor.*, *V.*, 6.), si redire in patriam volumus, ubi beati esse possimus, utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum: ut invisibilia Dei, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspiciantur (*Rom. I.*, 20.), hoc est, ut de corporalibus temporalibusque rebus æterna et spiritualia capiamus." (*De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. I., Cap. IV., p.* 20—21. *Patrol. Lat., Tom. XXXIV.* Migne.)

a work which is carried out by fits and starts; it is not the bare performance of one high act of sacrifice, which requires some great effort, and then is over; but it is the long strain of a life's service; a systematic progression, and steady advance out of the darkness of self, and the mists of the creature, into the fair open—into the broad expanses and clear distances where rests the Spiritual City of the supernatural world. Yes, and in the advance, as creature-ties fall away, and the soul feels itself more and more free, then the pure air of a heavenly atmosphere fills the lungs, and invigorates the whole frame, imparting to the creature of clay the power of heaven, and fashioning selfish, cowardly, blinded man into a model of heroism, of purity, and of Christian courage.

If Englishmen could only see with their eyes and hear with their ears—fix their eyes on true nobility of soul, and listen to the accents of the saints—the democratic wave, which is threatening to level down everything in England, might be broken in its force; and that scourge, which only those who are deluded by a false security do not perceive, might be, in part at least, averted. Nations cannot last long in stability without religion. Nations with a sham religion, or an imperfect dogmatic teaching, will be hypocritical in morals, or faulty in their rule of life; and nations which are founded in insincerity, and act on an

untruth, will, with that certainty with which a cause produces its effect, in due course of time, break up, fall to pieces, and cease to possess an organic form. A nation which habitually breaks the law of God will soon lose all respect for the laws of men.

But enough has now been said on the principles of monastic life—that is, of the highest and noblest dictates of Christianity—to convince the reader that the Angelical, in confronting, as he did, rationalism and irreverence, was engaged, not in a work of second-rate importance, but in a warfare upon which political as well as religious life depended. The stronghold of religion was being attacked. He repelled the onslaught, and established the citadel of Christian heroism and perfection on a firmer and wider basis than before.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

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